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At its meeting on December 27, 1974, the AHA Council authorized the Executive Director to remove the Recently Published Articles (RPA) from the American Historical Review and to implement plans for a separate publication. As of this issue, the RPA will be published separately in paperbound format. It will continue to appear three times a year, in February, June, and October. The subscription charge for members of the Association will be \$5.00 for the three issues. The charge for nonmembers will be \$8.00, and for institutions, \$7.00. Information concerning subscriptions and application forms can be obtained from the Membership Secretary, American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

At its meeting on September 28, 1975, the AHA Council authorized the Executive Director to relocate the editorial direction of the American Historical Review at Indiana University. The transfer of responsibility is now being effected. The Interim Editor at Indiana University is Robert F. Byrnes; the Interim Associate Editor is Robert E. Quirk. The address is Ballantine Hall, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47401. The new editorial staff began work on January 1, 1976, and will be responsible for the June 1976 and subsequent issues.

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TIMOTHY E. ANNA is associate professor of history at the University of Manitoba. He has published articles on various aspects of Mexican and Peruvian independence,

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History as a Moral Science

GORDON WRIGHT

Some years ago, a young American historian undertook the somewhat ghoulish task of unearthing all of the presidential addresses delivered before the American Historical Association during the first fifty years of its existence.1 His purpose, in addition to earning the doctorate, was to discover the kinds of issues that confronted the profession during that half century—or, at least, the issues that presidents of the association thought to be of central importance. Occasionally these addresses created a mild stir of interest, and even some discussion; a few endured to be read and reread by later generations, as milestones or monuments of the historiographical enterprise. More commonly, they inspired such comments as that of Carl Becker shortly after the 1936 convention: "I went to Providence for the meeting of the A.H.A.—a terrible crush of about 1000 registrations: difficult to see anyone except by accident. . . . McIlwain didn't do himself justice in the Pres. Ad.: but then very few do."2

The history of this particular ritual thus offers at least one warning: those who practice it might do well not to take their pronouncements as the voice of God or the crystallized wisdom of the ages. It may be significant that AHA custom calls on the president to speak ex cathedra not at the outset of his term of office but at the very end, only forty-eight hours before he "passes into history," as the saying goes. By that time it is much too late for him to make promises, to influence the association's future course, or even to be held to answer for his stewardship or for such sophistries as his swan song may contain. He is allowed one Parthian shot—a gesture that no doubt has symbolic value, but that wins few battles, and rarely creates enduring legends.

How, then, should one perform this ritual most expeditiously and constructively? Seeking guidance from past practice, I find that presidential addresses seem to fall into one of three broad categories: those that reminisce, in the fashion of "forty years on"; those that embody the fruits of specialized scholarship; and those that seek to advance a cause or convey a message. The first sort possesses a nostalgic charm and provides the audience with a

¹ Herman Ausubel, Historians and Their Craft (New York, 1950).
² Becker to Leo and Ida Gershoy, Feb. 7, 1937, in "What Is the Good of History?" Selected Letters of Carl L. Becker, 1900-1945, ed. Michael Kammen (Ithaca, 1973), 252.

tranquil evening. The second, much favored over the years, takes the form of a learned essay focused on the speaker's own special field, offered as a gemlike miniature, a model of the mature research and reflection to which we all aspire, a tribute to the seriousness of learning. When performed with mastery, such a presentation may inspire historians far beyond the limited field of the speaker himself. It has the further merit of insulating the speaker against serious criticism and thus ensuring him a quiet departure from office, undisturbed by ironic witticisms or cries of outrage.

The third variety of presidential pronouncement involves more serious risks. It seeks to identify a broad issue that cuts across many fields of history, that relates to what most of us do in our professional capacity, and that either opens a new debate or, more commonly, reopens an old one. It poses a question that has been, either consciously or subconsciously, nagging at the speaker's psyche and at those of at least some of his fellow historians. Its tone can range from the calmly reflective through the confidently prescriptive to the downright preachy. It may stir up a storm; it may fade quietly into the night, like any puff of hot air. The record shows that the association has seen and heard a considerable variety of manifestoes of this sort.

A title such as "History as a Moral Science" clearly belongs in the "message" category, and probably in its more preachful subdivision. Furthermore, it may seem almost recklessly provocative. The idea of consciously reintroducing the moral dimension into history runs counter to the basic training of most historians, and probably to their professional instinct as well. Each of us has some strong views on the general subject of morality; each of us knows the dangers involved in making moral judgments in our work, or even suggesting a need for them. Worse still, a phrase like "moral science" has both a paradoxical and an anachronistic ring; it evokes the Victorian era, the times of Mill, Emerson, and Acton, when life was real and earnest and when coupling the words "moral" and "science" did not yet seem a case of illegal miscegenation. True, the phrase has survived in vestigial form into our own day: witness the French and the Belgian Academies of Moral and Political Sciences, which include historians within their ranks though whether they belong to the political or moral branch is not entirely clear. But even the members of those academies, I suspect, would no longer try to argue very vigorously for resurrecting the phrase "moral science" unless they happen to have a taste for the archaic.

ALTHOUGH PRESIDENTS OF THIS ASSOCIATION have often prescribed or preached from this podium, it has been a long time since one ventured rashly into the swamps of moral and value judgments. Henry Charles Lea did it in 1903, entitling his much-quoted address "Ethical Values in History" — and prudently absenting himself from the convention while the corresponding

³ Henry Charles Lea, "Ethical Values in History," AHR, 9 (1903-04): 233-46.

secretary read out his speech. Lea's message, however, was not a defense but a denunciation of the thesis that the historian should make moral judgments. His target was that géant terrible, Lord Acton, who had just proclaimed the historian's duty to "suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong." Acton had excoriated those historians who gloss over crimes of past eras: "The strong man with the dagger," he declared, "is followed by the weak man with the sponge." Acton was dreadfully wrong, said Lea; moral standards change from one epoch to another; though we may sometimes feel righteous indignation, we must "strenuously repress it as a luxury to be left to [the] reader"; we must not write history "as a Sunday-school tale for children of larger growth." Lea's audience was receptive; after all, he was only saying what the standard manuals of historical method had already begun to assert as the orthodoxy of a scientific age. Lea's immediate successor, Goldwin Smith (an Actonian) entered a mild objection, suggesting that Lea's stance would, as Smith put it, "destroy the identity of the moral law";7 but this was only a glancing and ineffective blow, and the issue virtually disappeared from later presidential addresses—as it did also from manuals of historical method thereafter. There was a curious interlude in 1923 when Edward P. Cheyney told the association that in his search for laws of history (the historian's true function, he declared), he had detected one called the "law of moral progress"; he added, as a kind of rider, the curious dictum that "the people" are "always more moral than their rulers."8 And in 1949 Conyers Read returned to the problem in a considerably different context. He spoke at the height of the cold war and in a crusading spirit. He declared that the time was past for neutrality. "Total war . . . enlists everyone"; historians, like all others, must be mobilized in defense of our society's standards and ideals. Certain fundamental values must be recognized as beyond dispute. "This sounds like the advocacy of one form of social control as against another. In short, it is. But I see no alternative in a divided world. . . . The important thing is that we shall accept and endorse such controls as are essential for the preservation of our way of life." True, he declared that "this need not imply any deliberate distortion of the past"; but, he added, we must remember that not everything we learn about the past "is appropriate for broadcasting at street corners." Perhaps it is not surprising that during the quarter century since Read's time, presidents of this association have once again given a wide berth to issues of morality and values in history. 10

⁴ Lord Acton, "Inaugural Lecture on the Study of History," in Essays in the Liberal Interpretation of History, ed. William H. McNeill (Chicago, 1967), 351.

⁵ Quoted in G. M. Trevelyan, "Bias in History," *History*, 32 (1947): 12.

Lea, "Ethical Values in History," 237.
Goldwin Smith, "The Treatment of History," AHR, 10 (1904-05): 513.

⁸ Edward P. Cheyney, "Laws in History," AHR, 29 (1923-24): 244.
9 Conyers Read, "Social Responsibilities of the Historian," AHR, 55 (1949-50): 283-84. Read's blunt remarks continue to haunt his memory; the most recent evidence is a Soviet report presented at the Fourteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences in San Francisco, August 1975: A. T. Danilov et

al., "History and Society," 44.
 Louis Gottschalk and Dexter Perkins might be considered partial exceptions. Gottschalk barely

But if official pronouncements, as well as orthodox manuals, have largely been silent, some individual historians in recent years have felt the impulse to re-examine the problem—either because it presents a persistent intellectual challenge, or because their teaching function forces them to confront it.11 Neither our audience nor the condition of the world in which we live any longer allows us the luxury of escape into a Proustian cork-lined ivory tower free of dust, microbes, and values. Those historians who have grappled with the subject in print are most often scholars of philosophic or methodological bent. But for the rest of us, especially in our classroom role, the theoretical debate—basic though it is—may be less crucial than the practical dilemmas forced upon us in a time of ideological conflict and intense moral ambiguity. No doubt those of us who profess contemporary history have found the dilemma sharpest; whoever must deal with the more brutal aspects of the Hitler or Stalin era, or with the devastating mass impact of mechanized total war, finds it hard to restrain some expression of that righteous indignation outlawed by Henry Charles Lea. But it is not only the contemporary historian who may feel a twinge of self-doubt about his educational role at this point in time. The issue was stated most bluntly at the height of the Watergate

touched on the inescapability of moral judgments by the historian. "A Professor of History in a Quandary," AHR, 59 (1953-54): 277-78. Perkins, in the only presidential address focused entirely on the historian as teacher, argued briefly but cogently that "we need not be afraid to speak of moral values," and urged attention by teachers to "the majestic example set by some of the great figures of our history, or all history." "We Shall Gladly Teach," AHR, 62 (1956-57): 309, 302.

11 Among the recent attempts by American historians to grapple with this problem, I have found John

Higham's essay, "Beyond Consensus: The Historian as Moral Critic," especially congenial and provocative. AHR, 67 (1961-62): 609-25. Other stimulating treatments include Henry Steele Commager, "Should the Historian Sit in Judgment?" in his The Search for a Usable Past (New York, 1967); T. P. Donovan, Historical Thought in America (Norman, 1973); David Hackett Fischer, Historians' Fallacies (New York, 1970); J. H. Hexter, Doing History (Bloomington, 1971); Edward A. Purcell, Jr., The Crisis of Democratic Theory (Lexington, 1973); Page Smith, The Historian and History (New York, 1964); Hugh Stretton, The Political Sciences (New York, 1969); P. E. Tillinghast, The Specious Past (Reading, Mass., 1972); Gene Wise, American Historical Explanations (Homewood, Ill., 1973); Howard Zinn, The Politics of History (Boston, 1970). In Britain, the debate has gone on sporadically ever since the famous controversy between Mandell Creighton and Acton, which constitutes a kind of locus classicus. The most recent phase was inaugurated by Herbert Butterfield's philippic against "Moral Judgments in History" in his History and Human Relations (New York, 1952), answered by the philosopher Isaiah Berlin in Historical Inevitability (London, 1955). Other voices include those of Geoffrey Barraclough, History in a Changing World (Oxford, 1957); C. V. Wedgwood, Truth and Opinion: Historical Essays (London, 1960); David Knowles, The Historian and Character (Cambridge, 1963); E. H. Carr, What Is History? (New York, 1963); and G. R. Elton, The Practice of History (London, 1969). Professional philosophers have written extensively on the more technical aspects of the problem and have been inclined, as William H. Dray points out, to ask different questions. Historians, he remarks, usually proceed in a quasi-psychological manner, debating whether man's nature will permit value neutrality in practice. Philosophers, on the other hand, want to know whether value judgments "enter into the very structure of historical inquiry." For an excellent brief summary and bibliography, see Dray, "History and Value Judgments," in Paul Edwards, ed., Encyclopedia of Philosophy (New York, 1967), 4: 26-30; Dray's pamphlet Philosophy of History (Englewood Cliffs, 1964) contains a somewhat fuller version. Two recent and provocative philosophical treatments are G. R. Grice, The Grounds of Moral Judgment (Cambridge, 1967), and Richard M. Hare, Applications of Moral Philosophy (London, 1972). Grice attempts to distinguish between two kinds of obligation: "basic" (the essentially legalistic sector of morality) and "ultra" (the ethical part of morality, beyond the legal minimum). For questions of the former sort, he argues, professional "moral scientists" are required; the second sort, which involve human character and must be settled by insight and reflection, are not susceptible to scientific analysis and are properly in the province of nonscientific types like novelists—and, presumably, historians. The Fourteenth International Congress of Historical Sciences at San Francisco gave a featured place to a session on "Value Reference and Value Judgments in Historiography," with the principal report presented by A. G. Weiler of the Netherlands.

melodrama by the eminent literary critic Henri Peyre: "Those of us who have been entrusted with the education of the young may well ask ourselves a harrowing question: Have we failed lamentably to impart any moral sense, any critical spirit to those whom we have instructed?" Those involved in Watergate and related escapades, Peyre pointed out, were not slum-born mafiosi but men who have enjoyed the most advanced educational opportunities offered by our society; more than most others, they should have had a sophisticated grasp of basic values and should have been clearly aware of their moral responsibilities. 12 Yet these highly privileged public officials apparently emerged from our universities as moral illiterates or astigmatics, and even after their disgrace they often appeared bewildered or angry rather than chastened and contrite. Thus one former presidential adviser, after the White House roof had fallen in, accused the public and the media of having set moral standards for public servants that are "really mythical," and clinched his case by asking rhetorically, "Would you rather have a competent scoundrel or an honest boob in office?"13

For us as historians the question is whether we as professionals bear any responsibility for bringing on such a state of affairs, and, as a corollary, whether we are obligated to do anything about it. Facing up to such questions involves a venture into a kind of no man's land, liberally strewn with booby traps and dead bodies. I take some comfort, however, in recalling that at least one other historian once found himself in a similar predicament. Carl Becker wrote to a friend in the summer of 1931: "Now I will have to get to work again: . . . the completion of the blasted presidential address. I had it 2/3 finished in June, and then it stuck. I don't know how to end it." But in the end, end it he did; and so must his successors, even if less triumphantly.

Surely few of us here, and few of our critics either, would hold the historians solely or principally to blame for the moral transgressions of certain public officials, or for the more pervasive ethical confusion that seems to suffuse our age. The fact that some unscrupulous men have made their way into high places and have misused their power is of course not new; nor does it necessarily mean that we historians helped put them there, or that we could somehow have prevented their misdeeds. We might therefore choose to disclaim all responsibility, charging the fault to those in our society who profess to be its moral guides, or to the obtuseness of our former students who failed to penetrate the message hidden somewhere in our unbiased teaching. But that—as a fellow Californian liked to say—would be the easy way. Whether we enjoy it or not, we must ask ourselves whether we bear a more diffused kind of responsibility. Some critics assert that we historians, by insisting over the years that moral standards are relative across cultures and over time, have

Henri Peyre, letter to the editor, New York Times, May 30, 1973.
 J. Fred Buzhardt, quoted in the New York Times, Mar. 12, 1975.
 Becker to Gershoy [summer 1931], in "What Is the Good of History?" 145.

seriously undermined our own capacities—and a fortiori those of our students—to make moral judgments of any kind. In eschewing the horrors of moral rhetoric, they say, we have drifted into a moral vacuum; to avoid the charge of moral self-righteousness, we have preferred simply to abdicate. True, we have clothed our conduct in attractive garb: we speak of detachment, open-mindedness, tolerance, understanding. But beneath these euphemisms, the critics say, abdication is the essential reality. Twenty years ago our regretted colleague Raymond Sontag was already warning us about this trend: "We historians," he wrote, "have worked so hard to eliminate passion and fanaticism from our thinking, that we have forgotten how to describe a way of life dominated by passion and fanaticism, and actions which are evil." And C. V. Wedgwood added a further admonition: "History dispassionately recorded," she declared, "nearly always sounds harsh and cynical. History is not a moral tale, and the effect of telling it without comment is, inevitably, to underline its worst features: the defeat of the weak by the strong, the degeneration of ideals, the corruption of institutions, the triumph of intelligent self-interest." History thus presented, she warned, was likely to produce a mood of cynicism among those exposed to it-a mood that might well suggest that political leaders can only be either competent scoundrels or honest boobs. It might even suggest that Leo Durocher's law about nice guys finishing last has some kind of universal and timeless validity.

For a long time, of course, historians comforted themselves with the thought that dispassionate value-free history would somehow secrete its own moral lessons, or would at least ensure that those who study it would be led somewhat automatically to sensible and judicious conclusions. Thus Henry Charles Lea, after delivering his thunderbolts against Acton, could conclude that history "may and it generally will, convey a moral, but that moral should educe itself from the facts." Most of us today are a bit less sanguine about the automatic nature of the process, yet the idea does persist that the path from raw data to sophisticated judgment needs no guideposts along the route. And even when we are not so sure that the process is easy or automatic, the alternative—guideposts suggested by the historian, functioning as a moral critic as well as a purveyor of facts-continues to be seen as either illegitimate or ineffective. Thus Henry Steele Commager, after a thoughtful look at both horns of the dilemma, concludes that moral judgments are both "arrogant" and "futile," and he denies that readers need the historian's "moral instruction"; while the Belgian scholar Jean Stengers warns that even when the historian's moral judgments are solidly founded upon a thorough and dispassionate study of the evidence, they are likely to undermine his purpose because his audience will suspect him of grinding an ax. The historian's best hope of being morally effective, Stengers concludes, is to provide a living

¹⁵ Raymond J. Sontag, "The Democracies and the Dictators since 1933," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 98 (Philadelphia, 1954): 317.

Wedgwood, Truth and Opinion, 52.
 Lea, "Ethical Values in History," 237.

example of respect for the one "fragile" value that transcends all others—absolute respect for the truth. ¹⁸ The case he makes is a remarkably compelling one, yet somehow it leaves one vaguely unsatisfied.

This recent process of soul searching has been confined mainly, I suspect, to those of us who find our identity somewhere in the so-called liberal tradition, broadly defined. Our conservative colleagues—at least those who are selfconsciously conservative—have had it easier; a good many of them have always been quite openly committed to a system of absolute values, religiously or ethically based, by which the events of the past can be confidently judged without the least embarrassment. On the left, many self-styled radical historians have vigorously asserted the idea of a committed history, either because they too possess a coherent Weltanschauung with something like its own absolutes, or because they view history instrumentally, as a tool to achieve social and political change. Both the conservative and the radical positions obviously have their legitimate place in the educational process, so long as neither is imposed as unchallengeable dogma. But the liberals among us-even the "closet liberals" who are reluctant to bear the stigma of a shopworn label—continue to be haunted by our pluralistic, skeptical, antidogmatic heritage, our rejection of absolutes, our distaste for anything that might look like indoctrination. The result, it seems to me, is that while many students of history may be exposed these days to vigorous and confident expositors of either the conservative or the radical value system, they rarely receive any clear vision of the past as it appears in the light of liberal values. I am sometimes tempted to think that we liberals have been re-enacting the charge of the Light Brigade: while cannon volley and thunder to the right and to the left of us, we ourselves gallop on in a cloud of dust, unsure just which way is forward, and shouting to those who follow us to study the map and draw their own conclusions. If part of an educator's responsibility is to offer some sort of positive guidance, then perhaps it is true that many of us have unthinkingly abdicated.

True, there are critics who doubt that the abdication has been real—that we have actually practiced the dispassionate objectivity that we preach. "Our smartest radicals," remarked Carl Becker more than forty years ago, "suspect [the liberal] of being an agent provacateur [sic] of Capitalism, while conservatives of ancient lineage treat [him] as a Bolshevik masquerading in a rented dress suit." The leading spokesman of the New Left detects beneath the sham of open-mindedness a hidden vice: support of "the Existing Institution." A talented young American historian, arguing the case of the Annales school, charges that "American historical writing still largely consists of parochial and moralistic studies of events, policies, and individuals," and

20 William Appleman Williams, History as a Way of Learning (New York, 1973), 162.

¹⁸ Commager, Search for a Usable Past, 300-22; Jean Stengers, "Quelques réflexions sur le jugement moral en histoire," Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques, 5th ser., 58 (1972-75): 189-205.

⁵th ser., 58 (1972-75): 189-205.

19 Carl L. Becker, "The Dilemma of Liberals in Our Time," in Detachment and the Writing of History: Essays and Letters of Carl L. Becker, ed. Phil L. Snyder (Ithaca, 1958), 188.

proceeds to consign both liberals and Marxists to oblivion as exponents of a dead morality.²¹ We liberals thus stand accused in various quarters of violating our own professed standards, and acting in reality (to borrow Heinz Hartmann's phrase) as "hidden preachers."²²

Whether our real fault is hypocrisy or abdication, those of us in the liberal tradition—a sizable remnant still, though probably an endangered species feel most keenly the whiplash of this particular dilemma. Not all of us will be ready to change our ways—to risk giving up our accustomed armor, that somewhat gray and aloof neutrality (or costume of neutrality) that has been so comfortably protective. Some of us will not find it easy to abandon our indulgent fascination for the charismatic rascals and the melodramatic episodes in history—an indulgence that adds some more vivid colors to the basic gray, thus enlivening our prose and awakening our drowsy students. Nor will all of us readily shake free from the temptation to fix cynically on the flaws and foibles of every leader, nation, age, or professed ideal, to the point that the very words "moral" and "value" take on ironic overtones. Furthermore, it would be self-defeating if all liberal historians were to forswear the ideal of dispassionate Wertfreiheit, for out of that tradition have come—and will doubtlessly continue to come—some of the most impressive products of our profession.

Nevertheless, I believe that a case can be made for relegitimizing the writing and teaching of history by liberals whose model is neither the neutral scientist nor the "hidden preacher" but the exponent of a self-conscious and coherent value system. If one purpose of historical study is to broaden and enrich the minds of students so that they can shape their own values and arrive at their own judgments (as I think they should), that purpose is likely to be best served if they are offered not only raw data and quantified facts, but also broad exposure to various mature interpretations of the past. The liberal interpretation belongs in that spectrum: indeed, perhaps more so today than ever before. In an age of unprecedented complexity, when ideological fanaticism, sporadic bursts of tribal fury, and the advocacy of "realism" in both its crude and its sophisticated form put world stability and even human existence at risk, the liberal temper may offer the nearest thing to a set of guideposts through the mine field. Its rejection of a black-and-white world in which the battalions of good and evil line up in serried ranks; its awareness of ambiguity as a profound and pervasive presence in human affairs; its respect for such qualities as skepticism, tolerance, fair-mindedness, and what George

²¹ Richard M. Andrews, review of Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, tr. Sian Reynolds (New York, 1972-73), in the New York *Times Book Review*, May 18, 1975.

<sup>1975.

&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Heinz Hartmann, *Psychoanalysis and Moral Values* (New York, 1960), 23. A curious insight into American historians' current attitudes toward proselyting in the classroom is provided by the recent report of the AHA's Committee on the Rights of Historians, mimeographed (Princeton, 1974). The committee found, on the basis of eight thousand questionnaires circulated in 1971, that members of our profession are sharply divided about their ethical obligations toward students. "Only 49.5% of the respondents thought it impermissible to introduce extraneous material for purposes of indoctrination" (p. 10). This issue is not quite the same as that of expressing value judgments, which surely need not be "extraneous." But the report would seem to indicate that a good bit of open as well as hidden preaching has been going on. The data permit no correlations between the responses and the various value systems of the respondents.

Orwell called (for want of a more precise term) "decency"—these traits combine to make up a world view that in some ways overlaps those of the radical or the conservative, but that possesses its own integrity, its central core of values by which to judge the past and to relate that past to the present.

To argue this case is of course to be immediately suspect. Does it not imply a return to what someone has called "nineteenth-century pieties and platitudes," to the indoctrination of students through the use of selective evidence, and to a downgrading of the search for truth and understanding as the historian's highest goal? The answer, I think, is that it surely can lead to any or all of these abuses, if misused; but I see no reason to consider such misuse unavoidable. There are dangers built into all stances toward the teaching and writing of history, including the stance called perfect neutrality. Indeed, the liberal historian who applies his values honestly and consistently will be more likely than any other to take pains to consider all the evidence and all alternative interpretations before advancing and defending his own view of the past. What too many of us have hesitated to do, I believe, is to take that final step—to risk a conclusion, to make a judgment, to advance and defend our view of how things were, and why, and what this meant to people of the time, and what it means to people of today.

Clearly there have been some exceptions: some liberals who have not hesitated to assert their values and to let those values suffuse their work as well as their personal conduct. Most of us could probably name a few from among our friends and acquaintances. To offer you my own list would be in egregiously bad taste, but perhaps I may risk one example—partly because of the subject matter involved, but more because of the spirit of the work. A recent volume of essays entitled The Failure of Illiberalism deals with society and the state in Imperial Germany; it argues persuasively that the fundamental liberal values were badly stunted in the Germany of that era, and that the result was unfortunate all round. The analysis is not neutral or colorless; it clearly reflects, as one reviewer put it, the author's own system of values—his belief in "the institutionalization of decency, political playfulness, persuasion, debate, and tolerant dissent."23 Subject and spirit are harmoniously woven together; the author's value base, vigorously held and clearly implicit throughout, inspired the writing of the book and gives the work its originality and force. Such an example provides evidence that consciously liberal history can be written without preaching or distortion, and that'it can give us a deepened understanding of a sensitive and controversial subject.

Liberal historians, I believe, also have some obligation to counteract that "competent scoundrel versus honest boob" syndrome that they have unwittingly helped to implant in the public mind. A highly respected teacher of mine (himself a liberal) used to enjoy remarking that "in politics, a man must know how to rise above principle"—something that he himself, in fact,

²³ Peter Loewenberg, review of Fritz Stern, *The Failure of Illiberalism* (New York, 1972), in *AHR*, 78 (1973): 119.

would never have thought of doing. Perhaps so. Still, all but the most hardcore cynics among us can surely come up with examples of public figures who steadfastly refused the temptation to "rise above principle." True, the liberal historian is not likely to portray any historical figure as a spotless saint, for he is normally inclined to see men and women as paradoxical mixturescreatures driven by contradictory impulses, not specimens of pure gold or dross.24 Yet even if such complexity is the human condition, it still leaves room for the occasional Abraham Lincoln, or Tomáš Masaryk, or Jean Jaurès. Abandoned to the cynic or the ideologue, the Lincolns and Masaryks and Jaurèses can be-and have been-adroitly transmuted into neurotic hypocrites, self-serving bourgeois, or "honest boobs"; but when considered with sympathy in the light of liberal values they emerge as men whose predominant traits would be regarded as virtues in any age, men who both spoke and acted in defense of the highest of human aspirations. What student of history will not respond to a figure like Jaurès, if offered the opportunity to see him as his admirers did, and as some of us still do? Untouched by vanity, arrogance, or a thirst for power, deeply committed to the Orwellian principle of "decency" (he preferred to call it "integrity"), Jaurès dedicated his enormous energies and talents to what he saw as the cause of human justice. Weighted down by a backbreaking load of obligations as parliamentary leader, newspaper editor, traveling salesman for social democracy, crusader for peace, and spare-time historian, Jaurès in those hectic prewar years could somehow still find time to accept a university's invitation to lecture on the life and work of Leo Tolstoy. The words of the lecture were his own, not those of a professional speech writer; and they culminated thus:

In our narrow, confined existence, we tend to forget the essence of life. . . . All of us, whatever our occupation or class, are equally guilty: the employer is lost in the running of his business; the workers, sunk in the abyss of their misery, raise their heads only to cry in protest; we, the politicians, are lost in daily battles and corridor intrigues. All of us forget that before everything else, we are men, ephemeral beings lost in the immense universe, so full of terrors. We are inclined to neglect the search for the real meaning of life, to ignore the real goals—serenity of the spirit and sublimity of the heart. . . . To reach them—that is the revolution.²⁶

Do such impassioned words, does such a dedicated life suggest that we are dealing with just another "honest boob"? Some would say so, and their version continues to be heard.²⁶ But that version is hardly the inescapable terminus of the historian's search for objective truth. Figures like Jaurès are too rare and too important to be left to the cynics or even to the hard-core "realists"; they need to be viewed in the light of liberal values as well, if their real historical significance is to be fully understood.

²⁴ Liberal historians may not agree with all of Alexandr Solzhenitsyn's public statements, but they are likely to respond to this passage: "If only it were all so simple! If only there were evil people somewhere insidiously committing evil deeds, and it were necessary only to separate them from the rest of us and destroy them. But the line dividing good and evil cuts through the heart of every human being. And who is willing to destroy a piece of his own heart?" The Gulag Archipelago, tr. Thomas P. Whitney (New York, 1973), 168.

²⁵ Quoted in Harvey Goldberg, *The Life of Jean Jaurès* (Madison, 1962), 415–16.

²⁶ For example, Jaurès emerges from Guy Chapman's treatment in The Dreyfus Case (London, 1955) as a

DAVID HACKETT FISCHER, in his provocative catalog of historians' sins, has warned us against what he calls the "moralistic fallacy," which, he says, would make history once again the handmaid of moral philosophy—a goal that appeals primarily, says Professor Fischer, to "hairy graduate students."27 Herbert Butterfield has strongly conditioned us against what he called "pseudomoral judgments, masquerading as moral ones, mixed and muddy affairs, part prejudice, part political animosity, with a dash of ethical flavoring wildly tossed into the concoction."28 And John Clive reminds us that Macaulay (of all people) once wrote, "We know no spectacle so ridiculous as the British public in one of its periodical fits of morality."29 Many of my professional colleagues may find that I have been seized by one of those fits, and that I am proposing to sell our birthright for a mess of moralistic pottage. I confess that it is hard to escape a sense of awkwardness after a lifetime of trying to conform to the standards of scientific detachment. Still, as Hugh Stretton reminds us, "Moral abstinence [is] a moral act like any other"; and John Higham adds the pertinent conclusion that what we ought to be after is "thoroughgoing moral criticism" rather than "impressionistic moral judgments."30. It may be the times we live in, or it may be incipient senility, that prods one against his better judgment into reflecting on some of the essentials, and into wondering, as Carl Becker used to do, "what is the good of history?" A valued French colleague remarked to me not long ago that such a question is "terribly American" and asserted that so long as there is a market for what we do, the question is irrelevant. Besides, he added, the question reflects the fact that most Americans are much too moralistic; what they need, for their own and the world's repose, is a large dash of cynicism. He may be right. Yet somehow I remain unregenerate. Perhaps it is a buried aspect of that old liberal heritage, so much maligned in our day; or perhaps it is a surviving spark of an evangelical upbringing. It has not yet driven me to the point of urging that we resurrect the label "moral science" as a category within which our profession might find its proper place. But it does impel me to think that for some of us at least, our search for truth ought to be quite consciously suffused by a commitment to some deeply held humane values. The effort to keep these two goals in balance may be precarious; but if we can manage it, perhaps we will be on the way to re-establishing the role of history as oneand not the least-of what we might fairly call the moral arts.

somewhat ridiculous windbag: "Like many Socialist leaders, he was a bourgeois, and a comfortably situated bourgeois. The things he valued had little interest for the mass of the workers. Like other bourgeois Socialists he wanted to transform them into simulacra of himself, concerned for what he would call the higher values. . . . There are no reforms to which the name of Jaurès is attached. Nothing save eloquence" (p. 330). Nothing save eloquence, indeed! One does not have to descend into hagiography to portray the powerful contemporary impact not only of Jaurès's oratory but also of his personality, his human qualities, and the enduring hold of the Jaurès legend since his day.

²⁷ Fischer, Historians' Fallacies, 78-79.

²⁸ Butterfield, History and Human Relations, 114.

²⁹ Quoted in John Clive, Macaulay: The Shaping of the Historian (New York, 1973), 493. ³⁰ Stretton, The Political Sciences, 31-32; Higham, "Beyond Consensus," 622.

Coming to Terms with Samuel Adams

PAULINE MAIER

When John Adams reflected on how future historians would remember his cousin Samuel, he was filled with forebodings. Samuel Adams's character "will never be accurately known to posterity," he wrote, "as it was never sufficiently known to its own age." And on October 3, 1803, the day after Samuel Adams's death, a Salem clergyman confided very similar observations to his diary. Adams seemed to have "an impenetrable secrecy," the Reverend William Bentley claimed; he was "feared by his enemies" yet remained "too secret to be loved by his friends."

The accuracy of these statements is open to question. They are nonetheless arresting because both observers knew Samuel Adams in life, yet found in him an elusiveness that has evaded his biographers. As the nation moved further from Samuel Adams's lifetime, portraits of him became increasingly confident, even stereotypic, and hostile. There could be no better occasion than this Bicentennial year to re-examine the standard interpretation of Adams, to see how it evolved, to evaluate it against historical evidence, and to reflect on whatever dissonance emerges. The results are important because they open the way for a far different understanding of Adams and, beyond that, of the curious way Americans have recalled their revolutionary past.

ALL STUDIES OF SAMUEL ADAMS turn about one central observation—that his career climaxed in 1776. The son of a Boston maltster, Samuel followed his father into the politics of his town and province. He became a member and soon clerk of the Massachusetts assembly, a leader of the Boston town meeting, and an important person in the informal or extralegal local political groups of the late colonial period. A friend, if not a member, of the Loyal Nine, a club that became Boston's Sons of Liberty in the Stamp Act crisis, he

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John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, Quincy, May 27, 1819, in The Adams-Jefferson Letters, ed. Lester J. Cappon, vol. 2: 1812-1826 (Chapel Hill, 1959), 541; Bentley, diary, Oct. 3, 1803, in The Diary of William

Bentley, D.D. (Salem, 1911), 3: 49.

was a leading supporter of the nonimportation effort that opposed the Townshend duties, a spokesman for the town in its effort to expel royal troops after the "massacre," the organizer of Boston's Committee of Correspondence, and an important participant in the province's transition from regular to revolutionary government. He served as a delegate to the Continental Congress and signed the Declaration of Independence.

During these years, both in guiding Massachusetts through the decade before independence and in forging a durable intercolonial union, his importance was of the first rank. Thomas Jefferson called him "truly the Man of the Revolution"; John Adams said he was "born and tempered a wedge of steel to split the knot of lignum vitae" that tied North America to Great Britain. His exclusion, along with that of John Hancock, from General Thomas Gage's proclamation of amnesty in 1774 established and heightened his fame, perhaps, as Mercy Warren suggested, beyond what was justified by his actual abilities and contributions. "Everybody in Europe knows he was one of the prime movers of the late Revolution," the marquis de Chastellux noted in 1780. Little wonder, then, that upon his arrival in France John Adams had found himself constantly confounded with "le Fameux Adams"—cousin Samuel.²

Considering his age when independence was declared, Samuel Adams might well have played a less critical role in the Revolution thereafter. He was fifty-four in 1776, that is, ten years the senior of George Washington, thirteen of John Adams; he was twenty-one years older than Thomas Jefferson, twenty-nine than James Madison, thirty-three than Alexander Hamilton. Yet he served tirelessly on committees of the Continental Congress from its outset until 1781, a period in which the administrative as well as legislative burden of the new nation was borne by a handful of harried delegates. He then returned to Massachusetts, never to leave again. He was chosen president of the Massachusetts senate, lieutenant governor, then governor, an office to which he first succeeded on the death of John Hancock in 1793 and then was himself elected in 1794, 1795, and 1796. These latter offices were, however, granted him partly in recognition of earlier services, which were acknowledged by his current political opponents. Even those who refused to vote for Adams as governor, John Eliot testified in 1809, thought "he did worthily in those times, when instead of building up a government suited to the condition of a people, we had only to pull down a government becoming every day more tyrannical." Yet "from his age, habits, and local prejudice," Samuel Adams seemed to many unsuited "to mingle with politicians of a later period, whose views must necessarily be more comprehensive, and whose object was to restrain rather than give a loose to popular feelings."3

² Jefferson quoted in John C. Miller, Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda (Boston, 1936), 343; John Adams to William Tudor, Quincy, June 5, 1817, and Adams, diary, Feb. 11, 1779, in The Works of John Adams, ed. Charles F. Adams (Boston, 1850-56), 10: 263; 3: 189-90; Mercy Warren, History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution (Boston, 1805), 1: 211-12; François-Jean, marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782, ed. Howard C. Rice, Jr. (Chapel Hill, 1963), 1: 142.

³ John Eliot, A Biographical Dictionary (Salem, 1807), 7.

Samuel Adams's image as a troublemaker, which later generations would develop—a master at pulling down government, at loosing the passions of the people—was already there when Eliot wrote. But another theme was equally, and perhaps more, persistent in the early nineteenth century: Adams was "austere . . . rigid . . . opinionated." "His conversation was in praise of old times, his manners were austere, his remarks never favourable to the rising generation." He belonged to another era, continuing to wear the tricorn hat of Revolutionary days, convinced that "the Puritans of New England were the men to set an example to the world." Eliot's observations were seconded by William Tudor, who was born in 1779, fifty-seven years after Adams, and found that Revolutionary leader a man of "too much sternness and pious bigotry." He was "a strict calvinist," Tudor wrote, "and probably, no individual of his day had so much the feelings of the ancient puritans." And so Samuel Adams was excluded from the pantheon of Revolutionary leaders around which Americans were asked to rally in the early nineteenth century. His first full biography, by William V. Wells, a descendant, was published only in 1865, more than a half century after John Marshall's Life of George Washington went to press and Mason Weems began producing his popular panegyrics to Washington and other Revolutionary heroes.5

John Adams noted this neglect with disapproval. "If the American Revolution was a blessing, and not a curse," he wrote in 1819, "the name and character of Samuel Adams ought to be preserved. It will bear a strict and critical examination even by the inveterate malice of his enemies. A systematic course has been pursued for thirty years to run him down." Constantly John defended Samuel, in conversations with the Englishman Richard Oswald against extravagant versions of "trouble-making"—"You may have been taught to believe . . . that he eats little children; but I assure you he is a man of humanity and candor"-and later against the more personal charges of William Tudor. If Samuel was stern, "a man in his situation and circumstances must possess a large fund of sternness of stuff, or he will soon be annihilated." As for bigotry, "he certainly had not more than Governor Hutchinson and Secretary Oliver," his old opponents, but "lived and conversed freely with all sectarians," never seeking to proselytize. Samuel was of course a Calvinist; "a Calvinist he had been educated, and so had been all his ancestors for two hundred years." Already, it seemed, interpretations of Samuel Adams were being distorted because a younger generation had lost touch with a world so soon gone and imposed upon the dead its own, more modern expectations. Yet John himself was responding to an issue that had only recently taken on importance: was, or was not, Samuel Adams a suitable

⁵ William V. Wells, The Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams (Boston, 1865); John Marshall, The Life of George Washington (Philadelphia, 1804-07); Mason Weems, The Life of Washington, ed. Marcus Cunliffe (1808; rpt., Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

⁴ Ibid., 6, 16; Stewart Beach, Samuel Adams: The Fateful Years, 1764-1776 (New York, 1965), 310; John Adams to William Tudor, Quincy, June 5, 1817, in Works of John Adams, 10: 262; William Tudor, The Life of James Otis (Boston, 1823), 274-75.

⁶ John Adams quoted in Wells, Samuel Adams, 1: v; John Adams, diary, Nov. 15, 1782, and Adams to Tudor, Quincy, June 5, 1817, in Works of John Adams, 3: 310, 10: 262.

national hero? To a large extent that problem remains central in writings about him, and so historians have had to consider not only the human reality of their subject, but also his appropriateness as a model for modern Americans.

When Wells finally wrote Samuel Adams's biography, he tried to undo the damage of neglect, to restore Adams's name as "a necessity to those who revere virtue and exalted patriotism." For Wells's generation, "the righteous principle of the Revolution" was assumed. It remained only to stress Adams's role. And so Wells accepted uncritically George Bancroft's assertion that Samuel was an early advocate of independence. Adams "knew no political creed but absolute, unconditional independence," Wells claimed. "'He hungered and thirsted after it' as an object of priceless attainment, in comparison to which all else on earth was of secondary importance," and in this he was distinguished from his colleagues in the revolutionary movement who sought to avert separation on into the 1770s. For Wells this was the stuff of heroism, and so he readily conceded that Samuel Adams was the "Arch Manager" of the revolutionary movement, the "Chief Incendiary." But did "all contemporary evidence" show that Adams deserved those titles, as Wells suggested? Royal officials and loyalist writers had long ascribed the revolutionary movement to a faction of disaffected colonists, but Samuel Adams was only one of several Americans they cited for seditious activities. Adams's later reputation owed much to Gage's proclamation, to the explicit accusations of a few loyalists, and to his Federalist opponents of the 1790s who found his sympathy for the French Revolution and Jeffersonianism in keeping with an earlier identity as "grand mob-leader during the Revolution." Wells shared the Federalists' distaste for contemporary upheaval: despite his toleration of colonial insurgency, he was anxious to dissociate Samuel Adams from the Southern Confederate "revolutionaries" of the mid-nineteenth century, which he accomplished by stressing Adams's understanding of federalism.⁷ James I. Hosmer's Samuel Adams (1885) remained in the nineteenth-century tradition of filiopietistic biographies: the author noted that his great-greatgrandfather had served with Samuel Adams in the revolutionary struggle. Adams remained a hero of sorts, but Hosmer was disturbed by the means

Wells, Samuel Adams, 2: 302-03; 1: vi; 3: 274-75, 351n. Cf. George Bancroft, A History of the United States (Boston, 1834-74), vol. 6 (10th ed.; Boston, 1859). For loyalist accusations of Samuel Adams, see particularly Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion: A Tory View, ed. Douglass Adair and John Schutz (Stanford, 1961), 39-41, and Joseph Galloway, Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion (London, 1780), 67-68. Professor Mary Beth Norton of Cornell University has suggested to me that loyalist writers cited Benjamin Franklin more often than Samuel Adams as arch conspirator of the American "rebellion." When in 1766 Thomas Hutchinson wrote of "our grand incendiary," he referred to James Otis, Jr., not Samuel Adams. So late as 1773 Adams appears in Hutchinson's correspondence only as a particularly influential member of a political faction allegedly disloyal to Britain. See Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, Boston, Nov. 16, 1766, and to Dartmouth, Oct. 9, 1773, Massachusetts Archives, State House, Boston, 26: 253; 27: 549-50. Historians also cite Hutchinson's statement that in 1765 Adams "owned, without reserve, in private discourse" that he sought independence "and from time to time made advances towards it in publick, so far as would serve the great purpose of attaining it." In context, however, it is clear Hutchinson meant that Adams sought an independence of Parliament's sovereignty, not of Britain more generally. See Hutchinson's History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay, ed. Lawrence S. Mayo (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 3: 96-97.

Adams used to convert his countrymen to independence, which, Hosmer wrote, he had "begun to cherish" in the 1760s. James Rivington's charge that Adams had a "Machiavellian streak in his character" seemed too strong, but like all New Englanders, Hosmer said, Adams "stooped now and then to a piece of sharp practice." This was "never for himself, but always for what he believed the public good." Still, it was a defect. The publication in 1773 of private letters by Governor Thomas Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor Andrew Oliver, Charles Paxton, and others was particularly cited as "the least defensible proceeding in which the patriots of New England were concerned during the Revolutionary struggle." "Nothing," Hosmer claimed, "can be more sly than the manoeuvering throughout." He in fact found it much easier to admire Hutchinson, whose biography he subsequently wrote.

From Hosmer's impatience with Yankee trickery, biographers became increasingly hostile toward Adams. His still unquestioned early commitment to independence rapidly lost heroic attributes. For Ralph Volney Harlow, whose Samuel Adams: Promotor of the American Revolution was published in 1923, all of Adams's actions seemed irrational, the effusions of a psyche described as neurotic, even psychotic. Before 1764, Harlow claimed, Adams had failed in all he tried, which produced "a pronounced conviction of inadequacy, or an 'inferiority complex.'" Then he drafted Boston's instructions to her legislative representatives and suddenly found a cause in the Anglo-American controversy. His "extraordinary activity after 1765" was explained "as the result of his unconscious efforts to satisfy his hunger for compensation, and to bring about a better adjustment to his environment." By implication, independence was attributed entirely to Adams's derangement—no real problems lay behind that event. "It was something inside, rather than outside which drove him on, something in the field of the unconscious." Adams turned to politics only to find "relief from his tiresome mental problems." Often, Harlow suggested, followers see their leader "as a heroic patriot, when he may be only a neurotic crank," one who, in this case, found it "easy . . . to manufacture public opinion with a pen."9

The notion that Samuel Adams somehow "manufactured" the Revolution by manipulating people appeared again four years later in Vernon Parrington's *Colonial Mind*. Parrington found Adams a "professional agitator," "an intriguing rebel against every ambition of the regnant order,"

⁹ Ralph Volney Harlow, Samuel Adams: Promoter of the American Revolution (New York, 1923), 36-38, 64, 65, 37.

⁸ James I. Hosmer, Samuel Adams (Boston, 1885; rpt., 1896), viii—ix, 68, 368-69, 229. See also, Hosmer, The Life of Thomas Hutchinson (Boston, 1896). For a full account of the affair of the Hutchinson letters, see Bernard Bailyn, The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), 223-57. In short, the letters were received from Benjamin Franklin with the stipulation that they not be published. On June 2, 1773, Adams read them to the assembly, which condemned them as an effort to overthrow the colony's constitution and introduce arbitrary rule. Exaggerated rumors of their contents circulated until even Andrew Oliver believed they should be published. Then on June 10 Adams reported to the legislature that a separate set of letters had appeared in Boston—clearly a ruse to bypass Franklin's restriction and to permit the publication of the letters, which was finally ordered on June 15. The published letters distorted Hutchinson's position, Bailyn suggests, because those letters that reached Boston had been selected in England several years earlier to buttress a political argument at odds with Hutchinson's views.

but could condone those roles since he believed Adams sought not only independence but, beyond that, a democratic republic. Doubts that ends could justify means soon reappeared, however. Manipulation was a central theme of John C. Miller's Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda (1936), which remains the most scholarly of modern biographies. Miller wrote of Adams "transforming American discontent into revolutionary fervor." He was the puppeteer who "brought the people to approve his schemes and pulled the wires that set the Boston town meeting in motion against royal government," who created the convention of towns in 1768 "as a steppingstone to a later usurpation of governmental power," and then "deliberately set out to provoke crises that would lead to the separation of mother country and colonies." Finally, "by transplanting the caucus from Faneuil Hall to Philadelphia," Adams, working behind the scenes, "directed every step toward independence." This interpretation was reduced to stereotype in the portrait of Samuel Adams prepared for Sibley's Harvard Graduates (1958) by Clifford Shipton, who accepted uncritically the accounts by Harlow and Miller and produced forty-five pages of contempt. Adams, Shipton wrote, "preached hate to a degree without rival" among New Englanders of his generation: "He taught his dog Queue to bite every Red Coat he saw, and took little children to the Commons to teach them to hate British soldiers."10

The tide may have begun to turn. In an article of 1960, William Appleman Williams quickly dismissed earlier explanations of Adams's politics, then sketched out the elements of a new and far more sympathetic interpretation. Williams argued, in short, that Adams "became a revolutionary . . . because he was a Calvinist dedicated to the ideal and the reality of a Christian corporate commonwealth." Five years later Stewart Beach's Samuel Adams: The Fateful Years broke with the major assumptions of Adams's previous biographers. Beach questioned whether Adams sought independence before, the mid-1770s. (Williams, by contrast, said Adams "clearly sought independence after 1769.") He acknowledged that Adams could not alone control Boston's Sons of Liberty and rejected outright the common notion that Adams was "a rabble-rousing demagogue who stood on street corners in Boston directing the mob." Beach, moreover, tried to depart from the entire framework of interpretation that was established in the early nineteenth century. "It is not necessary," he said, "to approach Samuel Adams as a hero to find him an intensely human and fascinating individual." Although on

¹⁰ Vernon Parrington, "Samuel Adams, The Mind of the American Democrat," in *The Colonial Mind*, 1620–1800 (New York, 1927), 233–47, especially 233; Miller, Sam Adams, 144, 152, 276, 342; Clifford Shipton, "Samuel Adams," in Sibley's Harvard Graduates (Boston, 1958), 10: 420–65, especially 463, 434. Shipton probably founded one of his accusations upon an incident involving John Quincy Adams. See John to Samuel Adams, Auteuil, France, Apr. 27, 1785: "The child whom you used to lead out into the Commons to see with detestation the British troops, and with pleasure the Boston militia, will have the honor to deliver you this letter. He has since seen the troops of most nations in Europe, without any ambition, I hope, of becoming a military man. He thinks of the bar and peace and civil life." Samuel considered the episode a lesson in patriotism, not hate. He replied from Boston, April 13, 1786, that "the child whom I led by the hand, with a particular design, I find is now becoming a promising youth. . . . If I was instrumental at that time of enkindling the sparks of patriotism in his tender heart, it will add to my consolation in the latest hour." Letters quoted in Wells, Samuel Adams, 3: 220.

many issues Beach's arguments were founded upon a closer sifting of evidence than were those of his predecessors, the biography he produced, like Williams's essay, did not cite its sources and has had no scholarly impact. 11

By contrast, Richard D. Brown's study of the Boston Committee of Correspondence (1970) is a book to be contended with by any who continue to hold what Charles W. Akers recently called "the myth of Sam Adams as the Boston dictator who almost singlehandedly led his colony into rebellion." Boston politics, Brown demonstrated, were a "mixture of planning and spontaneity." Similarly, the capital's relationship with outlying towns was too reciprocal, the restrictions on central leadership were too pervasive to justify any simple interpretation of politics founded upon Adams's control. Clearly events look different when historians, as Akers urged, "attribute to Samuel Adams only those actions, influences, intentions, and writings for which there is reasonably direct and certain evidence." Yet the older view persists—in books like Hiller Zobel's Boston Massacre (1970), which rejected in the person of Samuel Adams all who were concerned with "percolating public dissatisfaction with the established order"; in numerous books for children inspired by the Revolutionary Bicentennial; in the catalog for a special exhibition in Adams's home town on "Paul Revere's Boston," which identifies Adams as "a central figure in stirring up mob violence"; 18 in popular consciousness. Historians have, then, re-examined and questioned the socalled Adams myth, but have not yet abandoned or overturned it.

SAMUEL ADAMS WAS THE FIRST to seek American independence. He was a propagandist who manufactured the Revolution by techniques of mass manipulation. He was responsible for mobs and popular violence. These three propositions about Adams's political career have evolved slowly and powerfully to determine public views of him as a historic person. They have a particular fascination because his own writings and actions suggest more complex and, in some cases, directly contrary conclusions.

No revolutionary discovered independence. John Adams particularly laughed at the affectation of representing it as "a novel idea, . . . a late invention," since, he claimed, the idea of separation "sooner or later" was "always familiar to gentlemen of reflection." A recent study by J. M. Bumstead confirms that independence was discussed by both English and American writers long before the 1770s. The issue, then, is when colonists

¹¹ William Appleman Williams, "Samuel Adams: Calvinist, Mercantilist, Revolutionary," Studies on the

Left, 1 (1960):-50, 52; Beach, Samuel Adams, 9, 78, viii, x.

12 Richard D. Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts: The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774 (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 124n., passim; Charles W. Akers, "Sam Adams—And Much More," New England Quarterly, 47 (1974): 120-31, especially 120, 130. Akers demonstrates the persistence of the Adams myth in works that are, for the most part, other than the biographies considered here.

13 Hiller B. Zobel, *The Boston Massacre* (Boston, 1970), 57. On children's books, see, for example, Don

Lawson, The American Revolution (New York, 1974); Milton Lomask, The First American Revolution (New York, 1974); and Isaac Asimov, The Birth of the United States, 1763-1816 (Boston, 1974). See also Paul Revere's Boston, 1735-1818 (Boston, 1975), 124, pl. 172.

decided upon independence as an immediate goal and began to work toward it. Biographers agree that Samuel Adams took those steps earlier than others but disagree upon just when he did so. Wells, like Bancroft, ascribed the event to 1768, when British troops arrived in Boston. Miller also accepted that date; Hosmer suggested Adams's conversion occurred somewhere between 1765 and 1768, while Harlow inclined toward 1765, and Shipton simply observed that "from the beginning of his political career he was accused of being for independence, and later he boasted that this was so." Adams's own writings suggest that his thinking on independence evolved more gradually and can best be described as occurring in three stages with relatively distinct chronological barriers: he moved from disavowal, to prediction or warning, to advocacy of American independence.

Nothing in Adams's writings before, during, or immediately after the Stamp Act crisis (1765-66) suggests a desire for independence. His earliest known political writings—from the 1740s—include fulsome praise of the British constitution. He admitted, however, a significant "prejudice" in favor of Massachusetts government, which was modeled on that of England, but with improvements; because New England's founders "had so severely felt the effects of tyranny," he wrote, they secured for their descendants not only all the standard English liberties but "some additional privileges which the common people there have not."15 The colonists' demand that they be taxed only by their own representatives, even their resistance to the Stamp Act, seemed to him in perfect accord with British tradition. There was no reason to doubt that colonists would continue "faithfull & loyal Subjects," he wrote in 1765—were they allowed the same governmental powers to which they had long been accustomed, powers he understood to be those not of a sovereign state but a "subordinate civil Governmt." Adams's disavowal of independence reached the height of explicitness in a letter he drafted for the Massachusetts assembly to Lord Rockingham, dated January 22, 1763: the House and its constituents were "so sensible . . . of their happiness and safety, in their union with, and dependence upon, the mother country, that they would by no means be inclined to accept an independency, if offered to them."16

Thereafter the situation rapidly became more serious. The arrival of British troops at Boston in the fall of 1768 was of particular importance; Adams was always a bitter foe of standing armies, whose use against civilians in time of peace he, like other Englishmen, considered a major sign of impending tyranny. Other measures also hastened his reassessment of the colonies' position. In promising to pay Crown appointees with customs revenues, the Townshend

¹⁴ John Adams to Benjamin Rush, Quincy, May 21 and 1, 1807, in Works of John Adams, 9: 596, 591; J. M. Bumstead, "'Things in the Womb of Time': Ideas of American Independence, 1633 to 1763," William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 31 (1974): 533-64; Wells, Samuel Adams, 1: 207; George Bancroft, History of the United States, 6: 192; Miller, Sam Adams, 229; Hosmer, Samuel Adams, 68, 120; Harlow, Samuel Adams, 87-88; Shipton, "Samuel Adams," 427.

¹⁵ Adams, essay from the Independent Advertiser, in Wells, Samuel Adams, 1: 21-22.

¹⁶ Adams to Dennis DeBerdt, Boston, Dec. 16, 1766; to G—— W——, Boston, Nov. 13, 1765; and assembly letter, in *The Writings of Samuel Adams*, ed. Harry A. Cushing (Boston, 1904-08), 1: 113, 39, 170.

Act (1767) threatened both the colonial assemblies' exclusive right to tax their constituents and their traditional role as paymaster, by which the legislatures had exercised a crucial check on executive power. It was rumored, then confirmed, that the Crown would pay the Massachusetts governor and judges. Meanwhile the removal of the General Court from Boston to Cambridge by the acting governor, Thomas Hutchinson, and his surrender of the harbor garrison at Castle William to the Royal Army suggested that the colony's executive officer was no longer so independent an agent as his predecessors had been, but now acted on orders from London, even when they conflicted with the Massachusetts Charter. 17 The danger of colonial government by "ministerial mandates" was equal to that of parliamentary taxes or standing armies, Samuel Adams warned; the dissolution of popular checks on the governor made him a tyrant, and the addition of judges to the Crown payroll completed the transformation of the free government of Massachusetts into a despotism. Nor was the problem confined to the Bay Colony: the Gaspée Commission's infringement of jury rights in Rhode Island (1772) showed that the menace of executive power surmounted provincial boundaries, while events abroad, particularly in Ireland and England—which Adams followed closely—seemed to prove that the threat of despotism permeated the empire. The effort to undermine democratic checks on executive power was not, Adams thought, new. It went back perhaps to the British administration of Sir Robert Walpole. But the spate of recent advances made the danger urgent. The entire British world seemed on a precipice; tyranny was at the door.18

Under the force of these unfolding events, Adams moved toward predicting independence, warning that it was an increasingly possible outcome of the Anglo-American conflict. In an article signed "Alfred," published in the Boston Gazette on October 2, 1769, for example, he expressed fears that the "Jealousy between the mother country and the colonies" first raised in the Stamp Act crisis might "finally end in the ruin of the most glorious Empire the sun ever shone upon." But hopes for a changed British policy became ever dimmer. By October 1771 Adams wrote his trusted friend Arthur Lee, then in London, "I have no great Expectations from thence, & have long been of Opinion that America herself under God must finally work out her own Salvation." Independence might, however, be far off. To the Rhode Island radical Henry Marchant, Adams wrote of it in 1772 only as a probability for "some hereafter." He saw no reason either side should hasten the crisis. "I am a friend to both," he wrote, "but I confess my friendship to [the colonies] is the most ardent." "19

19 Adams as "Alfred," in Boston Gazette, Oct. 2, 1769; to Lee, Oct. 31, 1771; to Henry Marchant, Jan. 7, 1772, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 1: 387; 2: 267, 309.

¹⁷ For an account of these events, see Bailyn, Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson, 169-75.

¹⁸ Adams as "A Chatterer," in Boston Gazette, Dec. 3, 1770; Adams to Darius Sessions, Boston, Dec. 28, 1772; to Arthur Lee, Boston, Sept. 27, 1771; and as "Candidus," in Boston Gazette, Oct. 14, 1771, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 2: 70-71, 389-92, 231-32, 252. On the importance of events abroad in American disillusionment with Britain, see Pauline Maier, From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776 (New York, 1972).

Prediction, therefore, fell short of advocacy. Always Adams's forecasts of independence were contingent. As he said in a letter to Arthur Lee of April 1774, separation would come only "if the British administration and government do not return to the principles of moderation and equity." During the early 1770s this seemed possible as the colonists' confidence in the mother country was not yet "in too great a Degree lost." Adams's disillusionment did not yet extend beyond the Parliament and ministry to the king or nation at large. And so his position was reformist, for "a Change of Ministers & Measures," not for so revolutionary a transformation as independence implied.20 He worked actively, moreover, for reform. Even his predictions were phrased as warnings to Britain, designed to awaken the mother country to the serious consequences her actions portended, and so to inspire political change. The publication in 1773 of private letters by Hutchinson and other royal officials, which so disturbed Hosmer, was itself an effort to facilitate reconciliation. Adams, like others of his colleagues, believed the current campaign against American freedom had been inspired by "a few men born & educated amongst us, & governd by Avarice & a Lust of power" and later "adopted" by Britain. If these men—now so fully exposed and condemned by their own words—could be removed from office on the demand of outraged Massachusetts freemen, "effectual measures might then be taken to restore 'placidam sub Libertate Quietam,' "a peace consonant with liberty. It might be necessary, however, that some in England also be "impeached & brot to condign punishment."21

Adams's interest in cooperation between English and American opponents of Crown policy also argues strongly-more so perhaps than his explicit disavowals of independence—that he wanted reform within the context of empire in the early 1770s. He personally wrote to the English radical John Wilkes in December 1770 and subsequently carried on an active correspondence with the American Wilkesite, Arthur Lee. "The Grievances of Britain & the Colonies . . . are of the same pernicious Growth," he wrote Lee in September 1771, and so the cooperation of patriots in both countries should "by all means . . . be cultivated." His earliest proposal for a correspondence union was designed to facilitate just such a coordination of patriotic activities throughout the empire. Three years later he continued to emphasize the importance of coordinating American and British efforts against the growth of Crown power. In 1774 he also discussed with Lee the terms of a possible American bill of rights, which might have made possible the Americans' continued participation in the British governmental system.²² Within two years, however, the lack of such a document "fixing" Americans' rights under

^{· 20} Adams to Lee, Boston, Apr. 4, 1774, and to Marchant, Jan. 7, 1772, in ibid., 3: 100; 2: 309. For other contingent predictions of independence, see ibid., 3: 101, 66.

Adams to Lee, June 19 and 21, 1773, in ibid., 3: 42, 44. The purpose behind the letters' publication, then, was essentially the same as that of Benjamin Franklin in sending the letters to Massachusetts. Only subsequently did Franklin and Adams lose faith in the empire. See Bailyn, Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson, ²²³⁻³⁸.

²² Adams to Lee, Sept. 27, 1771, and Apr. 4, 1774, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 2: 234; 3: 101.

the British constitution, and the apparent impossibility of achieving one, had become a major pillar of his case for colonial separation from Britain.

When, then, did Samuel Adams become an advocate of independence? In November 1775, well after the war had begun, he finally wrote James Bowdoin that he could no longer "conceive that there is any room to hope from the virtuous efforts of the people of Britain" against a "tyrant . . . flushed with expectations from his fleets & armies" and possessed of an "unalterable determination, to compel the colonists to absolute obedience." America, he wrote James Warren, must send her very best men to Congress, those "fit to be employed in founding Empires." By January 1776 he was acutely distressed by evidence that Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was opposed to separation, and wrote John Adams of his efforts in Congress to prevent further disavowals of independence. The next month he published a newspaper essay forthrightly arguing for separation: the lack of any "Britannico-American Magna Charta" stating precisely the terms of America's limited dependence meant the colonies faced "an indefinite dependence upon an undetermined power," currently exercised by "a combination of usurping innovators" who had "established an absolute tyranny in Great Britain and Ireland, and openly declared themselves competent to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever." America was in fact independent; the administration had "dissevered the dangerous tie."28

This chronology is not extraordinary. Thomas Jefferson, Elbridge Gerry, and others of their generation went through much the same progression, and their disillusionment with Britain was inspired by many of the same events. Indeed, Adams was less anxious for a declaration of independence than several of his fellows home in Massachusetts. "Let us not be impatient," he counseled Joseph Hawley. "It requires Time to convince the doubting and inspire the timid."24 And on July 9, 1776, he wrote Hawley that had independence been declared nine months earlier "we might have been justified in the Sight of God and Man"—then altered the sentence so it read three months instead of nine! Thereafter in letters to his most trusted friends, Adams continued to rethink this question of when independence should have been declared, even though the question was by then academic. He would have been more satisfied, he suggested in December 1776, had the declaration immediately followed Lexington and Concord. But on the whole, he was inclined to think that the course actually taken was best. He had once believed an earlier declaration would have invigorated the American Northern Army and so brought Canada into the Union, "but probably I was mistaken. The Colonies were not then all ripe for so momentous a Change."25

²³ Adams to James Bowdoin, Philadelphia, Nov. 16, 1775; to James Warren, Philadelphia, Nov. 4, 1775; to John Adams, Philadelphia, Jan. 15, 1776; and article signed "Candidus," in Boston Gazette, Feb. 3, 1776, in ibid., 3: 241, 234–35, 258–59, 261–66.

²⁴ Adams to Joseph Hawley, Apr. 15, 1776, in *ibid.*, 3: 281. See also Adams to Benjamin Kent, Philadelphia, Ju'y 27, 1776, in *ibid.*, 3: 305: "Perhaps if our Friends had considered how much was to be previously done they wd not have been, as you tell me some of them were, 'impatient under our Delay'" in declaring independence. On the colonial leaders' conversion to independence, see Maier, From Resistance to Revolution, 228-70.

²⁵ Adams to Hawley, Philadelphia, July 9, 1776; to Warren, Baltimore, Dec. 21, 1776; to Kent, Philadel-

When weighed against the testimony of Adams's collected writings of nearly three decades, evidence that he was long dedicated to independence is notably weak. The fullest case for that position was made by George Bancroft in the sixth volume of his History of the United States, which, through its influence on Wells, has shaped all subsequent discussion of the issue. Bancroft, however, misread Adams's writings, inferring an avowal of independence even from letters that explicitly assert the contrary, 26 and he depended heavily—like subsequent biographers—upon the testimony of a Boston innkeeper, Richard Silvester, which was taken under circumstances that severely limit its credibility.²⁷ In short, no evidence that Samuel Adams passionately repudiated Britain before late 1775 compares with an entry in John Adams's diary for December 21, 1772, when John held a heated discussion of the Gaspée Commission with an Englishman. "I said there was no more justice left in Britain than there was in hell," he recalled; "that I wished for war, and that the whole Bourbon family was upon the back of Great Britain; avowed a thorough disaffection to that country, wished that any thing might happen to them, and, as the clergy prayed of our enemies in time of war, that they might be brought to reason or ruin."28 Yet posterity remembers John Adams as conservative, dignified, and safe, in part, no doubt, because he has never been accused of effecting his anti-British feelings by pulling down the standing order. He was, moreover, a Federalist, particularly immune to the taint of "Jacobinism" during years critical in defining how Americans would recall their Revolution.

The biographers' second argument, that Samuel Adams manipulated colonists into independence, depends upon their assumption that he was long dedicated to separation from Britain. Adams could not consciously maneuver the population toward a goal he did not yet espouse. There is no doubt, on the other hand, that Adams sometimes explained the function of public leaders in

phia, July 27, 1776; see also letters from Philadelphia to R. H. Lee, July 15, 1776; to Warren, July 16, 1776; to John Pitts, July 17, 1776; and from Baltimore to Arthur Lee, Jan. 2, 1777, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 3: 295, 338, 304-05, 297-98, 299, 300-01, 339-40. The last statement is consonant with a tendency of Adams to consider his own position as mistaken if it was rejected by a democratic legislature.

²⁶ Compare the original text of a letter from Adams to John Wilkes, Boston, Dec. 28, 1770—available in the British Museum Additional Manuscripts 30871 and in Writings of Samuel Adams, 2: 100–01—with Bancroft's use of it in his History of the United States, 6: 385. (Bancroft also incorrectly dated the letter December 27; see p. 358 n.5.) Bancroft again inferred a dedication to independence from Adams's letter to Arthur Lee of April 4, 1774, although Adams explicitly wished for "a permanent union with the mother country," if that were possible "on the principles of liberty and truth." See ibid., 6: 524, and the text of the

original letter in Richard Henry Lee, Life of Arthur Lee, LL.D. (Boston, 1859), 2: 215-20.

27 For citations of Silvester, see Bancroft, History of the United States, 6: 194, and biographies of Adams by Wells, 1: 209-11; Hosmer, 117-19; Harlow (who distrusted the testimony), 123; Miller, 144-45; and Shipton, 432-33. Silvester swore, in short, that in 1768 he personally heard Samuel Adams avow his desire for independence and a republic. Similar statements were attributed to Dr. Benjamin Church and Thomas Chase, both popular leaders in Boston. The deposition was taken by Thomas Hutchinson in January 1769 during a campaign by Governor Francis Bernard to prove that Boston's disorders were the work of a small disaffected faction: see Bailyn, Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson, 128 n.23. Harlow, although one of Adams's most extreme critics, noted there is no corroboration of Silvester's statement, which "probably... simply represents in rather compact form the suspicions and fears of the conservatives" (p. 123). And Beach, on page 17 of his Samuel Adams, recalled that not even Hutchinson used the document in his History of Massachusetts Bay. This was perhaps because Hutchinson understood that "small dependence... can be placed upon ex-parte witnesses, examined by men engaged in political contests." See Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts Bay, 3: 199.

²⁸ John Adams, diary, Dec. 21, 1772, in Works of John Adams, 2: 308-09.

terms that resemble modern behaviorism: a politician, he wrote in 1778, carefully tries to make men's "Humours and Prejudices, their Passions and Feelings, as well as their Reason and Understandings subservient to his Views of publick Liberty and Happiness." He consistently held that men were ruled more by their feelings than by reason, that the people could in the short run be deluded or mistaken, that when their passions were aroused, the masses were capable of great "tumults," comparable to the ragings of the sea, and they were then as open to reason as "the foaming billows . . . to a lecture of morality and . . . quiet." Still, he saw profound limitations upon the masses' malleability and irrationality. He denied that the people were an "unthinking herd." Calm would succeed disorder; and prudent patriots could help recall the people from prejudice and passion to the exercise of reason. Adams consistently emphasized the people's ability to make valid political judgments, particularly when they acted as a body and had sufficient time for reflection. "The inhabitants of this continent are not to be dup'd," he wrote; "They can judge, as well as their betters, when there is a danger of slavery." 29

The "true patriot," then, did not—indeed, could not—create disaffection. The task of a popular leader, as Adams explained it, was to explore the causes of popular discontent and then, if he found his country's "fears and jealousies" were well grounded, to encourage them "by all proper means in his power." He would "keep the attention of his fellow citizens awake to their grievances; and not suffer them to be at rest, till the causes of their just complaints are removed." Resistance demanded a concerned populace, ready to defend its freedom, and, above all, an abundance of provocation. Indeed, America's enemies seemed far more effective than her friends in hastening colonial union: the Boston Port Act, Adams wrote, like the cannonading of Norfolk, Virginia, "wrought a Union of the Colonies which could not be brot about by the Industry of years in reasoning on the necessity of it for the Common Safety." The Boston Committee of Correspondence, which Adams founded, embodied this attitude. The stated purpose of the committee was to survey public opinion upon British actions, of which the committee took pains to inform its rural correspondents. Since the towns' responses strongly suggested they shared Boston's viewpoint, the committee simply reinforced local patriotism by a sophisticated system of flattery: quotations from a town's previous letter were, for example, often incorporated in Boston's reply along with fulsome statements of approval.30

If Samuel Adams cannot be called the first for independence, if his beliefs and techniques as a popular leader belie the modern notion that he "manufactured" the Revolution by manipulating a mindless people toward

Warren, Philadelphia, Jan. 7, 1776, in ibid., 2: 148-50; 3: 284, 253-54; Brown, Revolutionary Politics, 126-31,

244-45.

²⁹ Adams to Samuel Cooper, Philadelphia, Dec. 25, 1778, and Apr. 30, 1776; to Elbridge Gerry, Boston, Mar. 25, 1774; as "Candidus," in Boston Gazette, Apr. 12, 1773; Boston Committee of Correspondence to Marblehead Committee, Boston, Apr. 12, 1774; as "Vindex," in Boston Gazette, Dec. 21, 1771, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 4: 107; 3: 284, 83, 29, 96; 2: 148-50.

30 Adams as "Vindex," in Boston Gazette, Dec. 21, 1771; to Cooper, Philadelphia, Apr. 30, 1776; and to

an independence without cause, was he at least responsible for popular violence—a man who, as Miller wrote, scored "triumphs" like the Boston Massacre and Tea Party? There were within the revolutionary movement men prone to the use of direct force. But to these Adams preached restraint: patience, he reminded the fiery Thomas Young, marks a patriot. His famous Master of Arts declaration in 1743 affirmed only that it was "Lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved"—not so unacceptable a proposition even in more submissive times. Although Samuel Adams was "staunch and stiff and strict and rigid and inflexible in the cause," he was always for "softness and delicacy, and prudence," John Adams testified, "where they will do." Where they would not, he justified forcible resistance, but only if it fitted defined criteria of acceptability. He was as ready to condemn "a lawless attack upon property in a case where if there had been right there was remedy" as he was to defend "the people's rising in the necessary defence of their liberties, and deliberately, . . . rationally destroying property, after trying every method to preserve it, and when the men in power had rendered the destruction of that property the only means of securing the property of all." As such he approved the Stamp Act uprising of August 14, 1765, since the cause was important, resistance had widespread support—the "whole People" thought their essential rights invaded by Parliament—and all legal means of redress had been tried to no effect. But he condemned the attack on the homes of Thomas Hutchinson and others on August 26, 1765, as a transaction of "a truly mobbish Nature." There is no evidence that he prompted the Boston Massacre riot, although he served thereafter as spokesman for the town in demanding that troops be removed from Boston. Adams is said to have signaled the Boston Tea Party, and, although his precise role on December 6, 1773, is disputable, the words attributed to him in the final "Tea Meeting" are in perfect accord with his philosophy: "This meeting can do nothing further to save this country." In effect, all peaceful means of preventing payment of the tea duty, and accepting all it implied, had been exhausted. Only then was the destruction of property justified.31

But violence was not his cause. Samuel Adams was above all a master politician, an organizer and coordinator who believed in constitutional government. Already in 1748 he affirmed that "the true object of loyalty is a good legal constitution," an opinion he sustained through old age. He advised moderation and prudence because these were instruments of political

⁸¹ Adams to Thomas Young, Philadelphia, Oct. [17], 1774, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 3: 163; John Adams, diary, Dec. 23, 1765, in Works of John Adams, 2: 163; Samuel Adams to Elbridge Gerry, Mar. 24, 1774, and to John Smith, "20th 1765," in Writings of Samuel Adams, 3: 83-84; 1: 59-60. For a traditional account of Adams's role in precipitating the Tea Party, see, for example, Miller, Sam Adams, 294. It conflicts with a narrative in the Sewell Papers, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa—"Proceedings of Ye Body Respecting the Tea"—which suggests that violence was detonated by an announcement that Governor Hutchinson had refused to issue a pass for the tea ships to leave Boston Harbor, and that Adams and his colleagues "called out to the People to stay" in the meeting despite the call of "hideous Yelling in the Street" because "they said they had not quite done." The document, edited by L. F. S. Upton, is in the William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 22 (1965): 297-98.

effectiveness. Redress, he understood, depended upon American strength, which depended upon internal unity, which was itself best achieved in what the people "easily see to be a constitutional opposition to tyranny." Violence, by contrast, was divisive, and so Adams stressed not only the limits of its theoretical justifiability but also its political disutility. His advice to Rhode Islanders in 1773, that they prevent the Gaspée Commission from becoming the occasion of bloodshed, continued the following year in letters from Philadelphia to his beseiged Boston colleagues. "Violence & Submission would at this time be equally fatal," he wrote; and again, "Nothing can ruin us but our Violence." He urged Joseph Warren "to implore every Friend in Boston by every thing dear and sacred to Men of Sense and Virtue to avoid Blood and Tumult" so as to "give the other Provinces opportunity to think and resolve." When independence was finally declared, he was delighted that so important a revolution had been achieved "without great internal Tumults & violent Convulsions." ³²

His medium was not the mob but the press, the public celebration—like the Sons of Liberty dinner at Dorchester in August 1769, where some 350 patriots ate, saw a mimic show, and sang the "Liberty Song"—and, above all, the committee or association. This was true in 1772, when Adams believed tyranny was at hand in Massachusetts: "Let us . . . act like wise Men," he counseled, and "calmly look around us and consider what is best to be done. Let us converse together. . . . Let every Town assemble. Let Associations & Combinations be everywhere set up to consult and recover our just Rights." It remained true in 1776, when Adams complained that his compatriots were not doing enough to encourage enlistments in the American army. "Your Presses have been too long silent," he scolded from Congress. "What are your Committees of Correspondence about? I hear nothing of circular Letters—of joynt Committees, &c. Such Methods have in times past-raised [the] Spirits of the people—drawn off their Attention from picking up Pins, & directed their Views to great objects—." Even his loyalist detractors testified to Adams's skill as a writer, whether of legislative documents or for the press, and as an organizer. Joseph Galloway stressed his incredible energy as the leader of political factions both in Massachusetts and in Philadelphia; Peter Oliver mentioned that Adams had organized a singing society for Boston mechanics and somehow "embraced such Opportunities," as Oliver saw it, "to ye inculcating Sedition."38

³² Adams in the *Independent Advertiser*, quoted in Wells, *Samuel Adams*, 1: 17; to Joseph Warren, Philadelphia, Sept. 1774; to Darius Sessions, Boston, Jan. 2, 1773; to Charles Thomson, Boston, May 30, 1774; and, on independence, to Benjamin Kent, Philadelphia, July 27, 1776, in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, 3: 157; 2: 398-99; 3: 124, 304; Adams to Joseph Warren, Philadelphia, misdated as May 21, 1774, in *The Warren-Adams Letters* (Boston, 1917-25), 1: 26.

³³ Adams as "Valerius Poplicola," in Boston *Gazette*, Oct. 5, 1772, and to Joseph Warren, Philadelphia, May 12, 1776, in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, 2: 337; 3: 289-90; Hutchison, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, 3: 212; Calloway, *Historical and Political Palestings*, 67, 68: Oliver's Origin 68 Progress of the American Pabelling, 4, Sept.

³³ Adams as "Valerius Poplicola," in Boston Gazette, Oct. 5, 1772, and to Joseph Warren, Philadelphia, May 12, 1776, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 2: 337; 3: 289-90; Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts Bay, 3: 212; Galloway, Historical and Political Reflections, 67-68; Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion, 41. See also, John Adams's diary for Aug. 14, 1769, in Works of John Adams, 2: 218, on the Sons' dinner: "This is cultivating the sensations of freedom. There was a large collection of good company. Otis and Adams are politic in promoting these festivals; for they tinge the minds of the people; they impregnate them with the sentiments of liberty; they render the people fond of their leaders in the cause, and averse and bitter against

All of this was radical enough for an age that could not yet accept nongovernmental political groups—parties, for example—as legitimate. Conventions and committees were often condemned as "extra-legal," and so seditious, undistinguishable from common "mobs," Within a few years the popular organizations of the resistance movement seemed of questionable acceptability even to Samuel Adams. He never regretted his participation in those of earlier days; indeed, they had served "an excellent purpose" then in facilitating public watchfulness over those in authority. But with the establishment of regular, constitutional, republican government, under which all men in authority depended upon free, annual elections, committees and conventions were "not only useless, but dangerous." Decency and respect were due constitutional authority; bodies of men who convened to deliberate and adopt measures cognizable by legislatures might bring legislatures into contempt and "lessen the Weight of Government lawfully exercised."34 And so he opposed all popular threats to republican government. He served in 1782 on a legislative committee to visit Hampshire County and "inquire into the grounds of disaffection," to quiet any "misinformations" and "groundless jealousies" that lav behind local insurrections. Four years later he acquiesced fully in measures to suppress Shays' Rebellion, which he considered a Tory effort to undermine the Revolution. He may even have argued, as one memorialist claimed, that "in monarchies the crime of treason and rebellion may admit of being pardoned or lightly punished; but the man who dares to rebel against the laws of a republic ought to suffer death." He was no less definite in condemning Pennsylvania's "Whisky Rebels," who rose against the federal excise tax in 1794. "No people can be more free [than] under a Constitution established by their own voluntary compact, and exercised by men appointed by their own frequent suffrages," Governor Adams told the Massachusetts legislature. "What excuse then can there be for forcible opposition to the laws? If any law shall prove oppressive in its operation, the future deliberations of a freely elected Representative, will prove a constitutional remedy."35

To James Warren, an old revolutionary who opposed the suppression of Shays' Rebellion, Samuel Adams seemed to have forsaken his old principles, "to have become the most arbitrary and despotic Man in the Commonwealth." There were, however, deep continuities in Adams's attitudes. Always he fought as the defender of the free constitutional government of Massachusetts, whether against Hutchinson, Britain, or western insurgents. Before 1776 he justified the resort to popular meetings and direct

all opposers." See also entry for Sept. 3, 1769, in *ibid.*, 219: "supped with Mr. Otis, in company with Mr. Adams, Mr. William Davis, and Mr. John Gill. The Evening spent in preparing the next day's newspaper,—a curious employment, cooking up paragraphs, articles, occurrence, &c., working the political engine!"

³⁴ Samuel to John Adams, Apr. 16, 1784, and to Noah Webster, Apr. 30, 1784, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 1: 206, 208-206

<sup>4: 296, 305-06.

38</sup> Wells, Samuel Adams, 3: 162, 246; Adams to legislature, Jan. 16, 1795, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 4: 373.

38 James Warren to John Adams, Milton, May 18, 1787, in Warren-Adams Letters, 2: 292-93.

force only on rare occasions when all alternatives failed. With the foundation of the republic such occasions evaporated altogether. Henceforth even the most severe threats of power to freedom and constitutional rule, such as had prompted the English Revolution of 1688 and the American Revolution of 1776, could be brought down through established, lawful procedures, as would be done in the "Revolution of 1800" and that of 1974. Only in countries like France, where the republic had yet to be established, could the older type of revolution, with its popular associations and mass uprisings, be justly continued.

ALL OF THIS IS AT SUCH ODDS with the stereotypic Samuel Adams that it raises a final question: why should written history and historical evidence be so contradictory? At least three explanations are possible. One is concerned with historians' use of documentation, another more generally with the way Americans have related to their Revolutionary tradition. A third centers on Samuel Adams as a historic person.

Biographers have, in the first place, consciously dismissed Adams's writings as an unreliable historical source. His papers, Shipton charged, were censored both by Adams and, after his death, by John Avery. John Adams did leave a graphic picture of Samuel in Philadelphia destroying whole bundles of his papers lest they fall into the hands of the British and be used against his correspondents. The substantial collection of writings Samuel nonetheless left at his death was diminished, it seems, largely through neglect, although a hint of conscious censorship remains in William V. Wells's remark that "there is . . . reason to believe that letters were abstracted early in the present century by persons interested in their Suppression."37 Historians can, however, work with incomplete manuscripts, balancing biases and supplementing lapses with other sources of evidence-unless the whole must be dismissed as deceitful in character, the work of a man whose consistent technique, as Shipton claimed, was that of "the lie reiterated." That charge echoes through modern biographies: Hosmer first agreed with those loyalists who found "great duplicity" in Adams's conduct; Miller found his "sincerity open to question"; for Harlow, Adams's writings were but the "psychopathic effusions" of a man who "evaded the truth, and mishandled the facts so glaringly that almost everything he wrote is a demand for refutation." This conclusion stems most often from a conflict between the biographers' unquestioned assumption that Adams was long dedicated to independence and the testimony of his writings, which authors resolve by rejecting the latter. As Harlow put it, Adams "pretended to be a peace-loving colonist, desiring nothing so much as peace and quiet" only to "veil his real aggressions upon British authority."38

³⁷ Shipton, "Samuel Adams," 444; John Adams to William Tudor, Quincy, June 5, 1817, in Works of John Adams, 10: 264; Wells, Samuel Adams, 1: x, xi.

38 Shipton, "Samuel Adams," 444; Hosmer, Samuel Adams, 120-21; Miller, Sam Adams, 228-29; Harlow,

Samuel Adams, 190, 357, 87-88. The charge of dishonesty is particularly complex. By modern lights many of

The modern image of Samuel Adams stems, however, not only from historians' suspicions of Adams in particular, but also from a broader ambivalence toward the earliest days of the Revolution. With the establishment of the republic came a rejection of extralegal opposition to authority. As Adams himself fully understood, a continuation of resistance as established before 1776 imperiled the successful conclusion of America's experiment in popular self-government. Yet the Revolution remained the one common, identifying experience of Americans; if cleansed of its anarchistic implications, it could serve as a powerful symbol to counteract the forces of disintegration and help establish the new nation. And so the Revolution was subtly transformed into the war for independence, a more suitable heroic rallying point than the fundamental reformation that revolution implies. Meanwhile, the "old revolutionaries," leaders of the resistance to Britain, were gradually confounded with the Founding Fathers of later years, who were then sanctified—as by Mason Weems, whose superhuman Washington symbolized the Revolution for generations of American school children. Persons whose importance was confined to the period before 1776-not "secondary figures of the Revolution" but primary figures of a first stage of the Revolution such as Christopher Gadsden, Isaac Sears, and Cornelius Harnett—were forgotten or, where their prominence precluded obfuscation, mythologized over time into symbols of all that had to be rejected in the Revolution.

The Adams myth had its roots, then, in the earliest decades of the new nation. But it appropriately took modern form during the 1880s in the hands of James Hosmer who, like other historians of his time, regretted the division of English peoples that 1776 had entailed. Sympathy then, as now, went naturally toward the loyalists who found more to fear in "the breaking down of the old system" than in submission to Parliament, "honest men" who, as Shipton said, were forced to flee from "the unreasoning rage of people among whom their families had lived as friends and public servants for generations." Behind these sympathies there remains a rejection in American life of what the Federalists called "Jacobinism." Harlow asked the critical question:

the issues that inspired fears in the eighteenth century seem benign, and so, unless biographers consider the revolutionaries' distinctive ideological assumptions, Adams's treatment of events, his "persistence in attributing evil motives to those men he fought," seems not just mistaken but dishonest. See biographies by Harlow, pp. 357-58, and Shipton, p. 444. Shipton also claimed that "a comparison of the letters which Adams wrote to those of his friends who knew what was going on in Boston with those written to friends who were not in a position to know the truth will show that he was not simply the victim of blind prejudice" (p. 426). No specific letters were cited, however, and Adams's printed letters are not contradictory. On independence, for example, Adams's position was remarkably consistent in any one time period, regardless of his correspondent. Perhaps his most revealing letters were in fact to his Boston colleagues from Philadelphia. The original loyalist charge that Adams would stoop to anything to serve his cause stemmed, I suspect, from his political maneuvers—from the ruse he used to allow the publication of Hutchinson's letters, for example, or the deceptions he practiced so as to exclude the loyalist Daniel Leonard from certain critical legislative deliberations. On the latter, see Robert Treat Paine's "Account of Stratagem . . . ," in Paine Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. I am grateful to Jack N. Rakove for the last reference. The loyalists' charges of Adams's fallaciousness came also from their disagreement with his political stands. See Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts Bay, 3: 212. To a considerable extent, then, the charge of dishonesty is incapable of direct, "objective" refutation or verification. It reflects the observer's politics more than the subject's morality.

"How many of the vociferously 'loyal' Americans of today, those staunch enemies of twentieth century radicalism, would have looked with favor upon rebellion against established authority in 1775. The latter-day patriots profess great admiration for the 'fathers' of the Revolution, but the real test is to be found . . . in the attitude toward the *spirit* of revolution today." As that attitude became increasingly negative, Samuel Adams was rejected with increasing vehemence.³⁹

There remains, however, a more complex explanation for the discrepancy between modern biographers' interpretations of Samuel Adams and historical evidence. Behind all the rejections of Adams, all the accusations of deceit, lies a profound problem of relating not just to the Revolution as a tradition, but to the revolutionary as a type, and so to Adams as a historic person. For the characteristics that distinguish him from most other men include an ascetic civil commitment that at once accounts for his democratic inclinations, confounds modern observers, and links him with revolutionaries of other times and places.

At first destined for the clergy, politics instead became Adams's ministry. He was one of the first Americans willing to identify himself as a politician 40 which made him distinctly modern—but only because he understood that role as akin to a religious vocation: there was great moral content in the cause of "Liberty and Truth," as he once called it. Virtue was the most emphatic theme of his writings and of his life. It implied austerity, a "sobriety of manners, . . . Temperance, Frugality, Fortitude," but above all a willingness to sacrifice private advantage for the cause of the community, to subject the self to a greater cause. Only a "virtuous people" could "deserve and enjoy" freedom. Should they become "universally vicious and debauched" they would, whatever the form of their institutions, become "the most abject slaves."41 A man who held such a creed so emphatically was less suited for the role of Founding Father than of moral reformer. Just as he had condemned the corruption and dissipation of Englishmen, Adams railed at the "Luxury and Extravagance" of Boston in 1778, fearing it would be "totally destructive of those Virtues which are necessary for the Preservation of the Liberty and Happiness of the People." He called for reformation and labored to keep the theater, that cauldron of dissipation, out of Boston. The patriot was of course a virtuous man: he worked for the cause selflessly. "It would be the glory of this Age, to find Men having no ruling Passion but the Love of their Country, and ready to render her the most arduous and important Services with the Hope of no other Reward in this Life than the Esteem of their virtuous Fellow

³⁸ Shipton, "Samuel Adams," 428; Harlow, Samuel Adams, 265-66. On the simultaneous rejection of the Revolution and revival of loyalist studies in the late nineteenth century, see Bailyn, Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson, 393-403. The contemporary political basis of this historical view is often clearer in popular histories. See, for example, Stewart H. Holbrook's Lost Men of American History (New York, 1946), 11-32, especially 22-23, where he dismisses local resistance leaders as "all left-wingers in their respective regions" who circulated "the Adams brand of poison."

⁴⁰ As, for example, in a letter to Samuel Cooper, Philadelphia, Dec. 25, 1778, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 4: 107.

⁴¹ Adams to Samuel P. Savage, Philadelphia, Oct. 6, 1778, in *ibid.*, 4: 67-68; essay in *Independent Advertiser*, 1749, in Wells, Samuel Adams, 1: 23.

Citizens," he wrote in 1778. "But this, some tell me, is expecting more than it is in the Power of human Nature to give."

Yet he himself lived this unlikely creed, privately as well as publicly, becoming the embodiment of republicanism, a man who contained, as Brissot de Warville observed, "the excess of Republican virtues, untainted probity, simplicity, modesty, and, above all, firmness." He eschewed wealth. Eliot described him as "a poor man, who despised riches, and possessed as proud a spirit as those who roll in affluence or command armies." When he first went to the Continental Congress, his friends felt compelled to buy him proper clothes, that he might be outfitted respectably. On his retirement from the governorship and public office at the age of seventy-four, Adams justly proclaimed that he had not been enriched in the public service. His main support in old age came, it seems, from his only son, who died in 1788, leaving to his father a set of claims upon the United States for services as a surgeon during the Revolutionary War.⁴³

Samuel Adams also eschewed personal glory. Here, as in the character of his talents and his later politics, he contrasted dramatically with John Adams, who early in the Anglo-American conflict reflected upon the opportunity his times afforded a young man aspiring for fame like that of the Hampdens and Sidneys of ages past, and who scrupulously preserved his own papers, dogging Samuel to do the same. But Samuel was less concerned about his manuscripts or his place in history: "I do not keep copies of all my letters," he once wrote, "—they are trifles."44 In this life, too, he was less ambitious than John. He never sought prominent executive office until his later years, contenting himself with positions in representative bodies or committees, with those behind-the-scenes tasks that brought political effectiveness, and suspicion, but not necessarily prominence. Nor was power a consolation; Adams did not always determine the arguments or programs of the patriots but instead was "exclusively entitled to the merit of connecting them into one system, and infusing into the scattered efforts of many, all the life and energy which belongs to a single will." Inner rectitude was what he sought. "If my mind has ever been tinctured with Envy," he wrote his wife, "the Rich and the Great have not been its objects. . . . He who gains the Approbation of the Virtuous Citizens . . . may feel himself happy; but he is in Reality much more so, who knows he deserves it. Such a Man, if he cannot retreat with Splendor, he may with dignity."45

⁴² Adams to Savage, Philadelphia, Oct. 6, 1778, and to James Warren, Philadelphia, July 1778, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 4: 67-68, 46. On the theater controversy, see Wells, Samuel Adams, 3: 290-91, and S. E. Morison, "Two 'Signers' on Salaries and the Stage, 1789," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 62 (Boston, 1930): 55-63.

⁴³J. P. Brissot de Warville, New Travels in the United States of America (Boston, 1797), 65; Eliot, Biographical Dictionary, 16; Adams to legislature, Jan. 27, 1797, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 4: 404; Wells, Samuel Adams, 2: 207-09; 3: 332-33.

⁴⁴ John Adams, "Dissertation on Canon and Feudal Law" (1765), in Works of John Adams, 3: 463; John to Samuel Adams, Paris, Apr. 5, 1783, Samuel Adams Papers, New York Public Library, microfilm roll 5; Adams to Savage, Philadelphia, Nov. 1, 1778, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 4: 87.

Adams to Savage, Philadelphia, Nov. 1, 1778, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 4: 87.

45 Charles Francis Adams, "Life of John Adams," in The Works of John Adams, 1: 124; Adams to Elizabeth Adams, Philadelphia, Nov. 24, 1780, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 4: 226. Hutchinson noted how much more ambitious John Adams was than Samuel. See his History of Massachusetts Bay, 3: 214. On Adams's contribution, see also Brown, Revolutionary Politics, 54n.

Such statements suggest Adams, like Benjamin Franklin, may have mastered whole catalogs of virtues only to stumble on the sin of pride. Yet humility suffused his life. He came from a respectable family. In a period when Harvard students were numbered according to social position, Samuel was sixth in the class of 1740 and, as Shipton notes, had the ordinary rules been followed that year, he would have been second. But, as John Eliot recalled, "Every kind of genealogy he affected to despise, as a thing which gives birth to family pride." He had, moreover, the rare ability to recognize, as did others, that he was "not a man of ready powers," that his strengths were limited. And so he recruited others for roles he could not fulfill. 46 Nor did Samuel cherish notions either of his own peculiar importance or of the public's obligation to him. John Adams left office in 1801 with great bitterness, but Samuel, in similar circumstances twenty years earlier, reminded his indignant friends "that in a free Republic, the People have an uncontroulable right of chusing whom they please" for public offices. No man, he said, had a claim on his country for having served it, for that was simply a citizen's duty. Again on his final retirement from politics, Adams affirmed a long-standing conviction that others more able could take his place.⁴⁷ This refusal to cultivate or elevate the self shaped his personality. He watched himself as closely as he counseled the people to observe their rulers and learned to control a natural passion and temper much as he led his countrymen to eschew violence in the name of a larger good. "If Otis was Martin Luther . . . [who was] rough, hasty and loved good cheer," John Adams remarked, Samuel Adams was John Calvin, "cool, abstemious, polished, refined, though more inflexible, uniform, consistent."48

Having denied himself special significance, he naturally respected others who had still fewer traditional claims to status. "No man ever despised more those fools of fortune, whom the multitude admire" than did Adams; "and yet," Eliot noted, "he thought the opinion of the common people in most cases to be very correct." He was "well acquainted with every shipwright, and substantial mechanick, and they were his firm friends through all the scenes of the revolution, believing that to him more than any other man in the community we owed our independence." His writings often took on the guise of speaking for the people; and, though he emphasized the theme of equality mainly in the 1790s when inspired by the French Revolution, he saw it as a major purpose of civil society already in 1771. Yet he was not, as he once put it, of levelling principles. Subordination was necessary for government; public rank was to be respected, and rigidly. 49 Status must, however, be earned.

⁴⁶ Shipton, "Samuel Adams," 420; Eliot, Biographical Dictionary, 5-7; Bentley, diary, Oct. 3, 1803, in Diary of William Bentley, 3: 49; John Adams to William Tudor, Quincy, Feb. 9, 1819, in Works of John Adams, 10:364-65.

⁴⁷ Adams to Elizabeth Adams, Philadelphia, Nov. 24, 1780; to Caleb Davis, Philadelphia, Apr. 3, 1781; and to the legislature, Jan. 27, 1797, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 4: 226, 254-55, 404.

48 John Adams to J. Morse, Quincy, Dec. 5, 1815, in Works of John Adams, 10: 190.

⁴⁹ Eliot, Biographical Dictionary, 5-7; Adams to legislature, Jan. 17, 1794, and as "Vindex," in Boston Gazette, Jan. 21, 1771, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 4: 357-59; 2: 151-52. For the rigidity with which he came to believe elective public office should be respected, see James T. Austin, Life of Elbridge Gerry (Boston, 1828-29), 1: 474.

Samuel Adams's politics, Bentley claimed, came from "two maxims, rulers should have little, the people much. The rank of rulers is from the good they do, & the difference among the people only from personal virtue. No entailments, no privileges. An open world for genius & industry." Even wealth was an inappropriate, and indeed dangerous, criterion for public office. It would be better, Adams once argued, to prefer men in want over those with riches, for while the former could be done "from the feelings of humanity, . . . the other argues a base, degenerate, servile temper of mind." Ability and virtue were alone appropriate qualifications. ⁵⁰

This unease with preordained rank permeated even his marriage. Not that his theory of familial relationships was anything but traditional, even Biblical: "It is acknowledged," he wrote his future son-in-law, "that the Superiority is & ought to be in the Man." But since "the Management of a Family in many Instances necessarily devolves on the Woman, it is difficult always to determine the Line between the Authority of the one & the Subordination of the other." Standard notions of the proper concerns of the sexes he found equally difficult to maintain. His letters to his wife from Philadelphia are filled with public affairs, to the point of humorness. Tell Samuel Cooper, who wanted political news, "that I can scarce find time to write you even a Love Letter," he once wrote her. "I will however for once give you a political Anecdote." Occasionally this practice made him uneasy: "I forget that I am writing [to] a female upon the Subject of War," he once apologized, and, again, explained that he sent along so much political news because his letters to her were also meant for his male colleagues in Boston. But ultimately no apologies were necessary for, he recalled, her "whole Soul" was "engagd in the great Cause." It seemed appropriate to him that, with the Revolution, Boston should consider improvements in the education of female children. And as for the family, it seemed best "not to govern too much." His private inclinations had; moreover, public implications, for there was great uniformity, he suggested, in the practices that promoted stability for states, cities, and families.51

Adams's personal achievement of virtue shaped his writings, which explains in part why one of the most prolific of Revolutionary authors has been the least understood. By the dominant canons of the Revolutionary period not only politics but even literature was to be selfless: authors must not be themselves revealed or advanced, but only their causes. Samuel Adams's public writings are within this tradition. Even his family correspondence is remarkably impersonal. He found it difficult to lay aside a rhetorical stance: "Why do I write in this Stile," he once wondered to his cousin John. Occasional letters to his daughter resemble nothing so much as replies from the Boston Committee of Correspondence. On September 8, 1778, for

⁵⁰ Bentley, diary, Oct. 3, 1803, in *Diary of William Bentley*, 3: 49; Adams to Elbridge Gerry, Philadelphia, Jan. 2, 1776, in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, 3: 247.

⁵¹ Adams to Thomas Wells, Philadelphia, Nov. 22, 1780; to Elizabeth Adams. Philadelphia, Feb. 26,

¹⁶¹ Adams to Thomas Wells, Philadelphia, Nov. 22, 1780; to Elizabeth Adams. Philadelphia, Feb. 26, 1776, Nov. 14, 1776, Apr. 1, 1777, and Aug. 8, 1777; to John Adams, Boston, Dec. 8 and 19, 1781; and to John Scollay, Philadelphia, Dec. 30, 1780, in *Writings of Samuel Adams*, 4: 224; 3: 267, 319, 367, 403–04; 4: 270, 237.

example, he quoted back passages from the girl's own previous letter, which informed him of his wife's illness, drawing inferences, approving proper sentiments: "I am satisfied 'you do all in your power for so excellent a mother.' You are under great obligations to her, and I am sure you are of a grateful disposition. I hope her life will be spared, and that you will have the opportunity of presenting to her my warmest respects." Always the cause, or lesson, is primary, whether filial duty or, as in a letter of 1780, religiosity. At most he adds personal assurances "that I have all the feelings of a father," then signs-"S. Adams." Ultimately, of course, these letters are revealing of their author. They confirm an observation by the marquis de Chastellux, so like that of Brissot, that in Samuel Adams one could experience "the satisfaction one rarely has in society, or even at the theatre, of finding the person of the actor corresponding to the role he plays." His "simple and frugal exterior" and his conversation—like his writings—were all of a piece.52

An eighteenth-century Frenchman could, then, understand Samuel Adams. It seems unlikely, moreover, that Adams was so enigmatic to his Revolutionary colleagues as William Bentley claimed. His confidences were limited to a handful of men, 53 but with these he found it painful to keep secrets even when communications were by post and longed for those private conversations where like-minded men could "disclose each others Hearts." Among these friends Adams won—his correspondence occasionally reveals affection even for his idiosyncracies. In December 1777 he visited Plymouth to help celebrate the anniversary of the Pilgrims' landing and sent James Lovell a report that stressed above all the merits of the day's sermon. "An Epicure would have said something about the clams," Lovell replied, "but you turn me to the prophet Isaiah."54 By the early nineteenth century, however, Samuel Adams seemed a remote figure, "one of Plutarch's men. Modern times have produced no character like his that I can call to mind," one clergyman commented. For John Adams, an analogy with Calvin was apt. But for a still more distant, less religious age, one more concerned with the "inner springs" of conduct, more insistent that writers produce advertisements of themselves, not of their causes, Samuel Adams awoke only suspicion. "He was working for liberty," Harlow wrote, "but why does anybody devote a life to an abstract cause? Conscious motives will no more explain Samuel Adams than they will explain Mohammed, Peter the Hermit, Savonarola, or Joan of Arc."55

The consistent citation of religious analogues is appropriate, for Adams was, in short, a saint, "the last of the Puritans" as Edward Everett called him. His Puritanism was internalized, in the formation of his character, and sec-

⁵³ Cf. Adams to Darius Sessions, Boston, Dec. 28, 1772, and to John Adams, Feb. or Mar. 1773, in

⁵² Samuel to John Adams, Boston, Sept. 16, 1776, in *ibid.*, 3: 313; letters to his daughter Hannah, in Wells, Samuel Adams, 3: 53-54; de Chastellux, Travels in North America, 1: 142.

Writings of Samuel Adams, 2: 289, 430.

54 Adams to Joseph Warren, Philadelphia, Nov. 4, 1775, and to Samuel Cooper, Philadelphia, Apr. 23, 1781, in ibid., 3: 234; 4: 259; Lovell to Adams, Jan. 20, 1778, Samuel Adams Papers, microfilm roll 5. 55 Clergyman quoted in Wells, Samuel Adams, 2: 185; Harlow, Samuel Adams, 64.

ularized into political doctrine. As such, although he remained a devout congregationalist, Adams was less a religious sectarian than, in a term he once used, a "political Enthusiast." His politics were consciously modeled upon those of New England's founders. Few men have been so conscious of their place in time, so capable of deriving meaning from it. Ancestors and posterity rank only with virtue as key concepts in his writings, and all were linked in a conception that cited past and future to define the duties of the present. In short, for Adams the past was a property that gave him identity, direction. The freedom of Massachusetts was inherited from ancestors who left England "to settle a plan of govt upon the true principles of Liberty." New England's fathers left to their children not just the institutions, but the habits of freedom: "Our Bradfords, Winslows & Winthrops would have revolted at the Idea of ... Dissipation & Folly," Adams wrote, "knowing them to be inconsistent with their great Design, in transplanting themselves into what they called this 'Outside of the World.'" There was, then, an obligation upon the living to make "every laudable Effort" to continue the ways of the fathers, to secure for posterity "the free & full Enjoyment of those precious Rights and privileges for which our renowned forefathers expended so much Treasure and Blood."56

Thus Adams's role was that of an intermediary, passing the achievements of the past on to the future. He was not breaking new paths, discovering new worlds, but traveling a well-marked highway, which accounts for his confidence and rectitude, the "sternness of stuff" upon which John Adams commented. It was simply his duty "to oppose to the utmost of my Ability the Designs of those who would enslave my Country; and with Gods Assistance I am resolved to oppose them till their Designs are defeated or I am called to quit the Stage of Life."57 Because of this self-conception, Adams's conflict with Thomas Hutchinson was critical in his development as a revolutionary. Hutchinson was to Adams a son of New England—"bone of our Bone, & flesh of our flesh"—who turned on his native land, a man who would "aid the Designs of despotick power" in his willingness to compromise the colony's charter, even to recommend an abridgment of English liberties in America, all to satisfy his ambition for power and wealth.⁵⁸ And because he was so successful in attaining positions of influence, Hutchinson threatened the continuity of past and future to which Adams was so dedicated.

⁵⁶ Everett, "The Battle of Lexington," Apr. 19, 1835, in his Orations and Speeches (Boston, 1850–68), 1: 545; Adams to Arthur Lee, Boston, Apr. 9, 1773, and Sept. 27, 1771; Committee of Correspondence to Thomas Mighill, Boston, Oct. 7, 1773; Adams to John Scollay, Philadelphia, Dec. 30, 1780; and to Joseph Warren, Philadelphia, Feb. 12, 1779, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 3: 21; 2: 236; 3: 18; 4: 238, 124–25. For an earlier and different effort to link Adams's politics with his Calvinism, see Williams, "Samuel Adams," especially 48–50. Williams emphasizes above all Adams's dedication to "a corporate Christian commonwealth supported by the political economy of mercantilism" (p. 57). W. E. H. Lecky was more moved by Adams's character in his very brief description of the Massachusetts leader as a "seventeenth-century Covenanter." See The American Revolution, 1763–1783 (New York, 1922), 120.

⁶⁷ Adams to Elizabeth Adams, Baltimore, Jan. 29, 1777, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 3: 349.
⁶⁸ Adams to Stephen Sayre, Boston, Nov. 23, 1770; to John Scollay, Philadelphia, Dec. 30, 1780; to Elizabeth Adams, Philadelphia, Mar. 23, 1779; and as "Valerius Poplicola" and "Candidus," in Boston Gazette, Oct. 28 and Nov. 25, 1771, in ibid., 2: 67-68; 4: 237-38; 4: 138; 2: 256-64, 268-76. See also Bailyn, Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson, 183-84.

From these local origins, Adams's radicalism spread until he opposed not only England, whose politics shaped and sustained Hutchinson, but also the old order throughout Europe. In his effort to preserve his vision of a pure and virtuous past, Adams was, like other revolutionaries, pushed increasingly toward innovation.⁵⁹ His earlier equalitarian inclinations evolved into an articulate republicanism, until by 1785 Adams found all hereditary rule, indeed all institutions save those of a republic, "unnatural," tending "more or less to distress human Societies." Since the American Republic threatened all traditional establishments. Adams thought it would naturally evoke efforts at repression. "Will the Lion ever associate with the Lamb or the Leopard with the Kid," he asked Richard Henry Lee, "till our favorite principles shall be universally established?"60 Yet even revolutionary republicanism constituted only a revival of his ancestors' ways. Was the unpretentiousness of those early delegates to the Continental Congress—who, Adams recalled with approval, ate simple lunches of bread and cheese under a tree—so different from that of early New Englanders who were "contented with Clams and Muscles [sic]"? It was, he claimed, the "Principles and Manners of N[ew] Eng[lan]d" which "produced that Spirit which finally has established the Independence of America." And "the genuine Principles of New England," he suggested, were quite simply "Republican Principles."61

In the end, however, Adams is more usefully compared with England's seventeenth-century revolutionary saints than with New England's founders, who retreated to a wilderness to found their commonwealth. Like Adams, Britain's revolutionary Puritans were engaged, as Michael Walzer notes, in a lay ministry within a corrupted world; like him, they cited a purer past against the sinful present. More fundamentally, Adams followed his English political ancestors in his espousal of godly vigilance, playing the role of "watchman on the wall," alerting his city of new threats to its freedom; in his exercise of magistracy—creating popular associations, which marked a break with the more feudal past in America as in England, opening the way toward modern politics; devoting endless hours to committee work both in Boston and at the Continental Congress-and, ultimately, in his endorsement of revolution. His severe asceticism, moreover, links Adams not only with earlier Puritan revolutionaries but with Jacobins of the Republic of Virtue, Bolsheviks of the early days of the Russian Revolution, and the Chinese in Yenan. 62 The myth of Samuel Adams may then be wrong not just in misconceiving his personal identity, but also in its more fundamental

60 Adams to R. H. Lee, Boston, Apr. 14, 1785, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 4: 238, 408-11.

⁵⁸ On the conservative beginnings of revolutionary movements, see Hannah Arendt, On Revolution (New York, 1965), 34-40, 153.

⁶¹ Adams to James Warren, Yorktown, May 25, 1778, in Warren-Adams Letters, 2: 13; to William Checkley, Boston, June 1, 1774; to James Warren, Philadelphia, Feb. 12, 1779; and to Samuel Cooper, Philadelphia, Apr. 23, 1781, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 3: 128; 4: 124, 259-60.

62 Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics (Cambridge, Mass.,

⁶² Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 3-4, 12-13, 28-29, 204-10, 267, 306, 310-20. For a further example of revolutionary asceticism, among Vietcong revolutionaries in the Mekong Delta, see David Hunt, "Villagers at War: The National Liberation Front in My Tho Province, 1965-1967," Radical America, 8 (1974): 22-24, passim.

assumptions about the character of a revolutionary. Successful revolutionary leaders are not violent and irresponsible anarchists but persons of intense discipline and policy for whom the public cause purges mundane considerations of self.

Men such as these are destined to be misunderstood by later generations, for they play transitional roles in their revolutions. "They . . . helped carry men through a time of change" but "had no place in a time of stability." With the consolidation of the new order their acute Spartanism becomes uncomfortable, outmoded. The experience of several American "old revolutionaries" was here strikingly like that of an old Red Army man portrayed in a poem of 1924 by Sergei Esenin: "What a misfit I've become," he says after nostalgically recalling victories of the Russian Revolution; "I feel a foreigner in my land." Similarly, James Warren made a sentimental pilgrimage to Concord in 1792 but found "few of the old hands, and little of that noble spirit, and as little of those comprehensive views and sentiments which dignified the early days of the revolution. Thus," he concluded, "I have lived long enough to feel pains too great for me to describe." And by March 1801 South Carolina's Christopher Gadsden found the new world for which he had helped prepare the way a "mere bedlam."

Samuel Adams never succumbed to such acute disillusionment. He questioned whether Boston, much less America, would ever become a "Christian Sparta" as he once hoped, but he never lost his deeper faith in the people, never despaired of the Revolution. The nation's rejection of John Adams in 1800, which so disturbed Gadsden, was for Samuel Adams the end of a brief nightmare of armies and repression. "The storm is now over," he wrote Thomas Jefferson in 1801, "and we are in port," with peace and harmony in store. The principles of democratic republicanism were better understood than ever before, and, "by the continued efforts of Men of Science and Virtue," there was reason to believe they would "extend more and more till the turbulent and destructive Spirit of War shall cease," and "principles of Liberty and virtue, truth and justice" might "pervade the whole Earth." "65

For younger Americans, Adams appeared nonetheless intolerant, austere, inflexible, a man buried in his Puritan past. At best he was a person "born for the revolutionary epoch," one who "belonged to the revolution." In either case, Adams seemed out of place in later times, an alien. Discomfort contributed to the growth of myth, which further separated future generations from the historic man. It also testified to Samuel Adams's quintessentially revolutionary character, and so to the genuinely revolutionary character of the American Revolution.

⁶³ Walzer, Revolution of the Saints, 320; Esenin, "Soviet Russia," in ibid.

⁶⁴ James Warren to Gerry, Plymouth, Mass., Dec. 18, 1792, in A Study of Dissent: The Warren-Gerry Correspondence, ed. C. Harvey Gardiner (Carbondale, Ill., 1968), 251; Gadsden, The Writings of Christopher Gadsden, 1746-1805, ed. Richard Walsh (Columbia, 1966), 306-07.

⁶⁵ Adams to John Scollay, Philadelphia, Dec. 30, 1780, and to Jefferson, Apr. 24 and Nov. 18, 1801, in Writings of Samuel Adams, 4: 238, 408-11.
66 Tudor, The Life of James Otis, 275.

The Last Viceroys of New Spain and Peru: An Appraisal

TIMOTHY E. ANNA

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE Spanish American Wars of Independence (1810-24) is, to understate the obvious, vast. It is also, and this has apparently not been so obvious, one sided. It concentrates almost entirely on the rebels, on the American side, on their aspirations, their objectives, and their military and political campaigns. The literature on the royalist side is very incomplete. There are, of course, many valuable studies in what might be called the "background" to the movements for independence, studies concentrating on the eighteenth century and on the progressive decline of Spain's world system, on what was wrong with that system and why Americans perceived it to be unsuited to them. This background material, however, leaves a major gap in our understanding, for, although it tells us what Spanish Americans themselves thought to be grievances in the imperial system, it does not, as is sometimes assumed, automatically tell us how that system collapsed. Much less does it tell us what the royalists were thinking, or their objectives in the war itself, or the mistakes they made in the war. Given the fact that, as Hugh M. Hamill, Jr. has pointed out in the case of Mexico, the majority of Spanish Americans were not decided on the question of independence, exclusive concentration on the fundamental weaknesses of the royal system and on American objections to it, important though these were, does not tell the whole story. It may explain, for example, why the royal system "deserved" to be overthrown or why Americans perceived it to deserve that fate, but it does not explain how it was overthrown. Similarly, a thousand studies of military campaigns only tell how battles were won and lost. One might even go so far as to say that a thousand biographies of Simón Bolívar, José de San Martín, Miguel Hidalgo, José María Morelos, and Agustín de Iturbide only tell how they won, not how Spain lost. As C. H. Haring long ago pointed out, Spain's imperial system in America may not have been the world's best government, but it was not the world's worst. It may not have made room for or fulfilled the aspirations of Americans, but it was no mere house of cards.

It is well past time, then, that Latin American historians specializing in the

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¹ Hugh M. Hamill, Jr., The Hidalgo Revolt: Prelude to Mexican Independence (Gainesville, 1966), 151. ² C. H. Haring, The Spanish Empire in America (New York, 1947), 113.

emancipation focus a proportionate amount of attention on the royalists. Furthermore, that focus should be concentrated, not in the eighteenth century, much less in the sixteenth, not at the time Spain's imperial institutions were created, or even at the moment of their most important institutional reform under the Bourbons, but during the Wars of Independence.3 No matter how widespread the radical ideas of the French and North American philosophers were, no matter how corroded Spain's ability to govern may have been, the obvious and automatic answer to what Americans saw wrong in the empire was not independence. It would have been, rather, reform, accommodation, and compromise. Even when the uprisings actually began, as, for example, in the case of the Hidalgo insurrection, independence was not the logical or automatic objective. It was not until 1813 in Mexico, 1816 in Río de la Plata, and 1821 in Lima that rebels formally proclaimed independence. Something must have got in the way, something must have acted after 1810 to convert the insurgent cry of "Death to bad government" into "Long live independence."

One of the fundamental mistakes the historian could make in reviewing the royal government during the Wars of Independence would be to think of it as functioning the way the law required it to. It did not, because it could not. Three centuries of restrictions and controls over the exercise of the Crown's power by its agents in America had not prepared them for the catastrophe of 1808. During most of the Wars of Independence the royal power in America functioned virtually on its own, because from 1808 to 1814 the monarch was a captive in France and from 1820 to 1823 he was a captive of the liberal Spanish Constitution. Thus, while in theory major policy decisions came exclusively from Spain—and many of them did—in practice throughout this era an extraordinary amount of major policy was made by the viceroys, and almost in spite of their natural absolutist inclinations. This is not to deny that the intransigence of peninsular Spain on the question of American autonomy also played a great role in provoking American desires for total separation. But the focus should first be on Lima and Mexico City.

The thesis of this article is that the viceroys themselves, unwittingly and without recognizing it, disproved the myths upon which Spanish imperial absolutism was based. To put it another way, they proved Spanish imperialism unsuited to America. Actual circumstances and events forced them to contradict their stated principles and the principles on which imperial political institutions were grounded. And since this was a complex

³ See Hugh M. Hamill, Jr., "Royalist Counterinsurgency in the Mexican War of Independence: The Lessons of 1811," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 53 (1973): 470–89. I would take his statement that excessive concentration on the insurgents "tends to warp our understanding of what actually happened" and apply it equally to excessive concentration on Spanish government and imperial administrative reforms in the century before the outbreak of insurrection, on the grounds that such concentration tends to make us think we have an explanation for American independence when, in fact, that remains to be demonstrated by specific application.

time not suited to analysis by use of clear-cut extremes, the reader will be presented a second—and long overdue—thesis: that the viceroys were not incompetent, but on the contrary, extraordinarily competent politicians and military leaders. A myriad of forthright actions and forceful decisions taken by the viceroys to solve actual problems facing them ultimately proved to uncommitted Americans that Spanish imperialism was no longer valid, that it was false authority. Mere inaction could not have accomplished that, nor could mere rebel propaganda, nor could even the remarkably clearheaded political analyses of Bolívar himself. Independence was more than a coup d'état, though it was also something less than true revolution if that term be taken to require social, economic, and even intellectual revolution. It was the rejection of a three-hundred-year-old political tradition and of a previously held identity. Opposition alone could not have produced such a profound political change; established authority must first have proved itself invalid, and the viceroys were the principal agents of established authority.

The subjects of this article are the men who in their role as "alter ego," literally "vice-king," of King Ferdinand VII, represented in their persons the authority of the sovereign and the imperialism of Spain in the two chief American colonies. For New Spain they were Francisco Xavier Venegas, marqués de la Reunión de Nueva España (1810-13); Felix María Calleja del Rey, conde de Calderón (1813-16); and Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, conde del Venadito (1816-21). For Peru they were José Abascal, marqués de la Concordia (1806–16); Joaquín de la Pezuela, marqués de Viluma (1816–21); and José de la Serna, conde de los Andes (1821-24).4 In order to view them properly we must remember that emotionally inspired antipathies have long obscured the record of their remarkable accomplishments. Together they provided the strongest leadership the American kingdoms ever had with the exception of the great sixteenth-century founder-viceroys. In every sense of the word, they actually ruled America. Their strength of purpose and loyalty help. explain why independence took so long to achieve and why it cannot be assumed to have been inevitable. By definition they were imperialists, by training absolutists, and as wartime leaders they were responsible, as were the rebel leaders, for the destruction of the wars. Having said this about them, we have merely reaffirmed that they were effective servants of their sovereign. It is no more valid to dismiss Calleja from study because he was viewed by his enemies as a bloody butcher than it would be to ignore Hidalgo because of the atrocities committed by his followers. It is no more valid to dismiss Abascal as a mere reactionary than it would be to forget that Bolívar was no democrat. And yet, traditionally in Latin American historiography they have been viewed as the blundering, bloody-minded, and unthinking agents of an outmoded despotism that, as the cliché about the royal dynasty they served would have it, never learned anything and never forgot anything.⁵ This is

⁴ Each will be referred to hereafter by family name since some possessed their title while viceroy and others only after leaving their posts.

⁵ The most significant mark of this is the startling dearth of biographies of the viceroys; they have hardly been endowed with humanity. One would think America was governed from 1810 to 1824 by automatons. A

surely a disservice to history, for to view them as stereotypes is, among other things, to deny the full impact of the movement for independence and to lessen the stature of the Liberators who met and defeated them in a contest whose outcome was by no means preordained. It is to ignore the political opinions of that significant number of Spanish Americans who did not want independence and to whom the viceroys were saviors—it still remains to be demonstrated whether they were a minority or a majority, for the victory of independence does not constitute automatic proof. Above all, the traditional view of the viceroys denies rationality to Spain's imperial ethos.

How did the viceroys conceive of themselves and of their role? Each, of course; was very different, and the frequent disagreements among them were one source of their ultimate failure. What united them was chiefly the fact that they faced the task of revivifying viceregal authority in the face of universal assault from both America and Spain. All served the unworthy Ferdinand VII, who never failed to reward them (each was granted his title of nobility on the grounds of service as viceroy) but whose weakness and vacillation seriously undercut their authority. The extent of their love for Ferdinand himself is impossible to discover and not important anyway, as it was rather to the king as a symbol that they were loyal. Although each was a professional servant of the king, and therefore predisposed toward the defense of the king's prerogatives, which were also the viceroy's, each was genuinely dedicated to what they all conceived of as the only possible and correct foundation for the state—the absolute monarchy as represented by Ferdinand's grandfather Charles III (though they disagreed on the extent to which reform within the structure was desirable). More than that, they were also dedicated to their definition of Spain and of its role in the world, to Hispanism. Their proclamations referring to the brotherhood of Spaniards and the unity of the empire were not empty rhetoric. They believed that the brilliant civilizing mission of Spain in America was still alive. The noble titles they were

summary bibliography on the viceroys themselves is difficult because much of the most useful information is treated indirectly. For an assessment of Venegas, see, for example, Hamill, "Royalist Counterinsurgency." For a treatment of the reactions to Calleja's policies, see N. M. Farriss, Crown and Clergy in Colonial Mexico, 1759-1821 (Oxford, 1968). Lucas Alamán's Semblanzas e ideario (2d ed.; Mexico City, 1939) includes biographies of the Mexican viceroys. Less useful is Artemio de Valle-Arizpe's Virreyes y virreinas de Nueva España (2d ed.; Mexico City, 1947). Carlos María Bustamante's Campañas del General D. Felix Maria Calleja del Rey (Mexico City, 1828) is a standard. It is interesting that there is a biography of Calleja's wife, who was an American: see José de Núñez y Domínguez, La virreina mexicana: Doña María Francisca de la Gándara de Calleja (Mexico City, 1950). The latest statement on Calleja is Carol Ferguson, "The Spanish Tamerlaine?: Felix María Calleja, Viceroy of New Spain, 1813-1816" (Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Christian University, 1973). For the Peruvian viceroys the best overall biographies are in Manuel de Mendiburu, Diccionario histórico biográfico del Peru (Lima, 1874-90), in which the viceroys are treated in short original monographs. The well-known memoirs of Abascal and Pezuela are essential: José Fernando de Abascal, Memorias de govierno, ed. Vicente Rodríguez Casado and José Antonio Calderón Quijano (Seville, 1944), and Joaquín de la Pezuela, Memoria del gobierno, ed. Vicente Rodríguez Casado and Guillermo Lohmann Villena (Seville, 1947). See also Fernando Díaz Venteo, Las campañas militares del Virrey Abascal (Seville, 1948), and Jaime Eyzaguirre, La logia lautarina y otros estudios sobre la independencia (Buenos Aires, 1973). La Serna and Apodaca in particular have been ignored. Original material and documents relating to the viceroys, however, are widespread, with the exception of La Serna, whose papers are badly scattered. A particular problem is that by special dispensation none of the six viceroys had a residencia, nor did these viceroys leave instructions to their successors.

granted—Concordia, Reunión—often reflected this mission. They embodied Spain's imperial ethos—absolutism, the sovereign, and the mission to spread and preserve true Christianity and true civilization.

The reader will already have scoffed, perhaps, wondering on what grounds he shall take these viceroys seriously if this was genuinely their concept of their role in America. Surely they could see that it was a concept belonging to the sixteenth century; surely they could see the illogic in it. No, in fact, they did not, or only partially at any rate, for they still genuinely believed it. They were, after all, imperialists, whose world view included belief in the rationality of their nation's history and their own actions. They could not grasp the point of view that Bolívar personified, the idea that Spain's mission in America was over and that the child had outgrown the parent. At any rate, to assume that in 1810, or even in 1820, most Americans recognized the invalidity of Spain's civilizing mission in America is to anticipate. Its validity was proven, as Spaniards viewed it, by three hundred years of history. Inertia, time, upbringing, and tradition were all on the royalists' side. The rebels did not win unanimous agreement when they declared that Spain's hour had passed. It had to be proved, and only the chief agents of Spain could prove it.

That is exactly what they did, for the fundamental factor that would destroy them, a factor they did not and could not recognize, was that the values upon which their authority and the Crown's authority were based were rapidly becoming irrelevant. On a wider spectrum, of course, world events disproved the divinity of the monarchy, the Napoleonic wars showed that Spain was no longer Europe's foremost power, and North American independence suggested that America could function independently of its founders. But within the empire itself events were showing the viceroys to be, unknown to themselves, defenders of a glorious irrelevancy. The things they claimed and thought they represented no longer corresponded to what they actually represented in the minds of Americans. The reality was a king who had overthrown his own father (it was the first time this had happened in the history of the unified monarchy), a war-torn Spain either subjected to Napoleonic rule or divided between constitutionalism and absolutism, and for many Americans, especially the nonelite, a very real oppression. The Napoleonic conquest of Spain and the questioning of the nation's fundamental traditions exemplified by the Constitution of Cádiz together contradicted or disproved the political

⁶ For studies illustrating the extraordinary staying power of Hispanism after independence, see Mark J. Van Aken, Pan-Hispanism: Its Origin and Development to 1866 (Berkeley, 1959), and, among the most recent, Fredrick B. Pike, Hispanismo, 1898–1936: Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and Their Relations with Spanish America (Notre Dame, 1971). The basic emotion, which Pike succinctly defines as "an unassailable faith in the existence of a transatlantic Hispanic family, community or raza (race)" (p. 1), is not, after all, very different from the fundamental principle of the British Commonwealth, but its political, social, and philosophical meanings are very different. Since Hispanism is conservative, antimodern, antidemocratic, sometimes ultrareligious, and sometimes anticapitalistic, North Americans often find it incomprehensible. This does not alter the fact that it is very real and has answered the needs of countless Spanish American philosophers since independence. In the period under consideration here it was just beginning to be challenged. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, Hispanism in Spanish America was at its ebb, owing to the bitterness caused by the Wars of Independence, but it revived after 1898 when Spain was no longer a threat to American safety.

values Americans had previously been taught to believe. The viceroys sensed this crisis of confidence and responded to it in different ways, but they never fully understood it. It was a fault in the system, not in themselves, but they were the agents of the system and therefore of its failure.

José Abascal, who governed the Peruvian vicerovalty for ten years, was the most absolutistic in his response to the rebellion. Perhaps he best understood the authority that the viceroy traditionally personified. He was convinced that standing firm, not moving an inch, was the best defense against the crises he faced on all sides. Indeed rebellion provoked in him greater adherence to absolutism. In a report to Spain in 1815 he accused even the Lima Inquisition of weakening his authority by daring to criticize him. As a witness to the revolution, he testified, "I know that nothing has so prejudiced the king's cause as the lack of resolution, or the imbecility, of those who have held power" in America. In 1814 he had a disagreement with his own audiencia (royal court), which he accused of being too easy on a rebel sent for trial from Arequipa. When the audiencia referred to their disagreement as a "conflict," the viceroy replied, "I urge you next time to avoid using the word 'conflict' with me, because either you do not understand its significance, or you forget where I come from and what I represent." To him a conflict between the two arms of royal authority in Peru was a contradiction in terms. This was the tone adopted by the viceroys who were in office when the insurrections broke out, for maintaining Spain's imperial power undiminished was the viceroys' appointed task.

Viceroy Felix María Calleja of Mexico was also a genuine absolutist who, unlike every other viceroy, spoke and wrote with a stunning frankness about the royal government's troubles. He came closest to understanding what was actually happening. Following the nullification of the Constitution upon Ferdinand's restoration in 1814, Calleja wrote a remarkable letter in which he explained to the peninsula that "the ancient illusions" of the Americans about the authority of the Crown and its agents had received a death blow from the liberalization and confusion of authority that the Constitution entailed. With remarkable political perceptiveness he pointed out that what was important was not so much the defeat of one or another rebel chieftain but the restoration of what he frankly recognized to be the great myths that had cemented the state. The restoration of calm sufficient to allow a return to normality was also vital, "for even if the arms of the rebels prove unsuccessful . . . still misery, and a growing consumption, will do that which neither force nor intrigue may be able to effect."

Abascal and Calleja, then, had the clearest and coldest understanding of

⁶ Calleja to minister of grace and justice, Mexico City, Aug. 18, 1814, AGI, Mexico 1482; the translation is from Henry George Ward, Mexico in 1827 (London, 1828), 1: 512-22.

⁷ Abascal to secretary of the Indies, Lima, Mar. 29, 1815; Abascal to minister of grace and justice, Lima, Aug. 2, 1814, both in Archivo General de Indias, Seville (hereafter AGI), Lima 749, 748.

authority and its employment, which is power. Almost as a direct adjunct, they were the most successful of the viceroys in fighting the insurrection. In Peru, Abascal was able virtually to prevent the insurrection from spreading into the viceroyalty itself, while he raised money and dispatched troops to



Fig. 1. José Abascal, viceroy of Peru, 1806-16. The six portraits appearing throughout the article are late nineteenth-century drawings taken from the official portraits made of each viceroy during his reign. Each wears the uniform of captain general and personal decorations.

help restore royal governments in Montevideo, Upper Peru, Chile, and Quito. Calleja, the military genius who took office at the high point of rebel fortunes in Mexico, was able in three years to break the rebellion's back, to capture Morelos and destroy his forces, and to pacify almost all of the country; so that the year after Calleja left office his successor, Apodaca, could claim that the rebellion in Mexico was over. All this was accomplished even though, as Calleja wrote, "The war strengthens and propagates the desire for Independence, holding out a constant hope of our destruction, a longing desire which . . . is general amongst all classes, and has penetrated into every corner of the kingdom." He recognized the hollowness of his military victories and insisted that the only salvation from destruction was "to reanimate the authority of the government." 10

⁹Apodaca to minister of war, Mexico City, Oct. 31, 1816, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico (hereafter AGN), Historia, vol. 152, no. 2.

¹⁰ Calleja to minister of grace and justice, Mexico City, Aug. 18, 1814.

Slightly less cynical, but still undeniably absolutist, was Francisco Xavier Venegas, Calleja's predecessor in Mexico. It was he who had to face the shock of Hidalgo's uprising in 1810, the bloody first round of the Mexican war. Within days after his reception in the capital in September 1810, there appeared a pasquinade on the walls of the viceregal palace mocking his personal appearance and style of dress. In typically direct fashion, he is said to have ordered an answering pasquinade to be affixed next to the offending original with the words:

My face is not that of an Excellency nor my clothes of a Viceroy, but I represent the King.
This simple advice
I give you for what it is worth:
The law must be the north star that guides my actions.
Look out for treacheries done in this court.¹¹

It was Venegas's sagacity, especially his ability to choose extremely competent officers like Calleja, who was commander of the army of the center and later military governor of the capital, that allowed him to resist the terrifying uprising of the Indian masses under Hidalgo and the guerrilla war under Morelos that followed. In 1811 he faced two direct plots by dissidents in the capital to kidnap or assassinate him. He organized new militia groups, firmly resisted the more radical requirements of the Constitution after 1812, opened new sources of revenue in the face of genuine financial crisis, and ended the dangerous lack of direction the government had suffered from since the shocks of 1808. In 1810 and 1811 he created a special police force for the capital city and special tribunals to deal with treason and rebellion throughout the nation. He denied charges by the city council of Mexico that these agencies were indistinguishable from those of the French tyrant in Spain, ¹² and he ignored orders from the Cortes to disband them.

The greatest danger, however, to the authority of all three of these viceroys came from Spain, not from the American insurgents. In 1812 the erosion of the fundamental principles of the empire reached its peak in the publication of the Constitution written by the Spanish Cortes of Cádiz. The Constitution, which the viceroys had to declare in America if only because it was the work of the single commonly accepted legitimate government, lowered the viceroys to the status of "superior political chiefs" of their kingdoms, created elected provincial deputations to share power with viceroys, reduced *audiencias* to mere courts of law, and established elected city governments. Most startling, it declared national sovereignty vested in the Cortes rather than the absent king, a direct

 ¹¹ Quoted in Jesús Romero Flores, México: Historia de una gran ciudad (Mexico City, 1953), 481.
 ¹² Venegas to Mexico City council, Mexico City, Oct. 29, 1811, Archivo del Ex-Ayuntamiento, Mexico City, Policía en general, vol. 3629, exp. 176.

contradiction of the fundamental principle of the Spanish state. For two years the Constitution remained in effect until the restoration of Ferdinand nullified it, and for two years Viceroy Abascal in Peru and Viceroys Venegas and Calleja in Mexico agonized over the delicate task of appearing to execute its pro-



Fig. 2. Francisco Javier Venegas, viceroy of New Spain, 1810-13.

visions while ignoring those they perceived to be destructive of their authority. They were in the altogether extraordinary position—and one which the true absolutist would not have expected to encounter—of serving a metropolitan government that spoke for the king but that was controlled by a philosophy inimical, as they viewed it, to the true interests of the king. In Peru, Abascal nullified the Constitution's provision for the freedom of the press, paid only nominal attention to the provincial deputations, and struggled to neutralize the revolutionary effects of a freely elected Lima city council, which he thought represented Creole dissidents. In Mexico, Venegas faced the same problems, nullifying elections that came too close to threatening royal prerogatives and first implementing, then nullifying, the freedom of the press. Venegas and Calleja publicly quarreled over what Calleja viewed as the viceroy's insufficiently hostile attitude toward the Constitution and his unwillingness to prosecute the war militarily. Mexican reactionaries bombarded

Spain with requests for Venegas's replacement by Calleja, and in March 1813 Calleja took office. Promising to implement the Constitution fully in his first proclamation to the people as viceroy, Calleja nonetheless took no action to implement the free press, even in the face of fierce complaints from every level of the moderate faction in the country. Charges and countercharges were dispatched to Spain in bewildering numbers. All three viceroys had occasion to accuse dissidents of engineering local elections, while Creoles and liberals in both countries charged them with tyranny and illegal acts. 18

Viceroy Abascal in Peru could afford to be less heavy handed in his efforts to neutralize the Constitution, largely because the kingdom was not itself a theater of war except in 1814, following the uprising at Cuzco. ¹⁴ He attempted instead to direct the actions of the various constitutional agencies by actually giving the appearance of participation. The Constitution made the vicerov titular head or president of the city council of his capital and of the provincial deputation of the capital-province, and Abascal actually filled those chairs, something his Mexican colleagues refused to do. In this way he could supervise the actions of the councils. In the provincial deputation, for example, he personally appointed the secretary, while a year later he intervened in the electoral junta that was choosing a Cortes delegate from Lima. 15 In 1813 he disqualified the elector chosen by Lima from participating in the vote to elect the Cortes delegate and provincial deputation on the grounds that the man chosen was a magistrate, and yet he was actually thought to be too well disposed toward the dissidents. In 1813 he disqualified one of the men chosen as a city councilor in Lima. 16 He ordered the Lima city council to inform him whenever it expected to discuss a matter of major importance so that he could preside over the debate, and he demanded that it not write directly to the government in Spain without his approval, although it firmly refused to obey. 17 He even refused to let the newly elected Lima city council for 1814 take the traditional paseo through the streets on the day of its inauguration. 18 Abascal's real object was to allow the liberal provisions of the Constitution to draw dissidents out in the open so they could be identified. As early as mid-1813, meetings of his junta of war were able to discuss with remarkable accuracy the status of prominent citizens throughout the country

¹³Material on the Constitution and its effects is extensive, although it concentrates on Mexico. The most useful recent material includes, for Peru, James Larry Odom, "Viceroy Abascal versus the Cortes of Cádiz" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1968); and, for Mexico, Nettie Lee Benson, ed., Mexico and the Spanish Cortes, 1810-1822: Eight Essays (Austin, 1966); Benson, La diputación provincial y el federalismo mexicano (Mexico City, 1955); Benson, "The Contested Mexican Election of 1812," Hispanic American Historical Review, 26 (1946): 336-50; and James F. King, "The Colored Castes and the American Representation in the Cortes of Cadiz," Hispanic American Historical Review, 33 (1953): 33-64.

As J. R. Fisher has shown, however, the Constitution itself and Abascal's refusal to implement it fully were central causes of the Cuzco uprising, which we name after its Indian leader, Pumacahua. Government and Society in Colonial Peru: The Intendant System, 1784-1814 (London, 1970), 227.

¹⁵ Pedro Alcantara Bruno to regency, Lima, Mar. 13, 1814; Miguel Tenorio and others to Cortes, Lima,

May 24, 1814, AGI, Limz 799.

¹⁶ Miguel de Eyzaguirre to regency, Lima, Apr. 3, 1813, AGI, Lima 799; Actas del Cabildo, Lima, bk. 43, Mar. 23, 1813, Biblioteca Municipal de Lima.

¹⁷ Abascal to secretary of Ultramar, Lima, May 31, 1813, AGI, Lima 745.

¹⁸ Actas del Cabildo, Lima, bk. 43, Jan. 1, 1814, Biblioteca Municipal de Lima.

who in the years ahead would remain leaders of the undergound in favor of independence. 19

Venegas and Calleja were more direct in their opposition to the Constitution and consequently caused far greater public reaction, but they



Fig. 3. Felix María Calleja del Rey, viceroy of New Spain, 1813-16.

viewed their opposition as necessary, for the years of the Constitution corresponded with the high point of Morelos's campaign. Venegas actually annulled the first elections that took place in Mexico City on November 29, 1812, claiming they had been improperly conducted. The night of the elections there were widespread popular demonstrations of support for the Constitution in the capital, which both Venegas and General Calleja called riots in their reports to Spain. The fact allowing the free press provision to go into effect for two months, Venegas annulled it as well, on the grounds that it gave cover to rebel propaganda. The fact that in a series of elections in the capital city hardly any peninsular Spaniards were ever elected conclusively showed the direction of popular feeling, and it explains Venegas's hostility.

Abascal to secretary of the Indies, Lima, Mar. 27, 1815, AGI, Lima 749.
 Benson, "Contested Mexican Election of 1812," 336-50.

²¹ Venegas to minister of state, Mexico City, Dec. 27, 1812; Calleja to minister of grace and justice, Mexico City, June 16, 1813, AGI, Mexico 1322.

On March 4, 1813, in the midst of the constitutional era, Calleja became viceroy. Speaking words of sweet reasonableness, he permitted the long-overdue elections of Mexico City's council and provincial deputation, but he delegated the reactionary intendant-corregidor of the province to serve as president of both. Promising everything, he simply neglected to do anything about restoring the free press, ignoring several direct orders from the Cortes to do so. He, too, was able to draw out dissidents by pretending to permit constitutional provisions. The elections were perfectly suited to that purpose. At one point he even negotiated with the famous underground rebel group called the Guadalupes as a means of discovering the loyalties of prominent residents of the capital. The rebels of the Guadalupes wrote-to Morelos the day after Calleja's assumption of office and paid him the supreme compliment of warning that the viceroy was their greatest opponent, for, they said, "he is a great politician."

Calleja now commenced a military, political, and propaganda campaign against the insurgents that clearly defines him as the fiercest, most competent, most ruthless, and, from the royalists' point of view, best viceroy of the era. He publicly promised "to dedicate myself exclusively to the destruction of Morelos."23 In 1814 he swore to the king that he would not let Mexico go while he remained in power even if he had to march at the head of the whole army across the country, laying it waste with fire and sword until every rebel was destroyed.24 Special courts-martial of the most dubious legality were set up in the provinces to deal with treason, and they were ordered to ignore the immunity of clerics from civil prosecution and to execute rebel priests without ado. By June 1814, even before he had heard of the king's nullification of the Constitution, Calleja was sufficiently powerful to exult in a public decree, "Nothing can now stand in the way of the execution of my ideas."25 He reacted "with unspeakable joy," as he wrote himself, upon hearing of the king's restoration.²⁶ With icy hauteur he commanded the dissolution of the various constitutional bodies as order after order arrived from Spain. When the constitutional city council of Mexico wrote him what he considered to be an insufficiently warm letter of thanksgiving following announcement of the restoration, he ordered it to write him again within four hours making it clear "whether or not you are disposed to guard, obey, and execute on your part everything touched on by His Majesty in his decree . . . annulling the Cortes and the Constitution."27 Several months later the king wrote Calleja approving of all his previous actions, including his refusal to obey the

²² Los Guadalupes to Morelos, Mexico City, Mar. 5, 1813, AGI, Mexico 1482. On the Guadalupes, see Wilbert H. Timmons, "Los Guadalupes: A Secret Society in the Mexican Revolution for Independence," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 30 (1950): 453–99, and Timmons, *Morelos: Priest, Soldier, Statesman of Mexico* (El Paso, 1963).

²³ Proclamation of June 22, 1814, quoted in Bustamante, Campañas del General Calleja, supp., p. 10.

²⁴ Calleja to minister of grace and justice, Mexico City, Aug. 18, 1814.

²⁵ Proclamation of June 22, 1814.

²⁶ Calleja to minister of grace and justice, Mexico City, Aug. 18, 1814.

²⁷ Calleja to Mexico City council, Aug. 22, 1814, Archivo del Ex-Ayuntamiento, Historia en general, vol. 2254.

Constitution, and authorizing him to take whatever measures necessary to stop the insurrection.²⁸ Having now a fairly complete list of secret traitors among the upper classes of Mexico City, throughout 1815 Calleja ordered a series of arrests of prominent nobles and gentlemen, city councilors, lawyers, and priests, which virtually destroyed the rebel fifth column in the capital. Meanwhile Morelos was captured and executed. Calleja was triumphant; his admirers called him the "Reconqueror," the "Second Cortés."

THE CONSTITUTION WAS GONE. But both Abascal and Calleja knew that its effects were far more widespread than their contemporaries, or even their successors Pezuela, La Serna, and Apodaca, suspected. The damage lay not in any temporary advantage the Creoles or dissidents had achieved, not in the confusion and chaos that had reigned, not in the fury of liberals and moderates alike who had seen their opportunity for a government of laws trampled underfoot by self-willed men. The chief damage lay in what the Constitution had done to the foundations upon which viceregal and royal authority rested. The Mexican audiencia called it a loss of Spain's "moral force."29 In a letter dated August 18, 1814, Calleja affirmed that the Constitution had removed from the viceroy every vestige of authority he had possessed outside the use of plain force, and it could never be recovered. "The insurrection is now so deeply impressed and rooted in the heart of every American," he wrote, "that nothing but the most energetic measures, supported by an imposing force, can ever eradicate it." The Constitution had exposed the ministers and magistrates to ridicule. "They have lost their prestige, and even their respectability." It was now too late; the mere defeat of the insurgents, he said, would not end the rebellion. This was so because continued warfare "acts against us in two ways: by open force, and by increasing distress; the first will always be repelled, the second will reduce us gradually to death's door."30 Calleja, the Second Cortés, the most astute and ruthless of the last viceroys, recognized that he was trapped, for the only way to retain power was to use force, and force, he knew, was counterproductive. The more battles Spain won the fewer supporters it had, the more power the viceroys amassed the less true authority remained to the agents of Spain.

This replacement of authority by force was manifest in a remarkable exchange of letters between Calleja and the liberal bishop of Puebla, Dr. Antonio Joaquín Pérez. The bishop wrote the viceroy in April 1816, complaining about the cruelty of royal troops and the destructiveness of the war in general, and Calleja replied justifying his government's and army's actions. Calleja did not deny the excesses of the royal troops but justified them by citing the excesses of the rebels. Pérez said farms and factories of those

See Francisco de Paula de Arrangoiz y Berzábal, Méjico desde 1808 hasta 1867 (Madrid, 1871), 1: 271.
 Mexican audiencia to Cortes, Mexico City, Nov. 18, 1813, quoted in Ward, Mexico in 1827, 1: 497-509.

³⁰ Calleja to minister of grace and justice, Mexico City, Aug. 18, 1814. For a modern restatement of the theoretical principle that Calleja clearly understood, see Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, 1970), 232.

suspected of treason were destroyed needlessly; Calleja said the government had been too soft. Pérez accused royal troops of demanding excessive supplies; Calleja replied it was the duty of the countryside to supply a marching army. Pérez complained that the army was guilty of capricious and unwarranted bloodletting when capturing rebel towns; Calleja replied that he could not restrain successful and victorious troops, the laws of war permitted every excess. Pérez alleged the royal government had published false accounts of battles; Calleja said falsifying news from the battlefields was justified on the grounds of political expediency.³¹ In all the history of colonial Spanish America there is hardly another instance, outside of the initial conquest phase, of so unashamed a dependence on naked force. Calleja knew that any other defense of his actions would be hypocritical. Indeed, to him even compromise was hypocritical.32

In Peru, meanwhile, the aging Abascal also sensed the turning point in the war had arrived. While the world witnessed royal armies sweep triumphantly across the entire continent, so that by 1816 all of South America except the Río de la Plata was again reduced to royal control, he sensed that sheer force was the only thing left, for authority had evaporated. Whether he recognized it clearly or not, it was only a matter of time before simple force could no longer sustain the regime. The viceroy begged Spain to let him retire, while Spanish ministries were flooded with complaints against him and his arbitrary use of power. 33 Most of the Peruvian complainants were unaware that it was only Abascal and his arbitrary use of power that had stanched the flood of rebellion.

Simultaneously, however, the practical problems of the royal government were becoming acute. Contrary to its silver-inspired popular image, Peru had always been poor, and its cost of living had for centuries been one of the highest in the world—the result, of course, of an excess of silver and a shortage of everything else. Now bread was selling for fifty cents a loaf and would rise to a dollar by 1821, while the government staggered under an unbearable cumulative deficit of 12,000,000 pesos and a yearly deficit by 1814 of 1,500,000 pesos, and 150,000 artisans were out of work.34 Spanish economic precepts were rapidly being disproved as well. No exertion, no force, no intransigence on the viceroy's part could rescue Peru from this inexorable plunge toward bankruptcy as long as rebellion existed anywhere on the continent. But Peru could not defeat the insurrection everywhere. Its resources were becoming overstrained, and its population could not bear such exertions much longer.

³¹ "Cuaderno de contestaciones entre el Virey de Nueva España y el Obispo de Puebla," copied July 12,

^{1816,} AGI, Estado 31.

See Gurr explains: "Regimes facing armed rebellion usually regard compromise as evidence of weakness

and devote additional resources to military retaliation." Why Men Rebel, 232.

33 Domingo Sánchez Revata to Infante D. Carlos María; Lima, July 29, 1816; Mariano Tramarria to king, Lima, May 1, 1816; Antonio Arroniz to king, Lima, June 28, 1815; minutes of council of the Indies, Feb.-Nov. 1816, AGI, Lima 773, 1017. The most extreme charge was that Abascal was prolonging the war for his own glory and personal benefit.

³⁴ Report of Ábascal to Junta de Arbitrios, Lima, Apr. 28, 1815; Lázaro de Ribera to Pedro de Macanaz, Lima, Feb. 3, 1815, AGI, Lima 741, 773. A Peruvian silver peso was equal to the United States dollar in 1810.

And all these financial difficulties existed prior to the final rush to independence of Peru's neighbors.

Is IT REALLY ANY WONDER, then, that Bolívar, writing from exile in Jamaica in 1815 at the nadir of his career, could declare that although the rebellion had been crushed almost everywhere in America, "success will crown our efforts, because the destiny of America has been irrevocably decided; the tie that bound her to Spain has been severed. Only a concept maintained that tie and kept the parts of that immense monarchy together. That which formerly bound them now divides them." The tie that bound consisted, in his own words, of "the habit of obedience; a community of interest, of understanding, of religion; mutual goodwill; a tender regard for the birthplace and good name of our forefathers." The concept that maintained that tie was Spanish authority. All that had disappeared, and Spain was now reduced to "an aged serpent, bent only on satisfying its venomous rage." "85

This well-known quotation of the Liberator, read and remembered by later generations with the most intense affection and pride, was certainly part prophecy. But it was also a foresight of what was soon to be manifest. The Liberator was predicting that the back of the royalist cause was broken, and at the very moment that royal power seemed most ascendant. How can this apparent contradiction be explained? Simply by remembering that the possession of territory by armies, especially in a civil war, is not the same thing as loyalty. In fact there were two wars going on: one a struggle for territory, the second a struggle for men's minds. While the first was important, the second was decisive. The Spaniards were winning the first but losing the second. Bolívar knew, if only intuitively, that the authoritarianism of both Abascal and Calleja and their cynical refusal to conform to the empire's fundamental law code had broken both the chain of affection upon which loyalty depended and the habit of obedience that was the foundation of royal power. The very ground rules by which loyalty was conceived had been altered by the viceroys' responses to insurrection, converting the delicate strands of loyalty into hatred. This is more than saying simply that royal military operations provoked hatred. That those operations were conducted by men who in the name of loyalty refused to obey the fundamental law as set forth in the Constitution was the fact that was so critical. This converted absolutism into true tyranny. Spanish political philosophy had always recognized a difference between absolutism and firm government, on the one hand, and tyranny on the other. Ferdinand VII himself, in his decree of May 4, 1814, annulling the Constitution, could declare that he and his predecessors had never been tyrants. By definition the king could not be a tyrant because by definition he reflected and was the ultimate culmination of the wishes and aspirations of his people. But in America that definition was now collapsing, for this

³⁵ Simón Bolívar, "Letter from Jamaica," in Selected Writings of Bolívar, comp. Vicente Lecuna, ed. Harold A. Bierck, Jr., tr. Lewis Bertrand (New York, 1951), 1: 103-22.

government was not working, which made it "bad government," and it did not adhere to the law, which made it tyranny. Even the most apathetic Spanish American was bound to notice this contradiction between theory and practice because Spain and Spanish America had always worshiped the law.

Why were the royal authorities unable to build a new affection, a new or revived habit of obedience, on the basis of their military victories? The chief reason is that once Calleja and Abascal had made unalterable and immovable authoritarianism the foundation of royal power, authoritarianism had to be maintained. Any attempt by their successors to diversify the foundations of loyalty stood little chance of success. Once the iron fist was uncovered, any attempt to glove it would appear to be either hypocrisy or weakness; both would encourage further resistance. Authority, once corroded, can never be re-established by force. It might, however, be maintained for an indefinite period of time by force, 36 but that force must be constant and unremitting, and such force would require resources Spain no longer had at its disposal. Over and over again the next viceroys appealed to Spain for troops and warships. One need only read the diary of Pezuela in Peru, as he daily assessed the chances of this or that expedition being gathered and making it to Lima, to witness an unparalleled exercise in frustration. And besides, peninsular Spanish intransigence toward any reform in the years 1816-21 paralyzed the several viceregal initiatives toward compromise that were attempted.³⁷ American reform was still possible in this period if only because Spain once again controlled most of the territory of America. But if the liberals who wrote the Constitution and governed Spain amid the chaos of 1808-14 were unwilling to accept the reforms in trade, taxation, and government proposed by their supposedly equal American colleagues in the Cortes, the councilors of the Indies who replaced them in 1814 were certainly even less well disposed. After 1820, when reform was once again feasible on Spain's part, it was too late on America's. Independence became the logical answer because either Spain refused to consider reform or her agents in America made a mockery of it.38

Both Abascal and Calleja retired from their American viceroyalties in 1816, officially hailed as saviors, positively adored by conservatives, but despised by radical and moderate Americans alike. Calleja privately urged Spain to maintain the terror in Mexico, for it was the only means of completing the destruction of the rebels, 39 and in letter after letter written in retirement Abascal urged maintenance of every aspect of the absolutism in Peru. But the new viceroys never received this advice directly from their predecessors (neither Abascal nor Calleja left the usual detailed instructions to their successors that

³⁶ See Carl J. Friedrich, Tradition and Authority (New York, 1972), 121. The definition of authority used

throughout is Friedrich's.

37 For a résumé of the way in which peninsular intransigence counteracted Morillo's attempts in Venezuela either to reform the regime or to crush the rebels utterly, see Stephen K. Stoan, Pablo Morillo and Venezuela, 1815-1820 (Columbus, 1974).

³⁸ Gurr explains that "inflexible, repressive responses intensify the hostility of dissidents and reduce their hopes of obtaining reform except through revolutionary transformation." Why Men Rebel, 236.

39 Calleja to marqués de Campo Sagrado, Mexico City, Sept. 6, 1816, AGI, Mexico 1322.

earlier viceroys wrote), and besides, as witnesses to the post-1808 Spain, neither of the new viceroys would have been inclined to take it. There was a certain "time-lag" factor at work here in regard to successive viceroys' attitudes toward major political questions. One of the fundamental paradoxes of the Wars of Independence is that Abascal and Calleja, who governed during the first constitutional era, had left Spain to take up foreign assignments in the period before the traditions of absolutism had begun to collapse. Reform was to them inconceivable. But the viceroys who governed in the time of the restored post-1814 absolutism—Pezuela and Apodaca—had experienced the formative years of their careers during the Napoleonic struggle when Spain changed at such a dizzying rate that reform became a way of life, indeed a necessity for defeat of the usurper. They were not, unlike their predecessors, terrified of reform, even if they did not actively seek it. Both "generations" were thus somewhat out of step with the politics they were required to enforce.

In New Spain, Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, a naval commander, former ambassador to London, and former captain general of Cuba, pursued a policy of limited military activity and widespread granting of amnesties to former rebels. He hoped to rebuild Mexico by making use of the military gains of his predecessor. Even in northern Europe it was noted that Apodaca's policy was one of trying to regain American affection rather than one of government through fear. 41 On several occasions Apodaca criticized Calleja for his "fireand-sword" policy and his extraordinary special war taxes. Between 1816 and 1820 he repealed four fundamental taxes Calleja had created to meet the cost of the war—a property tax, a forced contribution based on incomes, a forced lottery (all three had been new and nearly revolutionary when first introduced), and a group of taxes on horses and carriages. Based on the assumption that Calleja had broken the back of rebel resistance, Apodaca's program was a conscious attempt to ingratiate himself to the Mexicans. But by sheer contrast it helped to weaken the public image of the regime, for, while Calleja had ended the military aspect of the insurrection, he had not quashed the desire for independence. It was a time of high intensity and great drama—no lull at all, as existing historiography would have it—for it would show whether a policy of reason could solidify the gains won by relentless force, it would show whether Spain still had a right to govern.

In Peru, Joaquín de la Pezuela, former commander of the army in Upper Peru, became viceroy. He, too, made only limited use of the militia and army his predecessor had built up, even though he was very close to the troops and

⁴⁰ For example, both Pezuela and Apodaca were willing to give the restored Constitution a fair trial, and both, particularly Pezuela, were willing, however grudgingly, to enter negotiations with the rebels. Pezuela, as we will see, actively sought commercial reform. La Serna also gave the Constitution a trial run, but because of the circumstances it was never fully implemented in the Sierra. He entered negotiations with the rebels when forced to by either rebel action or royal command.

⁴¹ Manuel Palacio Fajardo, Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America (London, 1817), 343.

staunchly defended their rights in every way, as for instance in his policy of giving them preference in civil employment.⁴² He, too, criticized his predecessor publicly and privately, in this case for Abascal's authoritarianism and his refusal to permit foreign traders to land on Peruvian shores. He, too, was more flexible, more concerned with establishing popular support than with maintaining the iron fist. As in Mexico, it was too late. Confidence could not be restored, and flexibility appeared to be weakness, encouraging dedicated rebels to hold out for another day, while the extreme Right chafed at what appeared to be viceregal inactivity. Both Pezuela and Apodaca got caught in this trap, and with identical results.

When the historian focuses on the chief agents of Spain rather than on the leading rebels or on the rebellion itself, one factor not previously noted about the Wars of Independence begins to suggest itself. It may well be that 1816 was the true turning point in the movement, the point at which Spain's power had faltered beyond the ability of its agents to restore it. This was chiefly because those agents, and indeed most of the rebels, did not recognize that the loyalties of Americans could not necessarily be measured by which army controlled which territories. In 1816 royal armies were everywhere victorious. It may have been, therefore, a lull in the rebels' fortunes, but it was not a lull in the story of the deterioration of Spain's power, because those victories had come at an excessive price. To reconquer America had required destroying its haciendas, communications, factories, and even some of its cities. It led, on the one hand, to such privation that, as Calleja had predicted, the imperial system's ability to feed and house Americans was destroyed, and on the other, to a loss of confidence that the mere presentation by the rebels of an alternative to royal government could never have accomplished. As Bolívar said, Spain was reduced to an object of hatred, and its very victories accomplished that. The viceroys who took power in 1816 did not understand this, just as their predecessors had not realized that they themselves were doing it. To oversimplify, the equation would be this: in the years 1810-16, when America might have been saved for Spain by compromise and flexibility, it was governed by force and absolutism contrary to the fundamental laws; in the years 1816-21, when force and absolutism had become the only source of strength, America was governed by men who sought alternatives.

It may be protested that well over half the story has yet to be considered. What about the resurgence of the rebels, the victory of San Martín in Chile, the heroic gathering together of Bolívar's forces and the magnificent tale of their struggles, and the reappearance of rebellion in Mexico under the leadership of Iturbide? The reply is that, of course, that is the second and greater half of the story of how the rebels won, but it may perhaps be no more than the denouement, although with a few surprises, of how the Spanish lost. Precipitating agents were still required to begin the final process in each country, and they were not long in coming. In Peru it was economic confusion and disintegration, while in Mexico it was political confusion.

⁴² Pezuela to secretary of Hacienda, Lima, Nov. 30, 1818, AGI, Lima 761.

PEZUELA'S FINAL CRISIS was the result of the overextension of Peru's resources that was already acute when he took office. The countdown began with the final loss of Chile in 1818 at the battle of Maypu. Pezuela's major preoccupation thereafter was his attempt to open Peru to free trade with Europe, North America, and Asia, an attempt that lost him the support of Peruvian merchants, the soldiers, and the homeland. A remarkable letter from Manuel Vidaurre, former minister of the Cuzco audiencia, clarifies the economic catastrophe that was sweeping Peru and that made Pezuela's commercial reforms necessary. Writing in 1817, Vidaurre told the king, quite simply, that the excessive harshness of the royal commanders in Peru was driving the population to prefer death. Endless oppression led to unwillingness or inability to work the land, and so to hunger. In Cuzco province wheat was then selling for twenty-seven pesos the fanega, at La Paz it was forty pesos. Entire towns had died of hunger, he said. In Moquegua war taxes on its chief product, brandy, had quadrupled its price; in La Paz war taxes on its chief product, coca, had quadrupled its price; in Lima war taxes on bread and grains and real estate had the same effect; while the loss of the Chilean wheat supply after 1817 forced the capital to depend on its own poor and unpopulated countryside. "When a man has nothing," concluded Vidaurre, "then he becomes a rebel, because in order to survive no other recourse remains to him but a resort to arms."43 In May 1818, Pezuela convoked a junta of prominent individuals to find new sources of revenue. He told them that they needed an additional 200,000 pesos immediately for urgent expenses and an additional 117,000 pesos every month to cover deficits. 44 This money had to come from foreign trade, since no domestic sources remained, and so sudden an increase in customs revenues and indirect taxes from trade could only be accomplished by throwing Lima open to every passing vessel no matter what its nationality.

That was the rub, for every time Pezuela asked Spain for permission to allow free trade, the Consulado, the chief monopoly of Lima merchants that controlled foreign trade, resisted, as did Spain itself. As early as 1817 Pezuela was making occasional requests to Spain to allow individual foreign ships to land at Lima. By 1819 he made a request for total freedom of trade, even proposing regulations by which it would be controlled, and in 1820 he repeated the request. In opposition, the Consulado claimed that foreign trade, especially British, would destroy Peru's industry and economy, while a report drafted by the former viceroy Abascal in Spain concurred, reminding the king that the English never withdrew once they gained a foothold in foreign ports and that their presence was always "very dangerous." On

313, Lima 1550, 1022.

46 Consulado to king, Lima, Feb. 13, 1819; Abascal to secretary of Hacienda, Madrid, June 29, 1819, AGI, Lima 1550, 1505.

⁴³ Manuel Vidaurre to king, Lima, Apr. 2, 1817, AGI, Indiferente 1568. Vidaurre had been held in great suspicion by Abascal, partly because he had a habit of speaking his mind.

⁴⁴ Pezuela to secretary of Hacienda, Lima, June 16, 1818, AGI, Lima 1550.

⁴⁵ Consulado to minister of Ultramar, Lima, May 3, 1817; memorandum of Hacienda to minister of war, Madrid, Dec. 25, 1819; Francisco Xavier de Olarria to government, Madrid, July 29, 1820, AGI, Indiferente 313. Lima 1550. 1022.

another occasion Abascal had declared that free trade "would be tantamount to decreeing the separation of [America] from the mother country since, once direct trade with foreigners was established . . . Spain would matter little to them." The demand for free trade, indeed, had long been a chief objective of



Fig. 4. Joaquín de la Pezuela, viceroy of Peru, 1816-21.

the rebels. The Consulado promised to make up the treasury deficits out of its own funds, but failed to make good its promise. In 1820 the Crown promised to appoint a commission to study the matter, but meantime Pezuela allowed almost every foreign ship that presented itself to enter and discharge its cargo at Callao and even at the lesser ports.⁴⁸

Thus Peruvians were presented with the extraordinary picture of the representative of royal authority publicly proclaiming the necessity of rejecting the commercial exclusiveness that had been the fundamental principle of Spanish American economics and a major grievance of the Creoles, while a former viceroy and the chief merchants opposed it. We cannot resist the conclusion

⁴⁷ Abascal to secretary of war, Lima, May 23, 1812, quoted in Fisher, Government and Society, 154.
⁴⁸ Pezuela to secretary of Hacienda, Lima, Apr. 26, 1817; Pezuela to Hacienda, Lima, Dec. 16, 1817; Pezuela to Hacienda, Lima, Nov. 3, 1818; palace memorandum, Madrid, May 10, 1819, AGI, Lima 756, 758, 759, 1550. Pezuela talks about this question at great length in his Memoria (which is actually a diario) and makes clear his disappointment with the Consulado. Memoria, 295, passim.

that Pezuela was right, but the nation's greatest economic powers put their own interests first. The Old Regime could not survive when the very corporations upon which royal power depended perceived their interests to be opposed by the royal power. In the economic sphere, too, the royal system



Fig. 5. José de la Serna, viceroy of Peru, 1821-24.

was disproving itself. By July 1819 the royal troops in Lima were on half salary, and by mid-1820 Pezuela knew that San Martín and the Chilean government had an expedition of twenty-eight ships and four thousand men ready to embark for an assault against Peru's coasts.

The net effect of this economic crisis was that, even before the San Martín expedition landed in Peru, Pezuela could predict its success. He wrote the peninsula in 1818 that there was little confidence in the royal government left, especially among the lower classes and troops of the militia. Between the rebel victory at Maypu and the arrival of San Martín's expedition in September 1820, Pezuela's government was thoroughly discredited, and through it, the royal regime as a whole. Agents from Peru later reported to the peninsula that "the personal opinion of everyone was that Peru was being lost, not through lack of means of defense, not through the superiority of the enemy, but through the wrong system and lack of skill of Joaquín de la

⁴⁹ Pezuela to secretary of state, Lima, Nov. 12, 1818, AGI, Estado 74, doc. 31.

Pezuela."⁵⁰ The veteran royal army remained intact, however, and desperately wanted to confront the Chilean expedition after it landed at Pisco. In the face of what the army interpreted as Pezuela's refusal to strike against the rebels, nineteen of the chief officers garrisoned near Lima forced him to resign in January 1821. The officers chose Field Marshal José de la Serna, general in chief of the armies, to become new viceroy.⁵¹

La Serna's regime could do nothing but depend on military force. The incomparably subtle and complex question of a people rejecting their past heritage and choosing a new form of government was now reduced to the arbitrary question of which army would win at battle. If San Martín's forces had been stronger in 1821, La Serna would have been defeated quickly. In July 1821 the viceroy and the royal army abandoned Lima and fell back upon the ancient source of Peru's strength, the Andes. The weakness and confusion of the independent republic established at Lima guaranteed several more years of life to the royal power in the highlands.⁵² La Serna claimed on many occasions that his abandonment of Lima saved the rest of Peru and that the nation surely would have been lost if Pezuela had remained in command.⁵³ But an army on the march was not the same thing as a royal government, and despite the valor and skill of La Serna and his commanders, the royal forces were defeated in battle by Bolívar's forces in 1824, completing the process of independence. The La Serna administration, then, should best be viewed as merely a "last ditch stand," even though the combination of the rebels' military weakness and La Serna's inaccessibility in the high mountains permitted it to continue for four years. He might have been able to establish an enclave, but to retake the coast would have required the aid of massive reinforcements of peninsular troops and the re-establishment of Spanish naval control of the Pacific, both impossible, and would simply have constituted a military conquest anyhow.

In Mexico, Viceroy Apodaca took office in 1816. He was the most administratively skilled of the last viceroys, the most personable, and the most genuinely popular in his capital city, though as usual residents of other parts of the nation never saw him. He frequently spoke of his wife and five children, one of whom was blind. As a former ambassador he was attuned to the importance of communication and sent monthly summary reports on the state of the kingdom to Spain. The index alone of his letters and reports in office runs to sixty volumes.⁵⁴ Undoubtedly his most striking characteristic was his optimism and his belief that the righteousness and truth of the royal cause

⁶⁰ Marqués de Valleumbroso and Antonio Seoane to conde de Casaflores, Rio de Janeiro, June 29, 1821, AGI, Indiferente 313; see also an anonymous letter, Lima, Apr. 30, 1821, AGI, Indiferente 1570.

⁵¹ La Serna to secretary of war, Lima, Feb. 9, 1821, AGI, Indifferente 313.
52 For a fuller description, see Timothy E. Anna, "Economic Causes of San Martín's Failure in Lima,"
Hispanic American Historical Review, 54 (1974): 657-81.

La Serna to minister of grace and justice, Cuzco, Mar. 15, 1824, AGI, Lima 762.
 The manuscript indexes are in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

would prevail over the leaderless bandits who now made up the remnants of the radical revolutionaries. He never foresaw the possibility that his government would ultimately be destroyed not by the Left but by the Right. This was not necessarily naiveté, for his optimism was the natural result of his predecessor Calleja's very success at driving the rebellion underground, where not being apparent, it was more subtle, less easy to combat, and more likely to manifest itself later from a different quarter, since its earlier loci had been disrupted. When the Constitution was reinstated in 1820 Apodaca appeared to make a genuine effort to implement it. In a sense he had no choice in the matter, but unlike his predecessors he did not attempt, until it was too late, to intervene in and control the operations of the constitutional system. Elections were held regularly and without intervention, while freedom of the press was implemented for one full year, until after the Iturbide uprising began. Apodaca reported to the Cortes that he thought the reimposition of the Constitution had caused no unrest whatsoever in Mexico. 55

But it was the Constitution, in fact, that ultimately destroyed Spanish authority in Mexico, not by provoking a counterrevolution, as is sometimes alleged, but by proving to Mexicans the invalidity of the imperial ethos. The stunning royal decree of April 11, 1820, in which Ferdinand VII apologized to the American kingdoms for his error in annulling the Constitution in 1814 and declared that the ancient absolutism was wrong while begging dissidents to remember that "errors [in judgment] are not crimes," 56 gave the final lie to the "tribal myths" that had permitted the Spanish system to function and around which Calleja had anchored his restoration of royal power. If the throne was not sacred, if it could give in so easily to internal revolt and overthrow the fundamental law to replace it with what in 1820 was Europe's most radical government, then nothing really stood in the way of an intellectual and philosophical acceptance of independence. This is exactly what was implied in a remarkable report to the peninsula from the councilor of the audiencia, José Hipólito Odoardo, in October 1820. Odoardo reported that the Cortes's radical legislation directed at restricting the power of the Church, the military, and the aristocracy throughout the empire had in only seven months completely redirected the loyalties of Mexicans, so that he could predict that some new uprising was imminent, though he could not foresee from which direction it would come, and that it would be successful in overthrowing the royal regime.⁵⁷ The viceroy himself received a similar prediction from the city councilor Francisco Manuel Sánchez de Tagle in January 1821. 58 The long expected overt threat to royal dominion finally came from Agustín Iturbide, a disaffected royal officer, who in early 1821 proclaimed an uprising that, because it represented a compromise of the

⁵⁶ Notice of receipt of report by Apodaca, Madrid, Oct. 17, 1820, AGN, Reales cedulas, vol. 224, no. 93. ⁵⁶ Proclamation of the king to the overseas inhabitants, Apr. 11, 1820, AGN, Impresos oficiales, vol. 43. ⁵⁷ Fiscal José Hipólito Odoardo to minister of grace and justice, Mexico, Oct. 24, 1820, quoted in Arrangoiz, Mêjico desde 1808 hasta 1867, 2: 12-16.

⁵⁸ Francisco Manuel Sánchez de Tagle, "Sobre que el sistema constitucional pierde cada día mucho de su valor y eficacia," AGN, Ayuntamientos, vol. 178.

wishes of both upper and middle class, immediately gained the support of the elite and amnestied rebels alike. In a most unusual twist of Spanish American history, the viceroy now represented reform while the insurgents represented a much more moderate program that threatened no one's status or wealth but



Fig. 6. Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, viceroy of New Spain, 1816-21.

simultaneously achieved national self-determination. Iturbide knew that a confused royal government that had contradicted its own principles could not survive. He told the viceroy, "Is there anyone who can undo the opinion of an entire kingdom? . . . Any country is free that wants to be free."⁵⁹

Apodaca had never dreamt of such a threat, and in the face of it he had no defenses whatsoever. When he announced the uprising to Spain he admitted that "this unexpected event has filled the capital with as much surprise and consternation as it has me." He warned that Iturbide was very dangerous because of his long association with chief officers and the Creole elite and because his program of independence—the Plan of Iguala—would inevitably "seduce" many of the wealthy, while it was equally attractive to genuine rebels. Of It is almost incredible that Apodaca's only reply to Iturbide's treason was to offer him amnesty. By May 1821 Apodaca reported that a majority of

⁵⁹ Iturbide to Apodaca, Iguala, Feb. 24, 1821, AGI, Mexico 1680.

⁶⁰ Apodaca to minister of Ultramar, Mexico, Mar. 7, 1821, and May 29, 1821, AGI, Mexico 1680.

the troops and many officers had already deserted and that the kingdom was on the verge of being lost. As in Peru, royal authority had been defunct since 1816 and the viceroy's apparent paralysis and inability to get his orders obeyed led the minority of die-hard veteran army officers to view him as dispensable. Consequently, in an almost exact replay of the Peruvian incident, on July 5, 1821, Apodaca was forced to resign by his officers and was replaced by a field marshal, Francisco Novella. 1 Iturbide's control of the nation was too far advanced, however, to permit Novella to retrench on some interior location as La Serna did in Peru, and independence triumphed only two months later. It was natural, for Iturbide genuinely embodied at that moment the wishes of the nation; he possessed, in other words, the genuine authority.

In a poignant letter describing these events after he fled to Cuba, Apodaca wrote, "I had a feeling of presentiment about this misfortune in the middle of last year, 1820, but not about the terms in which it would come about or the means by which it would be effected, because they are so extraordinary that it was not possible for anyone to imagine them." This was his confession that he had sensed the loss of authority that we have traced here but had not grasped its significance or understood it. There is no indication that any other royalist ever did either, except perhaps Abascal, who had recognized as early as 1808 that there was some indefinable core, some not quite explicable or demonstrable principle that was in danger of being lost if he gave the slightest hint of weakening his grip over all aspects of his country, and Calleja, who by 1816 knew it was already lost. That principle was Spanish authority. Once weakened, no amount of effort could have preserved the political and social institutions that were based on it.

THE INABILITY TO RECOGNIZE that Spain's authority in America had disintegrated continued to characterize the former royal magistrates for years afterward. They never quite accepted the fact that an event so unthinkable in 1810 had come to pass only a decade later. This lack of acceptance is part of the reason for Spain's unnecessarily long refusal to recognize the independence of its former colonies. Spain continued to imagine that some sort of restoration was possible. Significantly, two former viceroys, Venegas and Apodaca, were members of the Spanish council of state that in 1828 was still debating methods by which to "pacify" the "rebellious American provinces." Indeed Spain as a whole never quite grasped what had happened until the unforeseen shocks of 1898 made its intellectuals and philosophers aware, with great pain be it remembered, that not only did they not possess a great empire, but they possessed no empire. For a nation to have the

⁶¹ Apodaca to secretary of Ultramar, Guanabacoa, Cuba, Nov. 17, 1821, AGI, Mexico 1680. For more detail on Novella, who should not be considered a viceroy because he had no royal confirmation, see Timothy E. Anna, "Francisco Novella and the Last Stand of the Royal Army in New Spain," Hispanic American Historical Review, 51 (1971): 92–111.

 ⁶² Apodaca to secretary of Ultramar, Guanabacoa, Cuba, Nov. 17, 1821.
 ⁶³ Council of state, Madrid, May 29, 1828, AGI, Indiferente 1564.

things in which it genuinely believes proved to be irrelevant, at least to the outsiders it thought it was convincing, is a terrible discovery. Before we scorn Spain for its *Quijotismo* in this regard (and this is also a part of the Black Legend about Spain) we should remember that every other imperialist power has suffered the same delusion. The very things that make imperialism possible—the combination of a once undeniably functional economic, governmental, and philosophical system with the missionary zeal and self-righteousness that derive from delusions of divine inspiration—guarantee that imperialists will never understand why subject peoples reject their political dominion.

The greatest loss involved in the disintegration of the Spanish authority in America, however, was that the independent states had no unanimously accepted authority to take its place. This was owing to the fact that when Spanish America found royal authority irrelevant-not just wrong or misguided but actually irrelevant, no longer suited to its conditions—then it also found the tradition upon which that authority was based irrelevant, at least insofar as it directly involved the political institutions. That part, at least, Spain had predicted. When the Cortes sent peace commissioners to South America in 1822 to negotiate truces and perhaps even settlements with the insurgents in Peru, Río de la Plata, and New Granada, the commissioners carried a set of secret instructions reminding them to tell Americans that independence would mean chaos, factionalism, political discord, and the loss of individual freedoms which the Cortes said its own Constitution would guarantee. The chief problem America now faced, the commissioners were informed, was an absence of authority, for authority had been replaced by "a thirst for power, which is what constitutes the overseas insurrection thus far." In all the newly independent or almost independent states, Madrid promised, the lack of authority "has to produce terrifying evils."64 It was a fit last word of paternal advice, though no one listened.

Spain lost America because it lost its ability to prove its right to sovereignty, its ability to convince. In politics, economics, and religion it became irrelevant. The Crown, the king, his agents, and Spaniards themselves were no longer perceived to be necessary. The decadence of Charles IV and Ferdinand VII, the father's forced abdication, the son's detention in France, the Napoleonic conquest, the emergence of self-made government in the regency and Cortes, and the Constitution, all these did more to weaken Spanish authority, to make it—or prove it—false, than did all the rebels in America, for these events contradicted and disproved the values upon which the state was built. The forces arrayed against the Spanish Empire in America were mighty, but the most decisive of those forces were those that came from within, not from without.

At the center of this dilemma were the wartime viceroys, the men who bore the obligation of preserving Spanish power even as Spain changed so rapidly

⁶⁴"Prevenciones muy reservadas que S. M. hace a los Comisionados," Madrid, 1822, AGI, Indiferente 1570.

that the foundations upon which they attempted to anchor that power disappeared. In the only response they could conceive of to the undeniable threat posed by the outbreak of insurrection, Abascal in Peru and Venegas and especially Calleja in Mexico geared their governments, their armies, and their supporters to a do-or-die struggle between absolutism, untouched by any serious consideration of the possibility of reform, and rebellion. But this viceregal despotism occurred at the very moment that Spain claimed to be dedicated to reform. This authoritarianism converted the delicate strands of loyalty, faith in the monarch, and sense of brotherhood of all Spaniards into tyrannical government by foreigners over Americans. It enhanced the desire for independence. Then Apodaca in Mexico and Pezuela in Peru, not recognizing they were now the agents of tyranny, lost the military gains of their predecessors through confusion and a well-intentioned attempt to diversify the foundations of a system that had become dependent upon military force. Ultimately in Peru, La Serna's government that was no government held out in the mountains, protected until 1824 by the disorganization of its enemies. The viceroys could only operate on the understandings of politics and sovereignty that they possessed, of course. But since they were the living symbols of the dominion and majesty of Spain, they were also the living symbols of its confusion and, therefore, the agents by which it proved itself irrelevant to America.

American cries against the tyranny of Spain, which in 1810 were the product of a lack of restraint and propagandistic enthusiasm, became true and deeply felt by 1820 because the viceroys converted a system that was merely aged and in rare instances actually decrepit into genuine tyranny. What is perhaps worse, having done so they could not sustain it, proving to Americans the invalidity of their possession of power.

My contention, then, contradictory though it may appear, is that the wartime viceroys were one of the active forces that led Americans to reject their ancient imperial heritage, while at the same time they are the historiographical victims of that rejection. At the very least they were not the bloody-minded nonpersons of much of Spanish American historiography. At the most, they came close to preserving Spain's control of America. No one can read Calleja's candid letters to Spain and fail to recognize in him a political and military genius desperately struggling with a disintegrating situation. No one can read Pezuela's diario and fail to notice his genuine concern for Peru or the personal agonies he endured when he learned the news of Maypu, or heard of the loss of his son aboard the Maria Isabel captured by the Chilean navy, or of the death of his son-in-law Mariano Osorio in Cuba on his way home to Spain in a desperate attempt to explain the failure to reconquer Chile. We have too long concentrated on Abascal's mundane accomplishments—the Lima surgical college, the royal cemetery—at the expense of his greatest one—the preservation of Peru in the face of revolution from all sides. We have only recently begun to treat of Venegas in studies of Hidalgo. We have never credited Apodaca with the rationality and

administrative skill that his contemporaries greeted with sighs of relief. La Serna was the man who for four years fought so heroically that his conqueror Antonio José de Sucre treated him with genuine respect and felt real sadness at his personal humiliation at Ayacucho. Having recognized the viceroys to be well worth study, we can begin to become aware of the complexity of their impact on independence.

The Last Whig Historian and Consensus History: George Macaulay Trevelyan, 1876-1962

JOSEPH M. HERNON, JR.

"THE JUBILEE IS WELL, but one flies for the refuge of contrast to the French Revolution, to see that men can on occasion be discontent as well as content, that there is the everlasting Nay, as well as the everlasting Yea." In tones of Carlyle the young George Macaulay Trevelyan, busily writing his dissertation for a fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge, responded to the pomp and circumstance of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897. "The one event," he wrote to his parents, Sir George Otto and Caroline Philips Trevelyan, "is the reaping of long assiduous sowing of the whirlwind, the present pageant is the reaping of wheat sowed on the whole in greater quantities than chaff. The Justice of God is manifest in both and the one is incomplete without the other." The Jubilee "may superficially appear a triumph of toryism, but it is a result of the liberalism of the century. Imagine a progress of George IV through the streets of London. Such would the Queen's progress be, if England had not got itself reformed somewhat in the last seventy years."

The tastes and ideas informing this letter are among those which would dictate a good deal of Trevelyan's historical writing, a body of work set in the "Whig interpretation," as scholars call it, first popularized by his great-uncle, Thomas Babington Macaulay. A sometimes paternalistic humanitarianism, confidence in progress, a dedication to constitutional and parliamentary government, a trust in free educated intelligence and a belief that rational people can resolve or live with their differences of opinion, and above all a habit of moral self-discipline and submission to rational procedures of government: these Whiggish attitudes are so familiar to the British and American people as to seem less the components of a specific philosophy than the

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¹ G. M. Trevelyan (hereafter GMT) to his family [1897], Sir George Otto Trevelyan Papers, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, box 15. For references to the everlasting Nay and the everlasting Yea, see

given, implicit, and somewhat stuffy elements of our shared Atlantic culture. Even Whig historical work portraying English history as the story of their emergence and triumph sometimes treated these attitudes as self-evident goods to which rational and decent people would adhere as a matter of course. Yet the canons and disciplines of the Whig mind deserve to be recognized as constituting something more positive and distinct than that. Recent American radicals who have dismissed particular brands of academic and political Whiggery under the devastating term "liberal" have in effect given that recognition, treating liberalism as a specific philosophy and mode of conduct, fit to be rejected or taken up.

By 1911 G. M. Trevelyan had established an international reputation after publishing books on English medieval and Stuart history and the popularly acclaimed Garibaldi trilogy. At the same time, his father, Sir George Otto Trevelyan, was awarded the Order of Merit in tribute to his six-volume American Revolution (1899–1914), and G. M. Trevelyan, reflecting on the distinction in a letter from Venice, discussed their common historical tradition. The O.M. "stamps your life as a recognised success as well as a real one. . . . It is still a very great honour, and the only very great 'honour.'" He felt strongly about the award because of

my jealousy for the cause, the cause of literary and liberal history, so long aspersed and perhaps now coming back to a little of its own. It is curious how one our feeling is about each other, although I am so much younger and so inferior a writer: the fact that we pursue the same craft and almost alone of men pursue it—I mean literary history of the Macaulay tradition—has brought us into a queerly "equal" intimacy for a father and son. I am always fully alive, even in the secrecy of my own heart, to my inferiority to you as a writer; but still we are both out after the same game, and nobody else is. . . . It encourages me to think that "the homely slighted shepherd's trade" of literary history is valued by a portion of the world still, and is worth giving one's life to. Sometimes one is tempted to wonder whether anything but politics and realistic novels and journalism has any influence on the present age. This "honour" helps me to believe that other things count too, indirectly at least, as influences on the makers of opinion at least.²

Born on February 16, 1876, near Stratford-on-Avon, into one of the leading Liberal families, G. M. Trevelyan was surrounded by the dazzling members of the new intellectual aristocracy dominating late Victorian Britain. His birth took place a fortnight before his father, a Liberal M.P. and future cabinet minister, published his biography of the baby's great-uncle, Lord Macaulay. And G. M. Trevelyan had "the reflex honour of being christened George Macaulay." He was born at Welcombe, the large house and estate owned by his maternal grandfather, Robert Needham Philips, a wealthy Lancashire merchant and a Liberal M.P. for Bury. Welcombe—now a hotel owned by British Rail and catering to tourists visiting Shakespeare's birthplace—was built by GM's great-uncle, Mark Philips, one of the first two M.P.'s elected for Manchester after its enfranchisement in the Reform Bill of

² GMT to G. O. Trevelyan (hereafter GOT), June 24, 1911, GOT Papers, box 13. ³ GMT, Sir George Otto Trevelyan: A Memoir (London, 1932), 95.

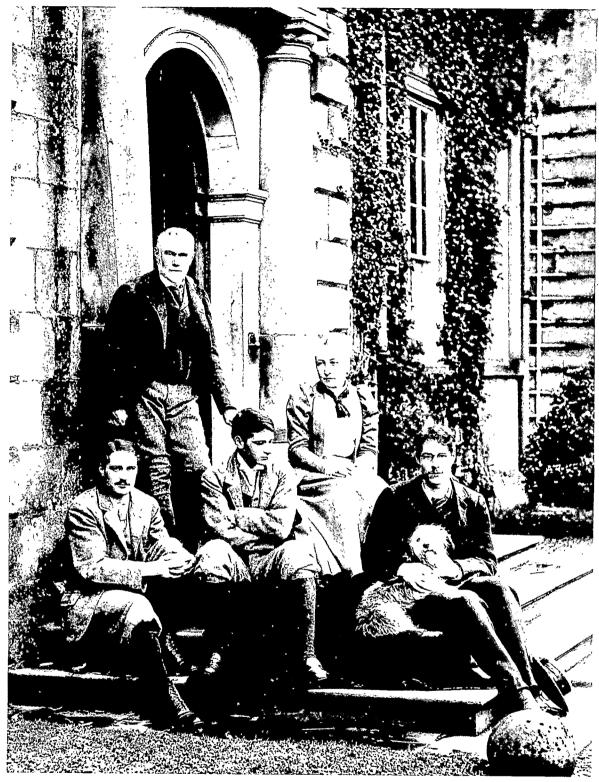


Fig. 1. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Caroline, and sons (from left) Charles, George, and Robert. Taken at Wallington, the family home, ca. 1896. Courtesy Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

1832. Though Trevelyan's parents used Welcombe as a sort of winter resort after they inherited it in 1890, they looked upon Wallington, the Trevelyan family estate in Northumberland, as their real home. Upon the death in 1886 of the young George's paternal grandfather, Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, founder of the civil service system and administrator for Ireland and India, G. O. Trevelyan inherited the baronetcy and Wallington where the ten-year-old could imbibe the stable English country life he would come to love. He soon traced his father's steps to Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. Like fellow Harrovian Winston Churchill, he was superbly tutored in history and acquired a mastery of English. At Trinity G. M. Trevelyan stood in the shadow of his great-uncle Macaulay, then under attack by Sir John Seeley as unscientific. Lord Acton, Seeley's successor in 1895 as Regius Professor, enchanted the young Trevelyan with his great wisdom and his belief in moral judgment and individual liberty.

From his earliest years Trevelyan was conscious of being in the Macaulay tradition. "I have been reading some chapters of Gibbon for tripos purposes," he wrote his father. "The thing that struck me was that his antitheses were distinctly a foretaste of Macaulay. Also his habit of bringing up historical parallels to illustrate and enforce. It is not done nearly so well, but it is the same thing." At about the same time, he told his mother: "There is nothing which gives me the feeling of the 'Romance of history', like the Odyssey, though Macaulay's Lays are a splendid effort to fill the place of an Odyssey for the Roman world." Yet a few years later, after completing his first book, England in the Age of Wycliffe (1899), he remarked to his brother Robert Calverley: "I always read Ruskin while I am writing to prevent falling into Macaulayese." At the peak of his career, he wrote a book on the period of Macaulay's history entitled The English Revolution, 1688-1689 (1938) and summed up his relationship with Macaulay. Trevelyan was not attempting to rival Macaulay in his current book and purposely avoided the "highlights" of the Glorious Revolution: "I was anxious to strike a different note from Macaulay, to secure confidence for my general views, which as you see are not really very different from Macaulay's after all! For on the big impersonal issues he was right."

The young G. M. Trevelyan was also sensitive to the religious heritage that came down from his grandfather Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, a devout evangelical. The grandson became an agnostic as he read Ernest Renan's Vie de Jesus with a "devouring eagerness," and he told his oldest brother, Charles, that democracy was "all in all my religion, whereby I live and move and have my being. . . . Democracy is I think the corollary of the teaching of Christ." But GM believed that he had inherited something of his grand-

⁴ GMT to GOT, Aug. 10 [ca. 1893], GOT Papers, box 16.

⁵ GMT to his mother, n.d., GOT Papers, box 15.

⁶ GMT to Robert Calverley Trevelyan (hereafter RCT), July 9, 1900, RCT Papers, Trinity College, Cambridge, box 14, no. 43.

⁷ GMT to RCT, Oct. 18, 1938, ibid., no. 141.

⁸ GMT to Charles Philips Trevelyan (hereafter CPT), July 19, 1893, quoted in Owen Chadwick, Freedom and the Historian (London, 1969), 29. See Mary Moorman, "The Youth of an Historian: George Macaulay

father's puritanical moral feeling. He confessed to Charles that "we inherit the moral stamina produced in grandpapa by religion or otherwise, and apply it straight off to our infidel sense of duty. I am now inclined to think that Oliver [Cromwell] and Grandpapa Trevelyan both would have had the same moral stamina even if they had not got it in the form of religion." G. M. Trevelyan's "moral stamina" took him in his student days on a far different course from his grandfather's on the subject of Ireland: Charles Edward, as virtual head of the Treasury, had shaped Irish policy toward compelling a backward people, as he saw them, into the severe economic virtues; the young George, in supporting Irish Home Rule in 1893, ended letters to his brother Charles with "God Save Ireland." As democracy became the undergraduate's religion, the concluding expression became "God Save the People" or more often "G.S.T.P." or "Ich dien"-"I serve"-the old motto of the Black Prince.¹⁰ GM contrasted the restrictiveness of doctrinaire Christianity with the openness of skepticism.11

After winning a First in the History Tripos of 1896, Trevelyan began to think about a dissertation for a fellowship. He considered the fourteenth century a turning point in English history in the sense that modern ideas were beginning to emerge in the great minds of the day. He had read Stubbs at Harrow and was influenced by the bishop's progressive Whig view of medieval England. 12 And the feeling for great issues and their moral significance that the Liberal Catholic historian Lord Acton had imparted to his student fixed itself on the events of the fourteenth century. Wycliffe and the Lollards represented the struggle for liberty of thought against the power of the Church over men's minds; the Peasants' Rising of 1381 bespoke the rise of English national consciousness. "I am beginning to study the state of the Church," he wrote. "It will be necessary to be very careful and not state anything on hearsay as it is and always will remain a touchy subject." And he told his brother Charles who was then on the London School Board: "It is hard inch to inch fighting with the subject for I am the first that ever compared the authorities in detail, and the damned fools disagree as if they were on the school board. If only some bloody ass of a monk had known what trouble he would give by sticking down the first thing he heard, he might have taken a little more trouble." In February 1897 Trevelyan read a "slice" of his dissertation to the Trinity Historical Society, with Lord Acton, F. W. Maitland, and Archdeacon William Cunningham present. Acton was greatly

Trevelyan, Part 3: Last Years at Harrow," Contemporary Review, 225 (1974): 16-17. In 1893 G. M. Trevelyan wrote that St. Francis of Assisi was "a true democrat in the highest sense of the word—the first person since Christ was crucified who really understood that true Christianity was the gospel of the poor." Until Christianity "could be freed from its trappings," G. M. Irevelyan's religion would be "the only thing I can believe in for certain—the progress of the human race." Mary Moorman's article, "The Youth of an Historian," has four parts in the Contemporary Review, 224 (1974): 246-50, 299-305; and 225 (1974): 14-19, 90-97. See also GMT, De Haeretico Comburendo; Or, The Ethics of Religious Conformity (Cambridge, 1914).

⁹ GMT to CPT, n.d., in Chadwick, Freedom, 29-30.

Moorman "Youth of an

¹⁰ Chadwick, Freedom, 14; Moorman, "Youth of an Historian, Part 3," 225 (1974): 95.

¹¹ GMT to CPT, Oct. 13, 1902, in Chadwick, Freedom, 30-31. 12 GMT to GOT, n.d., GOT Papers, box 16.

impressed and advised George to continue until he had a publishable book.¹³ Awarded a Trinity Fellowship in 1898, Trevelyan published his dissertation as his first book, England in the Age of Wycliffe.

Wycliffe is Whig history at its best, viewed through a self-confident Liberal faith. The exuberance of its style, "the lights too high and the shadows too deep,"14 is reminiscent of Macaulay; yet the work is remarkable for the smoothness of the narrative and for the crisp analysis of motives. In keeping with classical Whig tastes, the book is decidedly anti-Roman and has an air of present-mindedness.

During his first decade of writing, critics would attack Trevelyan's books for their Whiggishness. One reviewer mentioned his "Macaulayisms," his inaccurate attempts to find modern equivalents: John of Gaunt "at the head of a . . . hierarchy of knaves" is compared in Wycliffe to an American "political boss" who secures control of the Privy Council, where the "big deals" are made. 15 In Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic, complained another critic, Trevelyan's "unbounded enthusiasm" for the Risorgimento prevented him from doing justice to the papacy. His reliance on anticlerical sources led him to write of "the Neapolitan gang" of cardinals and monsignors who surrounded Pope Pius IX.16 Another example of presentism that a reviewer found trying was Trevelyan's snide allusion to the "dull Germans" who laboriously manufactured a theology out of Luther's writings. 17 And the same commentator skeptically noted the Whiggish optimism of some propositions in England under the Stuarts. The "laws of the Cavalier Parliament, which were meant to dragoon all England into one religion," Trevelyan had written, "have helped to secure freedom for a hundred religions, and a thousand ways of thought"; and during Queen Anne's reign "it was the good fortune of England to get all that was good out of both parties, when a few turns of chance would, as often happens, have given her all that was worst."18

In private GM could also be exuberantly self-confident. His dining table at Trinity, he wrote to his father, consisted of G. E. Moore, "the philosopher," C. R. Buxton, "who travelled far," and Trevelyan, "who is all things to all men."19 Generally, however, he was more self-critical and skeptical. In a moving letter to his father during the Boer War, he wondered how to describe the British world at the turn of the century:

¹³ G. M. Trevelyan letters in the possession of Mary Moorman, quoted in her "Youth of an Historian, Part 4," ²²⁵ (1974): 92–93.

¹⁴ Review by James Tait in English Historical Review, 15 (1900): 161.

¹⁵ Review by George Kriehn in AHR, 5 (1899-1900): 121, n.2. See GMT, England in the Age of Wycliffe

⁽London, 1899), 10.

16 Review by H. Nelson Gay in AHR, 14 (1908-09): 135. See GMT, Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic (2d ed.; London, 1910), 87.

17 GMT, England under the Stuarts (London, 1904), 153, quoted by Wilbur C. Abbott in AHR, 11

^{(1905-06): 380.}

¹⁸ GMT, Stuarts, 469, 346, quoted in ibid.

¹⁹ GMT to GOT, n.d., GOT Papers, box 15. George Edward Moore, O.M. (1873–1958) is known for a theory of ethics described as ideal utilitarianism. He was professor of philosophy at Cambridge from 1925 to 1939. Charles Roden Buxton (1875-1942) served as private secretary in 1897-98 to his father, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, 3d Bart., when he was governor of South Australia. Charles later served as principal of Morley College and editor of the Albany Review; he was also a diplomat and Labour M.P.

The British world is so immense, the multitudinousness and infinite complexity of things is so vast that no man can really judge it, especially by historical analogy. I do not pretend to judge it, or to know whither in this vast twilight or this vast greydawn of humanity—we are groping, some of us with passionate greed and some of us passionate self-sacrifice, all blindly enough. The general criminality has to be much clearer than it is in England before any man can say for certain—it is getting worse. . . . you regarded the Crimea when it was on not from Bright's standpoint and so did not see what very likely was worse and more universal folly and lying. Now you regard this war from another point of view and see it all. . . . I am only asking you to be uncertain that we are going down hill. You may or may not be as clear-sighted as anyone; I certainly do not pretend to be more clear-sighted. I only mean that we are all moles—though of course we must all go on driving our little tunnels as straight as we can and with all our strength, until the mole-catcher come. But if we are moles in vision, the best of us become gods in spirit.20

Suddenly in 1903 Trevelyan decided to resign his fellowship and leave Cambridge. The reason he gives in his autobiography is that he could write literary history "in more spiritual freedom away from the critical atmosphere of Cambridge scholarship."21 The fields of history upon which Cambridge historians were concentrating—economic, diplomatic, and constitutional offered little attraction to Trevelyan, who reveled in the drama of history. John Bagnell Bury, upon succeeding Lord Acton as Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge in 1902, delivered an inaugural lecture entitled "The Science of History." Shortly after leaving Cambridge, Trevelyan published his polemical reply in an essay, "Clio, A Muse." He argued that history was both an art and a science; defining three distinct functions of history, the scientific, the imaginative, and the literary, he stressed the literary function.²² He expressed his personal reaction to the "scientific" approach in a letter to his parents: "The way you feel a thing is much more important than the complete truth of the thing you feel. Perfect wisdom be damned. I've at present no pretensions to it." And in a line reminiscent of a Macaulay confession: "Besides, if you are writing about the past, is it not artistically fortunate to be out of love with the present?"23 In 1907 George lamented to his brother the decline of literary history: "But in the present state of history in England, a history book is treated as an historical monograph, and consigned to 'historical students' unless it violently proclaims that it regards itself also as literature and appeals to the general public."24 Yet by 1915 he could write to his father from the University of Michigan: "I find that your books and mine are held in remarkably high esteem; and the 'scientific history' idea, in its narrowing and exclusive sense, is quite over."25

²⁰ GMT to GOT, n.d., ibid.

²¹ GMT, An Autobiography and Other Essays (London, 1949), 21. According to Chadwick, Freedom, 20–21, G. M. Trevelyan thought of history in terms of its "service to humanity." In 1904 he helped found the Independent Review, and he went to London to be involved in Liberal politics and "to be at the centre of the literary world, and not because he wished to run away from men doing fundamental research."

²² GMT, Clio, A Muse and Other Essays Literary and Pedestrian (London, 1913), 30-31.

²³ GMT to his parents, n.d. [190—?], GOT Papers, box 15.

²⁴ GMT to RCT, Apr. 13, 1907, RCT Papers, box 14, no. 68. ²⁵ GMT to GOT, May 6, 1915, GOT Papers, box 14.

Away from the restrictive influence of academe, Trevelyan no longer had to be concerned about the "scientific" historians, such as the reviewer of his first book who accused him of being "over eager to publish a piece of work of ambitious scope" when he would have been better advised to begin with an "exhaustive" study of the Rising of 1381.26 He turned to literary history, agreeing to write the volume on the Stuart period for Methuen's History of England series. England under the Stuarts (1904) became the most popular volume in the collection, going through some twenty-two reprintings, though its reception among professional historians was cool.²⁷ Certainly Trevelyan's decision to leave academic life had been justified.

In 1904 G. M. Trevelyan married Janet Penrose Ward, a daughter of Mrs. Humphry Ward, the Victorian novelist and social worker, and a grandniece of Matthew Arnold. Their wedding presents included, fortuitously, a collection of books on Italian history, among them Garibaldi's memoirs. In the story of Garibaldi, Trevelyan would find a subject that suited his genius.

Trevelyan began his Garibaldi trilogy about the time of the greatest Liberal election victory in a generation of English politics. The reform-minded government was at the crest of its popularity when the first volume, Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic, appeared in 1907. And the public mood was receptive to a heroic account of the struggle for liberal humanism. The response to this romantic treatment of the Risorgimento was enthusiastic, and popular demand rose for the remaining volumes, Garibaldi and the Thousand, published in 1909, and Garibaldi and the Making of Italy, in 1911. Trevelyan was not finished with Italy, for during the Great War he served as the commandant of the British Red Cross Ambulance Unit there and worked with the Italian army on the Isonzo and Piave fronts. His last book on Italian history, Manin and the Venetian Revolution of 1848, published in 1923, was less enthusiastically received than the Garibaldi books. It was a more cynical time, this postwar year in Britain; and besides, the subject may have ill fitted its author. His student, J. H. Plumb, observes in an essay on Trevelyan that Venetian society, "as far gone in decay as it was developed in sophistication, was not a world for the great simplicities of Trevelyan's heart and mind."28

The Garibaldi saga, however, ranks "with the works of Prescott or Parkman, in fact with the world's best narrative histories." The simple, epic quality of Giuseppe Garibaldi and his Brazilian-born wife Anita made them ideal characters for Trevelyan's literary talents. His Garibaldi triology has its weaknesses in failing to explore the economic and social causes of Italian nationalism, and in assessing the papacy and the French too harshly and the British too leniently. It remains an evocation of liberal idealism and hope.

²⁶ Review by James Tait, 164.
²⁷ See the short notice by C. S. Terry in English Historical Review, 20 (1905): 403-04.

²⁸ J. H. Plumb, G. M. Trevelyan (London, 1951), 21. See also Henry R. Winkler, "George Macaulay Trevelyan 1876-," in S. William Halperin, ed., Some 20th-Century Historians: Essays on Eminent Europeans (Chicago, 1961), 31-55, and G. Kitson Clark, "G. M. Trevelyan as an Historian," Durham University Journal, 55 (1962): 1-4.

29 Plumb, Trevelyan, 21.



Fig. 2. Sir George Otto Trevelyan (seated) with his son George Macaulay and grandson Theodore Macaulay (1906–11): Wallington, 1910. Courtesy Mrs. Mary Moorman, Bishop Mount, Ripon, North Yorkshire.

Trevelyan wrote in his introduction to the second volume in 1909: "To my mind the events of 1860 should serve as an encouragement to all high endeavour amongst us of a later age, who, with our eyes fixed on realism and the doctrine of evolution, are in some danger of losing faith in ideals, and of forgetting the power that a few fearless and utterly disinterested men may have in a world where the proportion of cowards and egoists is not small." 30

For the romance of history, with a dramatic narrative that is attentive to detail but inspired with poetry, the Garibaldi triology is a colorful, powerful example. Trevelyan wrote of the Roman scene on the eve of the city's fall to the French in 1849:

The night of June 29-30, the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, was selected by Oudinot for the final assault. During the earlier part of the night the festa was celebrated in the

³⁰ GMT, Garibaldi and the Thousand (London, 1909), 7.

town in right Roman fashion, with lighting of candles in the windows, and sending up of rockets in the streets—functions which that mercurial people would not forego even under the shadow of impending doom. The Triumvirate gave official countenance to these mild circenses, and the dome of St. Peter's blazed with every extravagance of colour. The French officers, as they stood in front of their dark columns, waiting for the signal to mount the breach, saw below them the holy city glowing "like a great furnace, half-extinct, but still surrounded by an atmosphere of fire." Suddenly the heavens were opened in wrath, and a deluge of rain fell on the disobedient children of the Pope, extinguishing their last poor little fires of joy. When the torrential storm had passed away, one light alone, from the top of the great dome of St. Peter's, still shone through the thick darkness, beckoning the crusaders to the assault. 31

Gripping though the romance of the story might be, Trevelyan pursued analysis as well as narrative, and his sense of the ironic in history would be an antidote to any facile liberal optimism. The story of Italian "deliverance by the wisdom of Cavour and the valour of Garibaldi will remain with mankind," he remarked, "to warn the rash that the brave man, whatever he and his friends may think, cannot dispense with the guidance of the wise-and to teach the prudent that in the uncertain currents of the world's affairs, there come rare moments, hard to distinguish but fatal to let slip, when caution is dangerous, when all must be set upon a hazard, and out of the simple man is ordained strength."32

As HE WAS WRITING about various struggles for individual and national liberty, Trevelyan responded in a predictable Liberal fashion to current events. The Dreyfus affair captured his soul. In 1898 he reported that he was "profoundly interested" in "the coming struggle in France, which cannot be long delayed now. If the man gets out I shall burn a bonfire in my heart. May France live!" Eight years later, while writing the first volume on Garibaldi, Trevelyan celebrated the final exoneration of the innocent man: "Dreyfus reestablished justice on earth, in spite of the Pope and all his legions of evil spirits," he wrote his mother. "It is a glad morning for it, and the sun shines on the river. ... The exculpation of Dreyfus is one of the noblest stories in the history of mankind."34 With his admiration for Émile Zola,35 Trevelyan undoubtedly would have written about the struggle in France were it not for his aversion to writing histories of his own time.

Trevelyan's hesitancy to write on current affairs, which distinguishes him from his father and granduncle, was based on his belief that he had no understanding of his own era.36 In 1913 his brother Robert, a Cambridge classicist, suggested-facetiously, perhaps-that George write a history of the current Balkan wars. He replied, "I do not think this is a case for me to try a

³¹ GMT, Garibaldi's Defence, 217-18. 32 GMT, Garibaldi and the Thousand, 7

³³ GMT to RCT, Dec. 31, 1898, RCT Papers, box 14, no. 28.

³⁴ GMT to his mother, July 13, 1906, GOT Papers, box 15.

³⁶ See GMT to GOT, n.d. [ca. 1893], *ibid.*, box 16. ³⁶ GMT to RCT, Oct. 27, 1926, RCT Papers, box 14, no. 107.

'contemporary history'. After all good contemp, histories like Thucydides, Clarendon and even Burnet were written by men who lived in the affair and were natives. I know nothing about the Balkans and know no Balkan language. And the Balkan peoples *all* lie like [the] Devil."³⁷

To the dedicated English Liberal, autocratic Russia symbolized feudal tyranny. Trevelyan exulted in the revolutionary situation of 1905–06 but like a good constitutional Whig worried about the weakness of the center.

If one could be sure of the result, one would welcome the struggle however sanguinary. But it seems extremely doubtful, the more so because the Duma had not sat long enough to make itself an authority of great power, and one fears the revolution will have no centre, and will run to extremes and divisions. . . . But however many generations it may take, Russia will be free some day . . . [and] will be far more socialistic than any of us. The peasant will brook no Lord, for he is many and strong, unlike the English labourer.

If Trevelyan were unmarried, he told his mother, he would like to fight for the Russian liberals.

The amount of blood that will be shed will be frightful. The Italian and French Revolutions will be childsplay to it. They care nothing for their lives at ordinary times, and in these occasions "which turn the sluggard's blood to flame, the coward's heart to steel"—less than nothing. They are crossed with the peoples of the east who think life of little worth at best. But if their revolution can be carried out, perhaps life will become of more value over there, in a few thousand years. . . . I am afraid the Russians won't produce a man as attractive as Garibaldi,—at least not as attractive to us Westerns. 38

The March Revolution of 1917 found Trevelyan with his Red Cross unit in Italy. Though disappointed that the Russians were not Whigs, he nevertheless saw democratic progress:

My comparison of the Russian Revolution to 1689 was disproved 2 days after I had written it. The DT [Daily Telegraph] is particularly good on Russia and remarkably sympathetic even with the extreme forms of democracy there, which other papers do not try to understand at all. I wish the Russians were Whigs, but as they aren't one must hope for the best to happen in some other odd, new democratic way. The dangers are too obvious to remark on. But in any case I believe democracy is on the march now all along the line.³⁹

But with the triumph of the Bolsheviks, Trevelyan almost despaired of the future of Europe. He told his father that if the U.S. Senate "throws out" the League of Nations treaty "there will be Bolshevism and war all over Europe for a generation to come, while America smugly retires into her shell." Without American influence in Europe as a check against Communism, "we are all undone."

Perhaps it was extremism abroad and at home that turned Trevelyan back

 ³⁷ GMT to RCT, July 30, 1913, *ibid.*, no. 89.
 ³⁸ GMT to his mother, July 23, 1906, GOT Papers, box 15.
 ³⁹ GMT to his mother, Apr. 8, 1917, *ibid.*, box 14.
 ⁴⁰ GMT to GOT, Feb. 25, 1919, *ibid.*

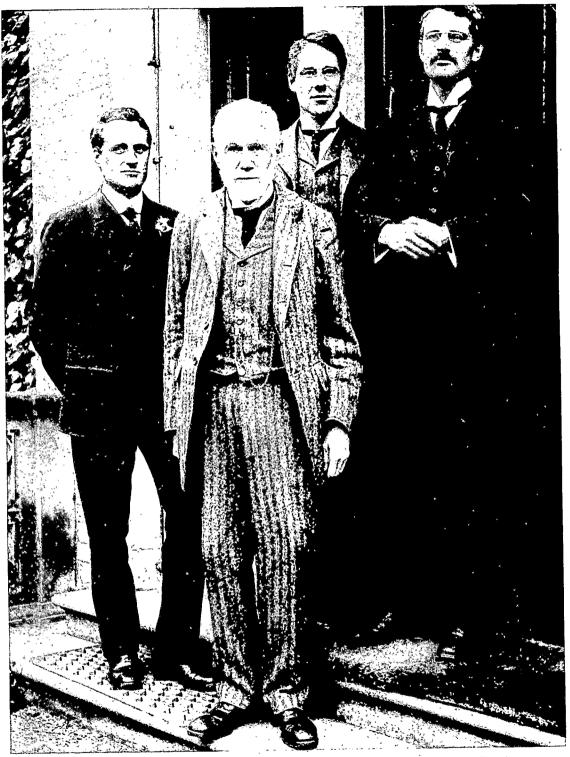


Fig. 3. From left, Charles Philips Trevelyan, Robert Calverley Trevelyan, George Macaulay Trevelyan, with Sir George Otto Trevelyan in foreground. Ca: 1910. Courtesy Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

to his own political heritage for his next two books. His Life of John Bright appeared a year before the Great War, and Lord Grey of the Reform Bill two years after the Armistice. Both Trevelyan and his father stood in the Radical-Liberal tradition of Bright, and his mother's family had been associated with the free trade movement in Manchester headed by Bright. Trevelyan successfully conveys Bright's great moral power and independent drive that pricked the conscience of the Whig-Liberal party for half a century. Fixing almost exclusively on Bright, Trevelyan slights his opponents and oversimplifies the political difficulties confronting Sir Robert Peel. Bright, the pacificist reformer, would serve as a powerful example to disillusioned Liberals in the chaotic year before World War I. And Trevelyan's oldest brother, Charles Philips Trevelyan, parliamentary secretary to the Board of Education, was to resign from the Liberal government in August 1914 as a protest against Britain's entry into the Great War.

While sympathetic to the pacifism of his two older brothers, George adopted an American political term, "mugwump," to describe his realistic, Whiggish position on the war. He wrote that he was "really too broken in spirit" to answer his brother Bob's letter properly; "and indeed the mugwump is not morally in a position to hold his own against either side. He feels a self contempt when he compares himself to his wholehearted friends." He confessed that "one feels it hardly matters what one does or thinks in this doomsday." In fact, the war was "far the greatest catastrophe in modern history." However, he reminded his brother: "But as long as you have devils like the Russian and German militarist parties in being and in *power*, can the rest [of] the world adopt complete pacifism and survive?" "

Lord Grey's career, on the other hand, would serve as a reminder of the Whig tradition to postwar cynics. Regarding Lord Grey of the Reform Bill, G. M. Trevelyan wrote in his short autobiographical essay: "The theme of glorious summer (in this case the summer of Reform) coming after a long winter of discontent and repression, is, as I have said, congenial to my artistic sense. And then the background of Grey's life was my own—Northumberland." Because of his Whig heritage, Trevelyan glossed over complexities and demonstrated little sympathy with the short-sighted Tories who had stalled reform for so long. And inferentially the biography was a polemic against the demise of Liberalism he was witnessing after Versailles.

Lord Grey of the Reform Bill was condemned at the time as an indictment of Tory administration "conceived in the unmeasured violence of a political antagonist," and even friendly critics have rated the biography as perhaps Trevelyan's poorest book. Still, it constitutes a philosophical statement of the case for a rational and temperate political process. "In an age when the law of perpetual and rapid change is accepted as inevitable, and the difficulty

44 See Plumb, Trevelyan, 22-23, and Winkler, "Trevelyan," 44-45.

⁴¹ GMT to RCT, Aug. 28, 1914, RCT Papers, box 14, no. 204. ⁴² GMT, Autobiography, 34.

⁴³ Review by C. E. Fryer in AHR, 26 (1920-21): 91.

is to obtain progress without violence," Trevelyan wrote in the preface, dated December 1919, "there may be profit in the story of a statesman who, after a period of long stagnation and all too rigid conservatism, initiated in our country a yet longer period of orderly democratic progress, and at the critical moment of the transition averted civil war and saved the State from entering on the vicious circle of revolution and reaction." Though lacking the genius of Gladstone, Lord Grey succeeded "more completely" than the Grand Old Man and lacked his faculty "for making mistakes." To understand Grey's "paramount influence" in Britain between 1830 and 1832 "is to understand the position and outlook of those liberal-minded aristocrats peculiar to the history of our island, whose existence was one of the reasons why the political traditions and instincts that the English have inherited differ so profoundly from those of Germany, of France, or even of Austria." Trevelyan reaffirmed his faith in English constitutional progress through enlightened Whig-Liberal leadership.

In the Bishop Creighton Lecture delivered at the University of London in 1919, Trevelyan made even more explicit his faith in the English heritage and traditions. The age of "unrest" after the Great War inspired his "hope that we in this island shall not lose too much of our moral and intellectual inheritance from the past." Englishmen would never forget, he wished, "that we are 'of history's blood royal,' English of the old stock, with the greatestrecord of ordered progress in the world." Here is a remarkable anticipation of the Churchillian rhetoric of World War II and the "chosen people" theme that would permeate Trevelyan's History of England. He was certain that World War I would produce a new way of looking at the past: the American Revolution, the French Revolution, Lincoln, and Bismarck would all be viewed differently after the Great War. He argued that the militarists had "overshot their mark" because by making war "universal instead of professional" they had rendered it "unendurable." In a burst of Wilsonian idealism he exclaimed, "Military despotism has been slain. . . . Free will, men's moral choice in national and international affairs, has returned to earth."46

Trevelyan's Whiggish elitism and supreme confidence in the superiority of English institutions and traditions were further confirmed by the fascist coup of 1922 in his second country, Italy. Frightened by the Bolshevik threat in Europe, Trevelyan also criticized Mussolini's fascism. But in a lecture at Oxford in 1923 the leading Whig historian presented a sympathetic portrait of Il Duce. "Signor Mussolini," he remarked in concluding the lecture, was "a great man and, according to his lights, a very sincere patriot." Trevelyan offered a prayer for Mussolini "not that he victoriously destroy free institutions in Italy, but that he may be remembered as a man who gave his country order and discipline when she most needed them, and so enabled those free institutions to be restored in an era happier than that in which it is

⁴⁶ GMT, Lord Grey of the Reform Bill (London, 1920), viii, 368.

⁴⁶ GMT, The War and the European Revolution in Relation to History (London, 1920), 8, 12-13, 44, 40-41.

our present destiny to live." Trevelyan reminded his audience that parliamentary government was exported from England to Italy and since Cavour's death had enjoyed no great Italian exponent. "The Italian race has in its blood . . . the politics not of the lobby or of the polling booth, but of the piazza." While the English were putting a Conservative government in power by holding a general election in 1922, "the Italians achieved a similar object by a series of rows in the piazza all over Italy, culminating in a grand national 'row in the piazza'—Signor Mussolini's march on Rome." It was difficult for Italians to appreciate general elections, Trevelyan complacently explained, for they were not "to the manner born. We have this obscure inherited instinct. The Italians have it not. In England a general election is a moral earthquake. ... But in Italy a general election is the sum of a number of obscure intrigues." Trevelyan was more concerned about freedom of speech than parliamentary government—"perhaps because I am so academic." He contrasted the English temper to that of the fascists, who "regard the suppression of free speech not as one of Cromwell's 'cruel necessities', but as a thing good in itself, an ideal realized." Yet Trevelyan was even more critical of the Italian Left. He denounced the antipatriotic terror after the war and the "defeatist" assaults on men in uniform and on capitalism and property of all sorts. "Red rowdyism" encouraged "young ex-service men in football shirts"—the private fascist army—"to fight the Communists and defeatists with their own weapons." Again Trevelyan could moralize to the advantage of his fellow countrymen: "It was as natural for the Italian socialist to terrorize his fellow citizens as for the English socialist to walk to the polling booth. History can best tell you why."47

During the early twenties much of Trevelyan's energy was spent on public work, as a member of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge and an active supporter of the National Trust. His extensive research on Grey and Bright, however, naturally led to a textbook, *Britain in the Nineteenth Century* (1922). More temperate in its Liberal bias than the study of Grey, it vividly portrays the history of England from the days before the French Revolution to 1832. After the Reform Bill of 1832 it becomes "a conventional political account," Henry Winkler has commented, and the period after 1870 is treated superficially. The work is chiefly remembered for its literary style and for the good introduction it provides to the century. Its success, however, gave Trevelyan and his publishers an idea—a new single-volume history of England to replace the last famous one, J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People* (1874).

In 1924 Trevelyan was invited to Harvard University to deliver the Lowell Lectures. They formed the basis of his *History of England*, published in 1926, which soon became his most popular work and "could only have been written by a liberal and a humanist." It stresses the genius of the English people for

49 Plumb, Trevelyan, 25.

⁴⁷ GMT, The Historical Causes of the Present State of Affairs in Italy (London, 1923), 20, 16, 8, 17-18, 15. ⁴⁸ Winkler, "Trevelyan," 45-46.

compromise, civil liberty, and social justice. "In answer to the instincts and temperament of her people," Trevelyan wrote in his introduction, England "evolved in the course of centuries a system which reconciled three things that other nations have often found incompatible—efficiency, popular control, and personal freedom. '50 Herein we see the major problem of the book, especially since it was so widely read for its vivacious style and brilliant epigrams. E. P. Cheyney warned in a review that the survey was too ardently nationalistic— "not simply with that gentle interest in his own people and country which suffuses Green's work . . . but with a more militant assertive sense of the superiority of English institutions and character over those of other nations that savors of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—the nationalism of the days before, during and to a lesser extent perhaps since the Great War." Cheyney objected to Trevelyan's portrayal of the English as a "chosen people" among nations and worried that English readers would become self-satisfied, complacent, and blind to their own defects. 51 Trevelyan had written a Whig history of England par excellence. It both reflected and shaped national awareness among the English of their own history. Whig history had become the official consensus history.

Trevelyan's History of England "has—although one might almost say 'Thank God!'—a bias, it is frankly liberal and protestant," writes Plumb. 52 This very "tendency in many historians to write on the side of Protestants and Whigs" the young Herbert Butterfield would denounce a few years later in The Whig Interpretation of History. 53 Critics of the Whig view, like Butterfield, overlook the most vulnerable point for Whig history—the Irish Question. Trevelyan, like Macaulay, denounced the brutality of the Irish policies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but in the History of England the Liberal who had once rejoiced in the coming of Irish Home Rule showed no sympathy for modern Irish nationalism.

Certainly events during the Great War and the accompanying Anglo-Irish War had changed Trevelyan's outlook. Writing in the mid-twenties, he was merely sanctioning the Irish settlement of 1922. Yet his treatment of Ireland for the years after 1870 has a note of smug superiority. In 1885, he remarked of Charles Stewart Parnell, "The balance of power at Westminster lay in the hands of a strange man who, though himself of Anglo-Saxon origin, regarded British Liberals and Tories with a cold, indifferent hatred."54 In later editions of the one-volume history he hardly sounded like a dedicated Home Ruler. Describing events after 1912, Trevelyan wrote that the Conservative party, led by Bonar Law, "openly encouraged Ulster to arm for resistance under Sir Edward Carson's sincere and dogged leadership." The Liberal government, in Trevelyan's view, "ought to have announced that the six Protestant counties of Ulster should be allowed to contract out from Home Rule." And

⁵⁰ GMT, History of England (London, 1926), xvii.

⁵¹ Review by E. P. Cheyney in AHR, 32 (1926-27): 571-72.

⁵² Plumb, Trevelyan, 24.
63 Herbert Butterfield, The Whig Interpretation of History (London, 1931), v.

⁵⁴ GMT, History of England, 680, 687.

perhaps adopting a more realistic viewpoint to suit his optimistic assessment of the British establishment, Trevelyan reversed his earlier, private support of Gladstone: "Above all, Gladstone's acceptance of Parnell's claim to have Protestant Ulster as a part of the new Ireland, was more than an error in tactics. It flew in the face of racial and political possibilities." 55

Though the young Harrovian of 1892 had been a strong supporter of Gladstone's Home Rule bill and thought its passage would enable the Liberal prime minister to "end his days with the greatest reputation ever possessed by a living statesman,"56 after World War I the GOM was no longer a hero to the mature Trevelyan. And becoming an established historian apparently made Trevelyan more sensitive about his family's role in Irish history. Writing in 1932 about his grandfather, Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, he curiously failed to make a single reference to Sir Charles's role in administering relief during the Irish Famine—perhaps an example of the "family piety"57 he later excused in Churchill's Marlborough. He had read his grandfather's letters, but it was not until 1960 that selections were published from the huge collection of Sir Charles's letters dealing largely with the famine.58 These letters were used by Cecil Woodham-Smith in her unflattering portrait of the obstinate and insensitive grandfather. 59 In 1893 G. M. Trevelyan had compared his grandfather to Cromwell. 60 Yet in historical works he either covered up or ignored his grandfather's policies toward Ireland-more disastrous than those of Cromwell.

Clearly the Trevelyan family experiences in Ireland had not been happy ones. In the biography of his father, Sir George Otto, G. M. Trevelyan could not avoid recounting the two frustrating years GO had endured as Irish chief secretary from 1882 to 1884—years followed by a decline in his political career. During the Anglo-Irish War, GM would meditate on the effects of delayed emancipation in Ireland: "England herself has the opportunity of learning that lesson afresh every generation in her dealings with Ireland." This was certainly an accurate statement for the generations of his grandfather and father. For his own generation G. M. Trevelyan observed, "Some nations, like the Irish, are too historically minded, in the sense that they cannot get out of the past at all." 162

THE CHANGE IN TREVELYAN'S ATTITUDE toward the Irish generally reflected his shift toward conservatism, which brought him eventually to incorporate

⁵⁵ Ibid. (3d ed.; London, 1945), 707-08, 688.
⁵⁶ GMT to GOT, July 3 [1892], GOT Papers, box 16.
⁵⁷ GMT to the Times Literary Supplement, Oct. 19, 1933, quoted in GMT, England under Queen Anne, vol. 3: The Peace and the Protestant Succession (London, 1934), xi.
⁵⁸ GMT, Sir GOT, 14, n.1. See Jenifer Hart, "Sir Charles Trevelyan at the Treasury," English Historical Review, 294 (1960): 92-110.
⁵⁹ Cecil Woodham-Smith, The Great Hunger; Ireland 1845-1849 (New York, 1962), passim.
⁶⁰ Chadwick, Freedom, 29-30.

⁶¹ GMT, The War and Revolution, 41. ⁶² GMT, Autobiography, 63.

the Tories into the Whig tradition. He found himself increasingly uncomfortable in writing about the twentieth century and even about Victorian Britain; it is in the Victorian section of his *History of England* that his anti-Irish comments appear. In its 703-page edition of 1926, only eighty-eight pages are devoted to Britain after 1815. Writing to his brother Bob, Trevelyan was worried about the modern section of the book: "I am glad you find the Victorian part was tolerable. The 'Epilogue',—imposed on me much against my will by the Publisher's view of necessity, I believe a correct view,—could not be anything but a blot. I don't understand the age we live in, and what I do understand I don't like."

It was certainly natural for a man of Trevelyan's views and background to dislike the events of 1926. Fascism and communism were flourishing on the Continent, and England was experiencing the disruptive General Strike. Moderate men would likely support the Tories, and Trevelyan would reinterpret the Whig tradition in his Romanes Lecture at Oxford. Edmund Burke, in Trevelyan's view, was the key figure in the transformation of the Tory party. In his later anti-Jacobin mood, Burke became "the prophet of the Tory Party and of nineteenth-century Conservatism" because he taught the Tories to regard themselves as "the true heirs and protectors of the English Revolution Settlement of 1689 against the false cosmopolitan lights of the French Revolution." The violent methods of the Jacobins and Napoleon "connected modern democracy in its earliest stage not with the ballot-box but with the bayonet." The English Tories then were put "into the advantageous moral position of defenders of law and constitutionalism against the 'direct action' of the Jacobins and the popular Caesarism of Napoleon." After Waterloo, Canning's variety of Toryism with its defense of parliamentary government "became synonymous for a few years with the cause of European liberty." But the Tories failed to adapt to the new industrial age; both Burke and Canning opposed the abolition of rotten boroughs. At this moment the Whig party, which had failed to appreciate the need for war with Napoleon's France, did realize "the necessity of Parliamentary Reform if Parliamentary government was to survive in the new era." No single party could have been right both on the war with France and on the necessity for reform; therefore, the need for a two-party system. When, during the French Revolutionary era, Roman Catholic claims to civil rights were revived, opposition on the part of the Tories completed their "reconciliation . . . to the principles of 1689. The revived Tory party became enthusiastic for the House of Hanover and the Revolution Settlement, while on the other hand the Whigs began to demand civil rights for Roman Catholics, which the Tory party won great popularity by refusing." And the continuity of the two parties was to be found "mainly in the unbroken connexion of the Tories with the Church interest, and of the Whig aristocrats with the Protestant Nonconformist voters." The party system was one of the devices whereby "England learnt to combine efficiency

⁶³ GMT to RCT, Oct. 27, 1926, RCT Papers, box 14, no. 107.

with freedom." Trevelyan concluded "from the vantage point of our own very different age" that the "dualism in the religious life of the nation, reflected . . . into a political dualism, . . . contributed largely to the unexpected success of free Parliamentary government as a method of ruling a great country and a great Empire in peace and in war." With the demise of the Liberal party after World War I, Trevelyan was determined to point out that the Conservatives were very much in the Whig tradition of 1689.

Perhaps coincidentally but appropriately, the Conservative prime minister, Stanley Baldwin, in 1927 appointed G. M. Trevelyan Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, succeeding J. B. Bury. In 1930 GM came into the honor his father, who died in 1928, had held: he received the Order of Merit, limited to a membership of twenty-four. According to Owen Chadwick, Professor Trevelyan's lectures at Cambridge were not known for their "eloquence and stimulus," but he stood as a symbol to the undergraduates of the tradition of Whig history and of the doctrine that history is enjoyable and indispensable for a humane education. The appeal of history, Trevelyan said in his inaugural lecture for the Regius Professorship, is essentially poetic, for history deals with the mysteries of life and death and time. "Historians are born, not manufactured," he observed. And he warned the Cambridge scholars: "Today the writers may sometimes be too academic and the readers not academic enough for the purposes of mutual understanding."

With his reputation firmly established, Trevelyan began his magnum opus—the three-volume England under Queen Anne, which he later described as "my best work, except perhaps the Garibaldis." In assessing his motivation for writing this major historical work, Trevelyan spoke of the Whig influence his family background exerted on him: "The idea of taking up the tale where my great-uncle's history had broken off, was perhaps a fancy at the back of my consciousness." Lord Macaulay's History of England concluded with William III in 1701. But Trevelyan said he was "more seriously attracted by the dramatic unity and separateness" of the period from 1702 to 1714 between the Stuart and Hanoverian eras. "I always liked military history, and the Marlborough wars are one of its greatest themes," he continued; "I always liked Scottish history, and the Union of 1707 was its turning point." Perhaps the most important motive was that a history of Queen Anne's reign would provide a story with a happy ending for a nation needing one at a time of disintegration and depression. 67

The preface to *Blenheim* (1930), the first volume of *England under Queen Anne*, reads like a message of hope and inspiration to Trevelyan's countrymen during the depression. The Augustan Age was in reality a "five-act tragedy," he reminded them, when "through the crash of each successive crisis of war and politics, the fortune of England moves forward on the tide of destiny." Yet

⁶⁴ GMT, The Two-Party System in English Political History (Oxford, 1926), 23–25, 10, 27. ⁶⁵ Chadwick, Freedom, 2.

⁶⁶ GMT, The Present Position of History (London, 1927), 24-29. 67 GMT, Autobiography, 45-46, 34.

"what men that little rustic England could breed! A nation of five and a half millions that had Wren for its architect, Newton for its scientist, Locke for its philosopher, Bentley for its scholar, Pope for its poet, Addison for its essayist, Bolingbroke for its orator, Swift for its pamphleteer and Marlborough to win its battles, had the recipe for genius."68 Unlike Macaulay, Trevelyan viewed the duke of Marlborough as an inscrutable hero. With his conviction about the great historical consensus in Britain's politics, Trevelyan stressed the sincerity of both Whigs and Tories: "Even the lapses of Tory ministers into Jacobite treason," a reviewer said, "are to him a natural result of the shock of the Revolution to deep-rooted loyalties."69

As he was completing the second volume on the reign of Anne, Ramillies and the Union with Scotland (1932), Trevelyan was concerned about its emphasis on military history and its public reception. Thanking his brother Bob for corrections on the manuscript, he remarked, "I have been terrified by the fear of its becoming a 'drum and trumpet' history, especially in these anti-war times, and especially as I like drums and trumpets myself so much, provided they were blown a good 100 years or more ago!" One reviewer noted that in writing about the complicated domestic politics of the era Trevelyan's interest seemed to flag. The problem was his preference for "moderate men" at a dull time when they had no program except to remain in power. 71 And Trevelyan's belief in the two-party system distorted his portrait of the Augustan Age. The backstairs politics of Harley and Godolphin, as they sought power at all costs, could not be easily simplified into party struggles.

Overlapping the publication from 1930 to 1934 of Trevelyan's three-volume England under Queen Anne, Winston Churchill's four-volume biography of his ancestor, John Churchill, Marlborough: His Life and Times, appeared between 1933 and 1938. Trevelyan and Churchill, who had been contemporaries at Harrow, were now rival historians in their accounts of early eighteenthcentury England. They were in essential agreement in interpretation, even on Marlborough's character. Trevelyan did respond, though, to Churchill's calling Macaulay a "liar" for his devastating portrait of Marlborough. Macaulay's mistaken reading of Marlborough, Trevelyan wrote in a letter to the Times Literary Supplement, was the worst thing in his history; it was not surprising that "Mr. Churchill's family piety . . . aroused him to take revenge." Trevelyan reminded Churchill that "there is a surface case against Marlborough, and many people in his own day thought ill of him. An historian who, before the days of our modern research, was deceived by these phenomena into thinking Marlborough was a bad man was not necessarily dishonest." It was ironic, observed Trevelyan, that "Macaulay, for all his alleged Whig bias, trusted far too much to Jacobite and High Tory libels about Marlborough."72 Despite their minor disagreements, Winston Churchill, as prime minister during the grim days of 1940, appointed his

⁶⁸ GMT, England under Queen Anne, vol. 1: Blenheim (London, 1930), vii.

⁶⁹ Review by Violet Barbour in *AHR*, 36 (1930–31): 379.
⁷⁰ GMT to RCT, Oct. 27, 1932, RCT Papers, box 14, no. 129.

⁷¹ Review by Violet Barbour in AHR, 39 (1933-34): 119-20.
72 GMT to the Times Literary Supplement, Oct. 19, 1933, quoted in GMT, Protestant Succession, xi.

fellow Whig historian, G. M. Trevelyan, as master of Trevelyan's revered Trinity College, Cambridge.

The final volume in the Queen Anne trilogy, The Peace and the Protestant Succession (1934), celebrated the apotheosis of the Whig interpretation and "the good sense of the English people." Trevelyan argued that English character shaped English politics: "The Englishman is famous for forgetting what is best forgot." England acquired security and liberty under the Hanoverian Constitution because the Whigs under Walpole were moderate men. "The great art of letting your neighbour alone, even if he thinks differently from you, was learnt by Englishmen under Walpole, at a time when the lesson was still a strange one elsewhere." Disraeli had called the rule of the great Whig families under the first two Georges "the Venetian Oligarchy," but Trevelyan criticized the regime on different grounds: "Not tyranny but an exaggerated conservatism was the weakness of the Walpoles and of the Pelhams after him. Quieta non movere ["Let sleeping dogs lie"] is not the motto of a Reformer, but neither is it the motto of a Tyrant." Because England between the Glorious Revolution and the death of George II established the rule of law, nineteenthcentury. England witnessed change through peaceful, parliamentary processes. And Trevelyan found a lesson for the fascists of his own time in the tolerance practiced by the Whigs: "Kindly old England has always in the long run revolted against 'fascist' experiments at the permanent suppression of 'the other side.""3

At the pinnacle of his career, at the age of fifty-nine, Trevelyan received a distinct honor that gave official approval to the Whig interpretation of history. It had become the English view of history, with the seal of the Crown, for G. M. Trevelyan was invited to write King George V's speech to both houses of parliament at Westminster Hall on May 9, 1935, in honor of the monarch's Silver Jubilee on the throne. The speech bore the clear mark of Trevelyan's pen. "Beneath these rafters of medieval oak, the silent witnesses of historic tragedies and pageants," the aging king reminded the lords and M.P.'s, "we celebrate the present under the spell of the past. It is to me a source of pride and thankfulness that the perfect harmony of our Parliamentary system with our Constitutional Monarchy has survived the shocks that have in recent years destroyed other empires and other liberties." And rounded phrases summed up the Whig philosophy: "The complex forms and balanced spirit of our Constitution were not the discovery of a single era, still less of a single Party or of a single person. They are the slow accretion of centuries, the outcome of patience, tradition and experience constantly finding channels old and new for the impulse towards liberty, justice and social improvement inherent in our people down the ages."74

The speech constitutes something like a symbolic acknowledgment that the Whig interpretation had become the accepted, popular consciousness of British history. It is especially appropriate that the speech should implicitly

⁷³ GMT, Protestant Succession, 191, 161, 320-21, 96.

⁷⁴ Hansard, Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, 5th ser., 96 (1934-35): 836-38.

make Whig-Liberals of the Fabian socialists, just as Trevelyan had already invited the Tories into the Whig enterprise. All England, it seems, was Whig. And the Whig interpretation was particularly suited to imply this kind of loose consensus among varieties of political persuasion; for the virtues it designates, while positive in their own right, are matters of political procedure and intellectual civility rather than of precise confining programs and are therefore compatible with many ideologies so long as these do not of their nature preclude tolerance, diversity, and cooperation.

In a letter to his brother, now Sir Charles Philips Trevelyan, a left-wing Labourite, George made clear that despite their political differences any revisionist socialist like Charles could be included within the consensus: "I do not expect any future coolness between us, partly because we now realize our own and each other's latent tendencies apart, better than we did in 1914. And partly because you, tho' you want things I don't want, want them by constitutional means and coupled with the preservation of freedom." He then contrasted his own philosophy with his brother's: "I care *much* more about individual freedom as the precondition of good civilization than about anything else in politics and society. We two have certainly had the most extraordinary advantages, and I the most extraordinary good luck in life. If I have availed myself of my chances well, it is partly because I have not gone in for the rough and tumble of the world's debate. I think I was right, as my gifts were literary not administrative or political. But no one knows better than I do that I am no hero." 75

And while G. M. Trevelyan was not especially heroic in those days of Baldwin and Chamberlain, he did take action when he thought his personal involvement could be helpful. For example, in 1933 along with Lord Rutherford, the physicist, Trevelyan helped form a society to assist the Jewish and anti-Nazi university teachers being expelled from Hitler's Germany; about six hundred academics were secured worthy positions in Britain. Trevelyan also was a constant and enthusiastic conservationist both as chairman of the Estates Committee of the National Trust and as president from 1930 to 1950 of the Youth Hostels Association.

During the 1930s Trevelyan also completed two works of love, biographies of his father and of their distinguished Northumbrian neighbor, Sir Edward Grey. In these two books Trevelyan recorded a good deal about his own views in the interwar era. In describing the attitude of his father toward World War I, Trevelyan was echoing his own pessimism: "He regarded the war as the most unmitigated calamity and fully realised that it made an end of the civilisation to which he belonged." Both father and son felt out of place in the postwar world: "The grey dawn of peace showed that the land-marks he knew had vanished in the night, and he was too old to join in the search for their

⁷⁵ GMT to CPT, Mar. 17, 1934, CPT Papers, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, packet 242. ⁷⁶ Lord Beveridge to the editor, the *Times* (London), July 24, 1962.

The Lord Beveridge to the editor, the Jimes (London), July 24, 1962.

GMT, Must England's Beauty Perish? (London, 1929); Jack Catchpool, "G. M. Trevelyan, O.M., C.B.E.," Youth Hosteller, Sept. 1962, pp. 10–12.

successors. He lived in almost complete seclusion with my mother at Wallington and Welcombe, reading and dreaming of the past and awaiting in patience the too long lingering end." In *Grey of Fallodon* G. M. Trevelyan held up the Liberal aristocrat and hesitating foreign secretary of 1914 to the British of 1937 as a symbol of the Whig tradition: "For many troubled years, and at one terrible crisis, he had represented England at her best—her reasonableness, her justice, her desire for peace and friendship between all, and with that her determination not to be frightened into a submission or dazed into a tardiness that would allow one Power time to enslave the world." 1919

Shortly before the English people would be tested as they had not been since Napoleon, Trevelyan published "a masterpiece in miniature" 80—The English Revolution, 1688-1689. The little book is remarkable for its stimulating analysis of the Revolution and its distillation of his Whiggish views. Rather than being called "Glorious," wrote Trevelyan, the Revolution of 1688 should bear the title "The Sensible Revolution." He stressed the moderation: "The true 'glory' of the Revolution lies not in the minimum of violence which was necessary for its success, but in the way of escape from violence which the Revolution Settlement found for future generations of Englishmen." But at a time when the fascist threat was growing, Trevelyan seemed to emphasize the liberal side of the Whig tradition in contrast to the conservative elements he had stressed during the 1920s. And so he criticized the ultraconservative view of the Revolution that had prevailed for 150 years: "The Whig Governments before Burke, and the Tory Governments after him, all had too much reverence for the letter of the Revolution Settlement. It became a flag of ultra conservatism, first Whig, then Tory. To Walpole, Blackstone, Burke, Eldon and the anti-Jacobin Tories of the early nineteenth century, the year 1689 seemed the last year of creation, when God looked upon England and saw that it was good." Trevelyan was of two minds on the bearing of the Revolution Settlement on his own time. He was aware of the disadvantages of the English parliamentary system: "The compromise system of the Restoration, though very useful in its day, has led to weakness abroad and constant strife at home." Obviously with Hitler and Mussolini in mind, he warned his countrymen: "The system of government by discussion has its disadvantages, under which in new forms we are labouring today, in face of absolutist governments of a new and more formidable type than those of Europe of the ancien regime." Yet mindful that under the "Sensible Revolution" Britain obtained not only political liberty but also national power, greater than that of Louis XIV's absolutist regime, Trevelyan said in Churchillian tones: "But unless strength upholds the free, freedom cannot live. And the Revolution Settlement gave us strength as well as freedom."81

⁷⁸ GMT, Sir GOT, 145-46.

⁷⁸ GMT, Grey of Fallodon (London, 1937), 365.

⁸⁰ Plumb, Trevelyan, 27.

⁸¹ GMT, The English Revolution, 1688-1689 (New York, 1965), 3, 4, 8, 130-31, 8.

Despite his scholarly allusions to the fascist threat, George wrote to his brother Bob after the Munich Agreement that both Janet and he were "Chamberlainites." Even after the official outbreak of war between Britain and Germany following the Nazi invasion of Poland, he could write: "I am more inclined to think we ought not to have guaranteed Poland than that we can break off now. But I am agnostic and have no clear opinion. On the whole I think the only chance for Europe including ourselves to escape utter ruin would be for the U.S.A. to take a part in negotiating peace—but she won't, or at least she won't guarantee it." Trevelyan recalled that the last thing Edward Grey had said to him in the few weeks between the Nazi revolution and his death was "I see no hope for the world." And GM remarked: "There is less now. One half of me suffers horribly. The other half is detached, because the 'world' that is threatened is not my world, which died years ago. I am a mere survivor. Life has been a great gift for which I am grateful, tho' I would gladly give it back now."83

As he had watched Europe move toward despotism in the 1930s, Trevelyan even had begun to see the churches as allies in the struggle for individual liberty. He hoped that Christianity would survive the Nazi effort to root out "Christianity and all other forms of independent culture" from Germany, he wrote his daughter Mary; drawing on Mary's great-granduncle Matthew Arnold, he predicted that "Hebraism and Hellenism" would draw closer together "in a common resistance to this new barbarism."84

With the outbreak of World War II, the Whig interpretation of English history would be back in fashion, especially in Churchill's speeches. The individual liberty and orderly progress of which it spoke made a perfect contrast to the shrill totalitarianism of the Nazis. Trevelyan realized the current significance: "The liberalism of our English interpretation of our own history is accepted—would an English liberal history of modern Europe down to 1935 be equally welcome? I don't know." In the face of the Nazis even Herbert Butterfield, the chief critic of the Whig interpretation, would write about the "wonderful effect" that view of history had achieved in shaping the course of English history.86

During the spring of 1940, Trevelyan, the biographer of Garibaldi, in a broadcast over Radio London beamed into Italy, urged Italian neutrality.87 In private he could not be an optimist. After Dunkirk and at the beginning of the Battle of Britain, he sorrowed to his brother: "I fear we live in days when anyone of our generation who dies is lucky. I never had any real hope for the world after this war broke out, but it is all going even worse than I feared. But

⁸² GMT to RCT, Oct. 18, 1938, RCT Papers, box 14, no. 141.

⁸³ GMT to RCT, Oct. 4, 1939, ibid., no. 149.

⁸⁴ GMT to Mary Moorman, Apr. 28, 1935, quoted in Chadwick, Freedom, 33. For discussion of Hebraism and Hellenism, see Matthew Arnold, Culture and Anarchy (London, 1869), passim.

⁸⁵ GMT to RCT, Feb. 21, 1940, RCT Papers, box 14, no. 156.
86 Herbert Butterfield, The Englishman and His History (Cambridge, 1944), 7.

⁸⁷ Trevelyan spoke with "such obvious sincerity and fervour" that, as he left, the English announcer who was at the controls exclaimed, "What a nice old boy." Uberto Limentani, "Radio Londra durante la guerra," in Inghilterra e Italia nel 1900: Atti del Convegno di Bagni di Lucca, Ottobre 1972 (Florence, 1973), 204.

I can see no course for us now but to fight on for it is not an enemy from whom we can get terms or agreement." And he now lamented Britain's failure to arm properly: "The combination of defying great enemy powers without arming as they were armed has been a hideous and fatal folly. But we must now make the best of it."88

During the autumn of 1940, Trevelyan's Regius Professorship was drawing to an end, under the age limit of sixty-five. The master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Sir Joseph Thomson, had died in August; the mastership of Henry VIII's foundation is the one headship of a Cambridge college that the Crown appoints. And as noted, Churchill was delighted to advise the king to appoint a living symbol of the college's great tradition, George Macaulay Trevelyan. "The fellows are very anxious I should accept, the more so as they do not know whom Winston would appoint if I refused . . . ," Trevelyan reported to Bob. "That the crash of civilization should have landed me in the beautiful old lodge with its beautiful old-world traditions of Montagu Butler and Whewell and Bentley is a tragi-comic irony! But we shall not move in there till January and meanwhile it may be destroyed by a bomb!"89

During the war Trevelyan published his most popular and timely work, English Social History. Most of the book, beginning with the fourteenth century and concluding with the death of Queen Victoria, had been written in peacetime, but when the war interrupted his task, he abandoned the idea of covering the centuries before the Age of Wycliffe and finished the manuscript during the early months of the war. Because of the paper shortage, his survey of six centuries of social history was published first at New York in 1942 and not until 1944 by Longman in London. Plumb describes the book as an "elegy" to a lost way of life, with a "sunset glow...softening the edges." If Trevelyan's besieged countrymen were feeling nostalgia for a peaceful, rural past, his Social History must have appealed to them. It was a poetic account the rough places smoothed in a flowing and often elegant style. Trevelyan described the swampy Fenland of Elizabethan England as "still a world by itself" where "the fenmen continued to dwell round its shores and on its innumerable oozy islands—living an amphibious life, and varying their traditional occupations with the changing seasons of the year." "In the midst of these scenes of wild nature," he observed, "Ely Cathedral had for centuries floated like an ark upon the waters, its two towers and two long shining roofs far seen on distant horizons." And in describing the southern English countryside of his favorite period, the Augustan Age, he made the landscape match the moderation of the era's politics: "Everywhere that perfectly beautiful equilibrium between man and nature, which marked the Eighteenth Century landscape, was in process of being established. While hedgerow and orchard were gaining on the wild, the multiplication or improvement of cottages,

90 Plumb, Trevelyan, 32-33.

⁸⁸ GMT to RCT, July 12, 1940, RCT Papers, box 14, no. 159. 89 GMT to RCT, Sept. 27, 1940, *ibid.*, no. 158.

farm-buildings and Halls was going on, either in old traditional styles, or in that dignified but simple manner which we know as 'Queen Anne.'"91

Moderation and equilibrium continued to determine Trevelyan's political attitudes throughout the war and afterwards. Though a friend and schoolmate of Churchill, he could be critical of the prime minister's rashness. Greece, he told his brother Bob, "I think has been badly muddled by Churchill whose obstinacy is sometimes a blessing but sometimes the reverse." Another letter to Bob spoke favorably of the Labour victory in the general election of 1945: "I like the result of the election, I think, though of course things may turn out badly yet, as they often do. But I don't see how a purely Conservative govt. could in the present conditions have turned out well." While he must have felt closest to the Liberal party, he wrote: "And tho' I agree with the Liberals well enough, I should greatly fear that if they had held the balance we should have had long delay in getting any govt. - and then have got a weak one,—very fatal in the present state of the world. The Labour leaders have now had some very realistic experience in government which they so sorely lacked before 1940. I hope they will nationalize the mines."93 Once again experienced Labourites and moderate socialists would be ranked within the consensus portrayed in the new Whig interpretation.

As Trevelyan entered his seventies after World War II, he dealt, like many aging historians, with fundamental historiographical questions. His last important historical work, published in 1949, was An Autobiography and Other Essays. In addition to a fifty-one page autobiographical essay, the book includes such lectures and essays as "History and the Reader," "Bias in History," and "Stray Thoughts on History." In all of these Trevelyan reveals a subtle and sophisticated view of history, certainly not the simplistic. Whig view attacked by Herbert Butterfield in The Whig Interpretation of History, which, in Trevelyan's view, must have been directed against him because he was "the last Whig historian in the world," he mused to the young tutor of Peterhouse.94

In his presidential address to the Historical Association in 1947, Trevelyan was anything but the "unhistorical," present-minded Whig when he urged historians to "get inside the minds of the people of the Middle Ages and of Tudor times and of the Eighteenth Century, and see their problems as they saw them, not as we see them now." Trevelyan argued that a historian's bias could sometimes help him to sympathize with the passions of people in the past, and he used his Garibaldi trilogy as an example: "I once wrote three volumes on Garibaldi. They are reeking with bias. Without bias I should

⁹¹ GMT, English Social History, A Survey of Six Centuries: Chaucer to Queen Victoria (New York, 1942), 147, 149,

<sup>304.
92</sup> GMT to RCT, Dec. 25, 1944, RCT Papers, box 14, no. 190.

⁹³ GMT to RCT, July 31, 1945, ibid., no. 193.
94 Butterfield, quoted in Chadwick, Freedom, 37. According to Chadwick, ibid., 37-38, there is a discrepancy between "what the book said and what it was supposed to have said." Butterfield told Chadwick that in the Whig Interpretation he did not have Trevelyan in mind, "but primarily Acton."

never have written them at all. For I was moved to write them by poetical sympathy with the passions of the Italian patriots of that period, which I retrospectively shared. Such merit as the work has, largely derives from that. And some of its demerits also derive from the same cause."⁹⁵ Trevelyan even assessed this kind of bias as "imaginative sympathy"—the phrase and method Butterfield had proposed for interpreting the past.⁹⁶ Without mentioning him by name, Trevelyan appeared to be answering Butterfield's contention that the Whig historian's "greatest limitation" would be a "defect of imaginative sympathy."⁹⁷ In criticizing the "fervour of the whig historian," Butterfield had asserted that "the true historical fervour is the love of the past for the sake of the past."⁹⁸ Trevelyan accurately described this view as a form of bias.

In "Stray Thoughts on History," an essay of 1948 discussing the philosophy of history, Trevelyan even sounded like a scientific or objective historian. Every event, "for good or for bad," he argued, "wears for ever the inviolable sacredness of the accomplished fact. The statue has taken its shape and can never go back into the quarry." Judgments about the past are based "on the assumption that if things had gone differently they would have been better—or worse." But this is something that can never be discovered, and the "opinions" of historians should be held with "a modest diffidence."

Yet we may suspect that Trevelyan expressed his heart's true sentiments when he disparaged the "impartial historian," declaring Sir Walter Scott "a great historian." "He was all the greater," proclaimed Trevelyan, "because he had feelings to control. The impartial historian who has no feelings to control, rides a sorry nag to market; Sir Walter bestrode a war-horse that never ran away with him." 100

In his autobiography Trevelyan maintained that he had been "not an original but a traditional kind of historian"—an assessment with which many historians would agree. "The best that can be said of me," he continued, "is that I tried to keep up to date a family tradition as to the relation of history to literature, in a period when the current was running strongly in the other direction towards history exclusively 'scientific', a period therefore when my old-fashioned ideas and practice have had, perhaps, a certain value as counterpoise." Though very much in the Macaulay-Whig tradition, Trevelyan put his own mark on it by transforming a partisan view into a concept of a consensus within the modern British political system.

Despite his modesty and his subtleties, Trevelyan continues to be labeled as a journalistic historian whose scholarship is in doubt, largely perhaps because he did not "belong to the professional guild of teaching historians." The

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<sup>95</sup> GMT, Autobiography, 77.
<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 78; Butterfield, Whig Interpretation, 95.
<sup>97</sup> Butterfield, Whig Interpretation, 95.
<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 96.
<sup>99</sup> GMT, Autobiography, 90-91.
<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 204.
<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 1.
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criticisms tend to be self-perpetuating, and one particularly unfortunate example should be noted here. In a recent BBC television documentary entitled About Trevelyan, part of the Open University's Introduction to History series, Professor Arthur Marwick contrasted his own scientific view, based on empirical evidence, with Trevelyan's focus on "questions of passion and value" and "different personal and political views." Trevelyan's English Social History, according to Marwick, was "riddled through and through with general pronouncements which no doubt appealed to Trevelyan's readers, but which had no basis in historical evidence." In effect, Trevelyan was classed with pop historians by Marwick and other commentators in the twenty-fiveminute program, and his Whig style of history was denounced for its "cavalier treatment." What Trevelyan needed, Marwick commented, "was the sceptical voice of a student audience, and, of course, the criticism of teaching colleagues."102

Though Marwick recognized it as "in many ways unfair to pick out isolated quotations," he nevertheless selected two extracts from Trevelyan's English Social History as examples of the "ludicrous generalities which, note, are never abrasive, but always designed to make his readers feel nice and warm inside."103 Strangely enough for one dedicated to scientific history, Marwick failed to reveal how extremely "unfair" he was in quoting Trevelyan completely out of context and giving quite the opposite impression from that conveyed by the full passages. 104 Apparently Marwick's personal philosophy

102 Transcript of About Trevelyan in Humanities: A Foundation Course, Introduction to History, BBC Open University production, Nov. 14, 1971, pp. 5, 17, 3, 7, 4. See the Open University, Harper and Row, film no. 2800084. In addition to Marwick, professor of history at the Open University, the other participants in the telecast were R. Barrie Dobson, reader in history, University of York; Joel Hurstfield, Astor Professor of English History, University College London; and Keith Robbins, professor of history, University College of North Wales. 103 Ibid., 4.

104 In pointing out how Trevelyan's English Social History was "riddled through and through with general pronouncements . . . which had no basis in historical evidence," Marwick remarked: "Writing of Shakespeare's England Trevelyan refers to the Spanish Inquisition and the shambles which religion

produced in the Netherlands and in France. He continues: 'Looking across the channel and seeing these things, the English rejoiced that they were Islanders and that wise Elizabeth was their queen. Most notorious of all is the reference to the happy English and the unhappy French and their revolution: 'If the French Noblesse had been capable of playing cricket with their peasants, their chateaux would never have been burnt'" (About Trevelyan, 4). Marwick extracted the first passage from the following paragraph in Trevelyan's English Social History (pp. 140-41): "There is, of course, another side to all this, as there is to every picture of human well-being and well-doing. The cruel habits of centuries past were not easily or quickly to be shed. The overseas activity of the Elizabethans paid no regard to the rights of the negroes whom they transported into slavery, or the Irish whom they robbed and slaughtered: some even of the noblest English, like John Hawkins on the Gold Coast and Edmund Spenser in Ireland, failed to see what dragons' teeth they were helping to sow. At home, the woman hunted by her neighbors as a witch, the Jesuit missionary mounting the scaffold to be cut to pieces alive, the Unitarian burning at the stake, the Puritan dissenter hanged or 'laden with irons in dangerous and loathsome gaols,' had little joy of the great era. But in Elizabeth's England such victims were not numerous, as elsewhere in Europe. We escaped the pit of calamity into which other nations were being thrust—the Spanish Inquisition and the vast scale of martyrdom and massacre that turned the Netherlands and France into a shambles in the name of religion. Looking across the channel and seeing these things, the English rejoiced that they were islanders and that wise Elizabeth was their Queen." Marwick's second "notorious" reference comes from the following passage (English Social History, pp. 407-08): "In Stuart times cricket had grown up obscurely and locally, in Hampshire and Kent, as a game of the common people. The original method of scoring, by 'notches' on a stick, argues illiteracy. But in the early Eighteenth Century cricket enlarged both its geographic and its social boundaries. In 1743 it was observed that 'noblemen, gentlemen and clergy' were 'making butchers,

so clashed with Trevelyan's that he abandoned canons of objectivity and fairness. In his book The Nature of History, Marwick even attributed the "widespread feeling" that social history is "somehow an intellectually inferior version of the real thing" to Trevelyan's "travesty of an English Social History, written during the First [sic] World War when patriotic sentiment was at its height."105 Mirabile dictu! Trevelyan's historical works are indeed full of comments that may be misconstrued by the easy reader, but his sense of irony and his poetic insights reveal that committed history, despite its bias, can also be good history.

Upon retirement as master of Trinity in 1951, Trevelyan revealed that he remained a romantic Liberal until the end, in contrast to his brother Charles:

The ultimate prospect of a completely socialist state . . . attracts you and repels me. ... The things that I care about most (though I also care a great deal about the welfare of the mass of people) are literature, art, imagination and free intellect; they seem to me to be conditioned by a certain amount of leisure for some people and independence of mass orders such as will be issued on all subjects by a completely socialist state. . . . A certain amount of inequality of opportunity and leisure seems to me essential to the things I care about, but it is going fast and will in fifty years time be gone. So I don't look forward to your millennium, tho' I fear it is an inevitable consequence of machinery and the industrial revolution. 106

In his final words to appear in print, Trevelyan admitted that he had grown more cynical over the years. When as a Harrow boy in 1889 he first read Gibbon's remark in the third chapter of The Decline and Fall that history "is little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind," he thought the comment was untrue. "I think so less now, I fear," Trevelyan remarked, "but we must add that history is also the register of the splendour of man, and of his occasional good fortune, of which our island has had more than its share."107

Trevelyan certainly remained old-fashioned so far as his private correspondence was concerned. "I never wrote a private letter worth printing," he claimed 108—a comment that this article hopes to refute. His Victorian sense of propriety masked a practical fear of modern biographers like Lytton Strachey. When Sir Sydney Roberts, who had served as vicechancellor of Cambridge and secretary of the university press, suggested that the full text of Macaulay's diary, preserved in the Trinity library, ought to be

cobblers or tinkers their companions' in the game. Three years later, when Kent scored 111 notches against All England's 110, Lord John Sackville was a member of the winning team of which the gardener at Knole was captain. Village cricket spread fast through the land. In those days, before it became scientific, cricket was the best game in the world to watch, with its rapid sequence of amusing incidents, each ball a potential crisis! Squire, farmer, blacksmith and labourer, with their women and children come to see the fun, were at ease together and happy all the summer afternoon. If the French noblesse had been capable of playing cricket with their peasants, their chateaux would never have been burnt."

¹⁰⁶ Arthur Marwick, The Nature of History (London, 1970), 59.
106 GMT to CPT, Oct. 29, 1951, CPT Papers, packet 244.
107 The Speech of George Macaulay Trevelyan made on the 12th November 1955 at the Dinner in Christ's College, Cambridge, Given by Mr. Mark and Lady Elizabeth Longman to Celebrate the Publication of Studies in Social History: A Tribute to Trevelyan (London, 1956), 6-7.

108 GMT, Autobiography, 1.

published, he was surprised by the vehemence of Trevelyan's opposition. "Over my dead body," Trevelyan replied, "I'm not going to have those Bloomsbury people laughing at my great-uncle." Trevelyan also opposed any full-scale biography of himself and took no chance with his personal papers in his possession: he destroyed them all shortly before his death, which came on July 21, 1962. "May my malison alight on anyone who attempts to publish any of the scrawls that were once my letters," he wrote; "I trust they have all long ago passed through the waste-paper basket."110 Perhaps his shade will lift that curse from one who found a few scattered and nearly flawless gems.

The polish of the works that G. M. Trevelyan bequeathed his profession tells of great pains, and Trevelyan relates "transcribing each paragraph four times on the average before the typing stage."111 Each sentence is carefully worked; many paragraphs are poetic and intuitive. Trevelyan concluded a chapter on the Norman Conquest, for example, with an ironic insight into the shaping of the English language and nation during the following three centuries: "It is symbolic of the fate of the English race itself after Hastings, fallen to rise nobler, trodden under foot only to be trodden into shape." And Trevelyan evaluated the progress of reform campaigns in the 1820s and 1830s with amazing accuracy: "The Duke [of Wellington], it is reported, once complained of Peel that he never foresaw the end of the campaigns that he began. Though even more true of the Duke himself as a politician, the criticism of Peel is not unjust, provided we add, in Cromwell's words: 'None goes so far as he who knows not whither he is going.' It is characteristic of the England of that period of rapid transition, that her greatest statesmen could never see four years ahead."112 As G. Kitson Clark has remarked, Trevelyan was able to do three things "which the analysts among historians are sometimes unwilling to do. He could paint a scene, he could tell a story and he could describe a man. Each is an essential service, unless history is to be resolved into a series of unrelated facts and ideas and is to disregard the unity of life."113

A "peculiar felicity of expression" was the way John Adams described the style of the Whiggish Thomas Jefferson, and there is an equivalent felicity in the thought and language of G. M. Trevelyan. The judgment that Carl Becker has made of the Jeffersonian style can be applied cautiously to Trevelyan'sthat the clarity and gracefulness reflect a philosophy often just a little easy about existence, just lacking a sense of ambiguity, mystery, and rough edges. 114 Yet Trevelyan does frequently capture the waywardness of history and its ironic complications.

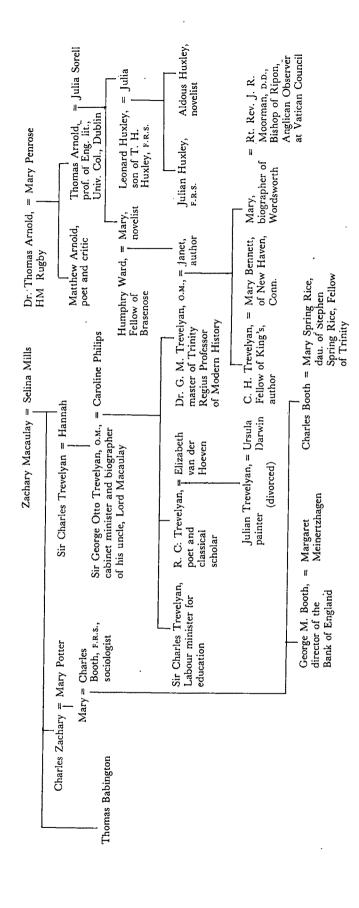
¹⁰⁹ Quoted in S. C. Roberts, Adventures with Authors (London, 1966), 121.

¹¹⁰ GMT, Autobiography, 1.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² GMT, History of England, 132, 625.
113 Kitson Clark, "Trevelyan as an Historian," 4.

¹¹⁴ Adams quoted in Carl Becker, The Declaration of Independence (New York, 1922), 194; see also chapter 5, "The Literary Qualities of the Declaration," ibid., 194-223, for comments on the Jeffersonian style.



Source: N. G. Annan, "The Intellectual Aristocracy," in J. H. Plumb, ed., Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G. M. Trevelyan (London, 1955), 259. Revised and updated by author.

If Macaulay is "the Rubens of historiography," then G. M. Trevelyan is its Gainsborough. Like the Flemish master, Macaulay is known for his vivid and massive portraiture; in the style of his fellow countryman Gainsborough, Trevelyan is noted for his graceful and dignified portraits. Macaulay was a grand impressario whose monumental style was brilliantly colored, steeped in classical literature, and inspired by the Renaissance; his grandnephew was a more self-conscious artist whose restrained style was more English with its soft pastels and careful brushwork. As Whig history moved from the lobby to the lecture hall, becoming less polemical and more respectable in the rarefied air of the academy, the rhetorical exuberance of Macaulay gave way to the measured poetry of Trevelyan.

¹¹⁶ G. P. Gooch, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century (Boston, 1959), 280.

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

MICHAEL BARKUN. Disaster and the Millennium. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 246. \$10.00.

Millenarian social movements have long been of interest to historians, sociologists, political scientists, and anthropologists, but each discipline has tended to use its own cover terms and to select particular kinds of cases. Historians have focused on millennial Christianity; anthropologists on nativist movements like the Ghost Dance and on cargo cults like the Vailala Madness; sociologists and political scientists on contemporary revolutionary totalitarianisms. Barkun, a political scientist at Syracuse, in Disaster and the Millennium, considers the whole range of phenomena that have been investigated by these several disciplines and attempts, not so much to develop a new typology (a none-too-profitable exercise anyway), but rather to generate a statement of the necessary and sufficient conditions under which movements of the millenarian kind occur. His method is inductive: he reviews the cross-cultural and historical literature on dozens of well-reported movements and infers from the evidence the causal nexus common to all. The book thus describes a search for, and proposes, a historical law of millenarian events.

Barkun's thesis is that millenarian movements occur in the aftermath of disaster (which may be social as well as physical, of course), that they tend strongly to happen in rural rather than urban communities (rural areas being more vulnerable than cities to social disaster), and that they must have available for elaboration an appropriate and already disseminated millenarian doctrine (such as Christian millenarianism, Jewish messianism, and Muslim Mahdism). Only in recent history has millenarianism become acclimated to the city; and here, he suggests, it is because the urban-based totalitarian state, like Nazi Germany, established by revolution, uses terror as a device for maintain-

ing a continuous condition of disaster in order to perpetuate the millennialist fervor.

The effort to develop more adequate theory, in an area of study that all too easily degenerates into parochial schemes of classification, can only be praised. I am also glad to be able to say that, in matters of substance of which I have personal knowledge, Barkun is careful and accurate in the use of ethnographic and historical detail.

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JOHN T. NOONAN, JR. Power to Dissolve: Lawyers and Marriages in the Courts of the Roman Curia. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1972. Pp. xix, 489. \$15.00.

Various strains—scriptural directives (I Cor. 7), papal enactments (for example, of Calixtus I, 217-22 A.D.), and conciliar decisions (of Elvira, 300 A.D.)—have converged through many centuries to forge the marriage law, which, since 1917, has been synthesized in canons 1012-1143 of the Code of Canon Law. The development of this vast construct is portrayed in A. Esmein, Le mariage en droit canonique (1929-35), and in G. H. Joyce, Christian Marriage (1948), but it has remained for Dr. Noonan's book to supply in-depth analysis of the judication in six matrimonial cases—Toul, January 15, 1653; West Lisbon, July 8, 1724; Cordoba, March 26, 1763; Rome, November 23, 1923; New York, February 8, 1915; Baltimore, June 30, 1910—that reached Roman church tribunals-the Rota, Propaganda Fide, Congregation of the Council, and Apostolic Signature—during the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries.

The achievement can be appraised in two fashions. If the subtitle, *Lawyers and Marriages*, specifies the topic, then Noonan has succeeded well. His six cases, with background and color, each cast in its cultural framework, each etched competently, are conducted to final judgment, though often meanderingly. One may quarrel, perhaps, with an inter-

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pretation (pp. 87, 337, 403) or question a speculation (pp. 184-86, 317), yet the whole creates a vivid experience of curial litigation. Whether the cases are typical depends upon how well versed one is with the fifty-four annual volumes of the modern Rota.

If, however, the six instances are meant to illustrate "power to dissolve," they are poorly chosen. Canons 1118-27 make provision for true matrimonial dissolution, that is, for the termination of genuine unions. Noonan's final chapter shows him fully cognizant of these canonical procedures. Not one of the six cases involves the use of such power. Sought in each of the trials is not dissolution of a valid marriage but a decision that the union under review has been null from the very beginning because of factors such as coercion, conditional contract, mental incapacity, intention to exclude offspring, intention against indissolubility, or invalidity of an episcopal dispensation from a diriment impediment. Factually, in four of the six cases-Toul, Cordoba, New York, and Baltimore—the court found for the validity of the marriage. In the other two, negative judgment was given upon the reality of the union: in West Lisbon, because the intention, contractually expressed, to enter a dissoluble virginal marriage, made the union null from the start; in Rome, because the male's positive exclusion of procreation vitiated from the beginning his marital consent. None of the cases has to do with the power to dissolve. Noonan's remark that the distinction between annulment and dissolution "is functionally difficult to distinguish" (p. xvi) only obfuscates the situation.

Curial handling of marriage trials has raised questions and found answers "often shrewd, imaginative, instructive and, if sometimes harsh, unrealistic or oversubtle, were sometimes soberly convincing" (p. xvii). But the intricacies and delays (formidable in the New York case) here depicted make it possible to understand why the recent studies of Lawrence G. Wrenn, editor, Divorce and Remarriage in the Catholic Church (1973) and W. Bassett and P. Huizing, editors, The Future of Christian Marriage (1973), and the October 1974 meeting of the Canon Law Society of America (National Catholic Reporter, Nov. 1, 1974) have called for wide changes in Catholic marriage legislation.

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WILLIAM H. MCNEILL. Venice: The Hinge of Europe, 1081-1797. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1974. Pp. xvii, 334. \$10.75.

William H. McNeill's broad interpretive essay describes some major aspects of "cultural interaction

amongst the diverse peoples of southern and eastern Europe" (p. xv) in the medieval and early modern periods. Tracing relations among them through seven centuries, McNeill considers cultural and institutional changes brought about by the emergence of new political forces and by evolving technologies of government, warfare, and economic activity; but he also keeps a steady focus on certain constants of the areas connected by the eastern Mediterranean and Black seas. One of these is Orthodox Christianity centered in Constantinople; but the most important is the Venetian Republic. Although sometimes Venice's connection with McNeill's discussion appears tenuous, overall the various Venetian roles as recipient, transmitter, and originator of cultural currents between East and West constitute the most important leitmotiv in the book.

There are two main subjects in the book, each dominating half of the chronological sweep and half of the body of the book. The first, and less successful, traces the growth and eventual triumph of Latin influence in the Byzantine Empire by virtue of the superiority of Frankish knightly combat methods and the political and economic organization of the Italian city-states, especially Venice. McNeill's familiarity with the literature does not seem as strong here as it is in the later section, and he ventures some interpretive suggestions that come across as highly speculative and rather unconvincing. Moreover the lines of "cultural interpenetration" are not clearly drawn. Latin military tactics and politico-economic organization surely did lead, at least temporarily, to Latin domination over the Byzantines; but the cultural exchange that resulted from the encounter is not laid out forthrightly.

The section dealing with the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries is another matter. Here Venice is no longer triumphantly leading the Latin domination of the Byzantine East but steadily giving way to the power of the Ottoman Empire. McNeill is most successful in portraying Venice as a "hinge" at the time of its political and economic decline, and he does so in an original and fascinating discussion. To me the most interesting part of this section involves the complex relations between religion and government in Russia and the Ottoman Empire. In this brief review I cannot go into all the elements of the matter, but readers of McNeill's Europe's Steppe Frontier (1964) will find familiar material here. Briefly, the question involves the appearance of a rationale for governmental control over religion. In the development of the rationale, Greek alumni of the Venetian-run University of Padua were instrumental—especially in Russia—and the example of Venice's resistance to the Counter-Reformation papacy was influential. McNeill may overstate the extent of this "collaboration" (p. 178) between Orthodox Christianity and Venice, but his enumeration of Greeks who attended Padua and then rose to influence in the Levant and Russia is suggestive—and is reinforced by his discussion of the growth of a Cretan literature bearing the traces of Italian influence during Venice's domination of Crete.

A book like this has strong and weak points. Specialists in each of the areas that it embraces may find occasion to blink. At times the reader gropes for a central conception on which to hang some of McNeill's subjects. But recognized for what it is—an essay based on wide, and occasionally deep, reading of secondary literature—the book is serious, interesting, occasionally compelling, and always suggestive. And not the least of its virtues is that it is a book that may encourage specialists in a number of fields to ask each other some valuable questions.

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SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages, A.D. 1492–1616. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xvii, 758. \$17.50.

The completion of The European Discovery of America with a volume on what are termed "the Southern Voyages" from Columbus to Schouten and Le Maire must command admiration for Rear Admiral S. E. Morison's achievement. The first volume won immediate respect for the clarity, vigor, and realism of the treatment of coastal discovery north of Cape Fear. Morison, it seemed, had read everything, been everywhere, and had known everyone who could inform him on his subject. And so it is again: the strong sense of involvement and the unrivaled capacity to describe the actions of ships and men at sea are again evident. Columbus, Magellan, and Drake dominate the volume, though very many other navigators appear and are traced with both knowledge and patience. The Columbus story is essentially the one he has imprinted on American and British readers—and many others-from 1942 onward: since The Caribbean as Columbus Saw It (1964), he has altered a few details on routes only and, in general, kept pace with Spanish documentary research, rather than altered his general picture. Columbus has long been a hero; now Magellan joins him and, with a little qualification, Drake. Vespucci and Sebastian Cabot are treated fairly if somewhat severely and cannot be said to have entered the pantheon. Vespucci's first voyage is repudiated (indeed there is little choice); the second voyage with Ojeda is allowed though the claim that his ship detached itself to

make the first discovery of the Brazilian coast south of Cape San Roque is ignored; the third voyage is praised for the originality and breadth of the navigator's observations, while an improved translation of part of the Bartolozzi Letter is given to illustrate these qualities (pp. 284-86), but it is not allowed further than twenty-five degrees in its southing; while the fourth voyage is passed, though in both Portuguese voyages, third and fourth, it is made clear the commander was Gonçalo Coelho, not Vespucci. All this is very much in line with recent research, though Vespucci may be thought to have been required to conform to slightly more stringent critical standards than Columbus. On the endless voyage of Magellan an almost equally endless patience is expended and many points of detail, as well as of personality, are illuminated. This is, perhaps, the outstanding achievement in the book.

On Drake there is less need for novelty, if not for argument. On the objectives of the voyage Morison agrees in general with K. R. Andrews, though without citing him. He enjoys New Albion's ambiguities, deciding on Drake's Bay for the landing place, and against the authenticity of the Plate of Brass, so that he can be assured of a warm reception by embattled West Coast partisans of other readings of the evidence. The detailed treatment of the Plate Basin exploration forms a contrast to the open seas voyages, though why not that of the Amazon as well? The book has more major voyages and figures than the first but less unity. This is partly a matter of geography, since the immense coastline from Florida to California sometimes defies a cohesive treatment, while the circumnavigations stray far from the Americas. Though so many minor voyages appear, the problems of scale are not always surmounted: in the end personal preference rather than historical import tends to prevail. It says much for the skill with which the book is brought together that these problems do not obtrude more often. Personalized experience and polemic against those who differ from him have always been an enjoyable feature of Morison's maritime works and continue to be so in this. He is more restrained in his comments on opponents in this volume, even charitable, but in the personal interventions the Ancient Mariner occasionally obtrudes himself a little irrelevantly into the story. Slips and misprints have been noticed but they are not unduly numerous for such a long and complex book-though it should perhaps be noted that the dimensions of the Cantino Map on page 272 should be multiplied by ten. A notable feature is the generous thanks to the many persons who have let him use unpublished materials—and it is clear from them that we will continue to have a flood of monographs in this general field—as well

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as some stimulating suggestions for further research. The book provides a broad, floating platform from which analytical studies of the topics he introduces can be launched. This is certainly a book that no one except Morison could have written, and one that will shape the future development of the story of the earliest sea explorations of a large part of the Americas for a long time to come.

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YEHUDA ELKANA. The Discovery of the Conservation of Energy. With a foreword by 1. BERNARD COHEN. (Harvard Monographs in the History of Science.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 213. \$8.50.

The law of the conservation of energy influenced nineteenth-century science and effected a change in the world view. Is the formulation of such laws influenced by the thinking of the times? Professsor Elkana's thesis is that during the period when scientific theories are being formulated, the concepts used are in a state of flux. The concepts, which have their roots in metaphysics, cannot be expressed in words since they are part of the preconceptions of the scientists. The motto of the book reads, in part, "the most fruitful concepts are those to which it is impossible to attach a welldefined meaning." The connection of scientific research with the thought of the times is through this unexpressed metaphysics. Elkana has an interesting and fruitful thesis for the history of science.

Hermann von Helmholtz was a central figure in the evolution of the conservation of energy principle and was influenced by German philosophy. He was a thinker who combined physiological with physical ideas. Elkana admits that he has no direct evidence of what influenced Helmholtz's thinking. Since the book is about the flux of ideas, there is no logical sequence of development to follow. But all historians who follow the flow of ideas find that they often are more like underground streams than visible rivers that are easy to follow. It is at this point that historical training is more important to the historian of science than a scientific background. By being steeped in all aspects of the period, the historian must be able to give a convincing description of the relation between the flux of ideas and the thought of the time. When direct evidence is not available, the historian cannot, as Elkana did, place the different facts side by side and declare one's conviction that they must be related somehow. Historians like scientists work by inference and analogy not by juxtaposition.

Part of Elkana's difficulty was in considering scientific ideas in isolation, the so-called internalist approach, prior to relating them to the thought of the times. The internalist view of the history of science cannot be integrated with anything else because that method encapsulates ideas so thoroughly that all links with the outside are severed.

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JACQUES DROZ, editor. Histoire générale du socialisme. Volume 2, De 1875 à 1918. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1974. Pp. 674.

To give an audience a synoptic view of socialism in the various countries is an undertaking of great merit even if it is not entirely successful. The first volume of the symposium edited by Jacques Droz already has demonstrated the value of the underlying idea as well as some defects in its execution. The same applies to the second volume.

To the professional historian, the enormous amount of detail the book contains is very useful; he can find names and events that are otherwise mentioned only in often-obscure monographs. A price, however, had to be paid for the extensiveness of the record: in some sections, especially in the Spanish and the Russian, the flood of detail has obscured the great outlines, and in many others some questions of fundamental importance were given short shrift. For instance, although in contrast to the first volume, religious influences on the development of British socialism are now mentioned even aside from Christian Socialism proper, the treatment of this important relationship remains superficial. In the sections on Australia and New Zealand, the outstanding contribution that these countries made to social organization, the development of compulsory arbitration of wage disputes, is referred to without any attempt to show its positive and negative significance for socialism and the labor movement.

That the sections differ in quality is only natural. I was particularly impressed with the chapter on post-Commune France, written by Madeleine Rebérioux. It brings out, for example, the role that semantic ambiguities have played in the controversies among the various socialist factions in this period; it also shows convincingly the reasons why the French Marxists under the leadership of Jules Guesde made such conspicuous moves toward reformism in the 1890s before the Millerand affair; moreover it explains why in the unified party after 1905 Jean Jaurès remained the outstanding leader, although his reformist policies had been repudiated. Equally excellent is the part on the Second International by Annie Kriegel, especially the analysis of the internal tensions within the world organization. The American section,

written by Marianne Debouzy, just barely mentions the vitally important relationship of American socialism to the antislavery and Free Soil movements in the antebellum period and the equally important impact of the farmers' movements in the last three decades of the nineteenth century; both relationships deserve an analysis in depth.

The chapter on socialism during World War I, also by Madeleine Rebérioux, is on the whole inadequate in spite of some enlightening remarks. The reader does not learn at all that the German Social Democrats fought not only against the Left but also, and more bitterly, against the political Right, which had insisted on the unrestricted submarine war and demanded the annexation of Belgium and northern France. The Reichstag resolution of July 1917, which rejected any acquisition of territory by force and demanded an economic as well as a political peace, and which was passed largely on Social Democratic initiative, is not even mentioned. Perhaps the third volume, although it is supposed to start from 1918, will have a retrospective chapter to fill the worst gaps in the presentation of the war period.

Jacques Droz and some of his collaborators have tried hard to discover in which ways the socialist movements in the various countries influenced each other. It is not their fault that they succeeded only to a limited extent. Certainly every historian of socialism suspects that these crosscurrents were more important than we can document, probably because private contacts among the leaders played a decisive role. Unless unpublished memoirs or letters throw unexpected light on these connections, we can only record our regret over this lacuna in our information.

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FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI et al., editors. Denken über Geschichte: Aufsätze zur heutigen Situation des geschichtlichen Bewusstseins und der Geschichtswissenschaft. (Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit, number 1.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag. 1974. Pp. 257. DM 38.

HEINZ ANGERMEIER. Geschichte oder Gegenwart: Reflexionen über das Verhältnis von Zeit und Geist. Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck. 1974. Pp. 144. DM 22.

Recent years have seen an outpouring of Germanlanguage writings on questions of historical theory and methodology. This literature forms part of the renewed international interest in historical theory. It also reflects the particular urgency in the German-speaking countries—where older historicist traditions dominated a broad segment of historical writing until the very recent past—to find new theoretical and methodological foundations for a rapidly changing historical science.

Denken über Geschichte, edited by members of the Historical Institute of the University of Vienna with contributions by several younger West German historians and philosophers, as well as by. Henri-Irenée Marrou and Adam Schaff, is an attempt at a critical assessment of historical thought and scholarship today. The volume is welcomed as an informative and, at the same time, critical introduction to the current international discussion of the theoretical foundations of history. The twelve articles cover a great deal of ground from Friedrich Engel-Janosi's discussion of modern speculative philosophers of history to Hubert Glaser's discussion of the crisis of historical instruction in the present-day German schools. Essays by Heinrich Lutz and Heinz Robert Schlette deal with the growing awareness of a crisis of modernity in contemporary historical thought. Another, by Edith Sauer, deals with the theology of history and church history since 1945. Henri Marrou traces the development of a "critical" philosophy of history in France from Raymond Aron to Paul Veyne. Adam Schaff examines the problem of subjectivity in historical knowledge. Heiner Rutte and Herta Nagl-Docekal go over relatively well known ground, although from critical perspectives, in their respective articles on Karl Popper and on the Anglo-American debate on historical explanation. Werner Post assesses historical and antihistorical perspectives in the contemporary social sciences. The concluding articles, one by Helmut Rumpler the other by Jörn Rüsen, address themselves to the problems of formulating a "theory of historical science" (Theorie der Geschichtswissenschaft). The contributors all agree on the central role of theory in history yet stress the inadequacy of the "objectivistic" methods of the behavioral sciences-system theory and structuralism-for historical understanding. Social science theories, it is stressed, must be integrated with hermeneutic methods (p. 234). Max Weber is mentioned repeatedly as a model in this connection. Yet remarkably little attention is paid to an examination of how working historians have in recent years actually utilized these theories in historical investigations. This is regrettable. The book deals at length with the contemporary philosophical discussion in Germany and elsewhere but ignores the important reorientation that has taken place in historical studies in the most recent years.

Heinz Angermeier in Geschichte oder Gegenwart seeks to come to terms with two major orientations of nineteenth- and twentieth-century thought, historicism and existentialism. Both, he stresses, ex-

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press modern man's drive to establish his "autonomy" in an age when all theological and philosophic points of reference external to man have collapsed. Both must fail, in Angermeier's opinion, in their search for autonomy-historicism because history by itself cannot provide a philosophy or understanding of man; existentialism, as represented by Nietzsche and Valéry, because in rejecting history it distorts man's humanity. Yet the solution suggested by Angermeier, which bridges both positions and establishes a meaningful relation between the concern with the present and the past, between Zeit and Geist, remains difficult to follow—in part because the terms Zeit and Geist, crucial to the argument of the book, elude precise definition. Moreover, the modern human sciences, which Angermeier dismisses in a few lines, with their stress on the structural context within which human behavior takes place, make it doubtful whether the "autonomism" Angermeier describes is as decisively characteristic of modern historical thought as he assumes.

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ANCIENT

BARRY CUNLIFFE. Iron Age Communities in Britain: An Account of England, Scotland and Wales from the Seventh Century BC until the Roman Conquest. (Archaeology of Britain.) Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974. Pp. xviii, 389, 28 plates. \$31.75.

Someone thumbing through this initial volume in the Archaeology of Britain series might well conclude from the dozens of plates, drawings, and maps, as well as from the lack of footnotes, that the general reading public is being treated to a lavish run of coffee-table adornments authored by some of England's leading scholars. Fortunately, however, for both professionals and dedicated amateurs, this book is a serious historical synthesis of high quality that is likely to remain the basic presentation of "the state of the field" until a promised second edition appears.

In seventeen chapters of unequal length, virtually every aspect of life in Iron Age Britain, including religion, trade, social structure, military architecture, and the establishment of Roman control, is treated. In addition there are three valuable appendixes illustrating pottery types, listing selected radiocarbon dates, and enumerating the principal archeological sites; these are complemented by an excellent bibliography. A somewhat jejune index completes the volume. The most important point to emerge from this synthesis is

Cunliffe's virtual abandonment of hypotheses of invasion and large-scale immigration and his preference for trade and peaceful interaction as agents of change and cultural influence. By dwelling on the essentially conservative nature of Britain during this period, Cunliffe makes it possible to impress the reader with the fact that more than a half millennium is being considered. This goes a long way in avoiding the telescoping of time, a fault far too common among archeologists and premodern historians.

Undoubtedly various specialized journals will devote many pages to discussions of Cunliffe's interpretation of details. Here, however, it seems more fitting to examine some problems of a more general nature. In this context it is worthwhile to emphasize that Cunliffe, by dealing with Britain (excluding Ireland), places himself in the position, at least implicitly, of permitting medieval and modern political developments to circumscribe the limits of his topic. A British Iron Age or an Iron Age Britain is a modern scholarly conceptualization that has been made attractive by deeply rooted national sentiments. That the future will probably bring us a history of Iron Age Uganda seems likely but hardly desirable. In short, much is to be gained by emphasizing for certain times and in certain localities the unity of insular and continental cultures. In addition, Cunliffe presents an abundance of evidence to illustrate the diversity of culture on the island itself and particularly between the south and east on the one hand and the north and west on the other. A second major point concerns the insufficient discussion of the difficulties raised by the substantial lack of identity between groups or societies that are known from the written sources and those known from archeological ones. Finally, Cunliffe's treatment of numbers found in the written sources needs considerable rethinking in relation to the material evidence. Battle casualties reported at eighty thousand or even ten thousand require serious examination from the point of view of demography and logistics before being accepted. So, too, does the figure of four thousand chariots even if it comes from Caesar.

These reservations should not detract substantially from the value of an important book. Rather, they are intended to encourage more work and thought—Cunliffe makes it clear that we do not know far more than we do know—so that the benefit to professionals and students alike of the second edition will be even greater than that of the first

BERNARD S. BACHRACH University of Minnesota, Twin Cities E. D. PHILLIPS. Aspects of Greek Medicine. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1973. Pp. 240. \$12.95.

An up-to-date historical survey of ancient Greek medicine for the general reader is much needed. Phillips's attempt in that direction is very uneven and undependable. His subject is medicine from the earliest literary allusions to Galen (ca. B.C. 700-A.D. 200).

Early history is unavoidably conjectural: the earliest medical texts, the Hippocratic Corpus, cannot be dated and are not very informative about the conditions under which they were written. Phillips does not talk about historical methodology. He says simply that his statements rest on the ancient evidence so far as possible. But he does not instruct the reader in the nature of that evidence, while he is careless in his use of it. One example must stand here for many: in the modern-not ancient-manner he attributes books of the Corpus to "schools" of different persuasions; he says repeatedly that Regimen in Acute Diseases is agreed to be a Cnidian work, and so he explains it. But that is the book which Galen and the moderns who study the "schools" all use as a touchstone of Coan medicine.

Still, the most useful part of the book, if used with care, is the account of what is in the Corpus Hippocraticum: excerpts and summaries of the medical treatises arranged by modern medical categories, with indications how to find the material in Littré, and a moderately full bibliography. This is more extensive than anything of its kind in English. Phillips's treatment of post-Hippocratic medicine is more haphazard. In the nineteenth-century manner, he classes people and periods as scientifically progressive or the opposite by modern standards, with the result that he admires the works that have been lost and depreciates those that have survived. I urge readers to study Charles Lichtenthaeler's essay on that historical method, "De quelques changements dans notre conception de l'histoire de la médecine," Deux Conférences, (Geneva, 1959), pp. 15-55.

Phillips dismisses, in a few pages, Galen's vast works as an incoherent system constructed from irreconcilable elements. Galen's fault, he judges, was a misplaced piety that led him to accept Hippocrates' humoral theories against superior contemporary notions—which Phillips fails to specify. He does not try to tell us what is in Galen's works and how to find it, nor can the reader trust the little information he gives. Again, one illustration: to an erroneous list of the contents of Galen's Anatomical Procedures, Phillips appends the remark that Galen does not seem to treat sexual anatomy. In fact book 12 of the work, easily available in English translation, is devoted to the subject.

I am sorry to say that there is still no good book

on the subject with which Phillips deals. Readers are still better off using the standard histories of medicine written early in this century.

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ROBERT DREWS. The Greek Accounts of Eastern History. (Publications of the Center for Hellenic Studies.) Washington: the Center; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1973. Pp. 220. \$12.00.

The meat of this book is in its second and third chapters, "The Earliest Greek Accounts of Eastern History" and "The Histories of Herodotus." Avoiding concentration on earlier theories about Herodotus' intellectual development and reflecting a more recent emphasis on the basic unity of the histories, Drews argues that *Greek* historiography only became established with Herodotus and that crucial to its establishment were the Persian Wars (conveniently and somewhat dramatically referred to as "The Great Event").

In the fifth century, at least three prose writers— Dionysius, Charon, and Hecataeus-wrote Persica. Drews conjectures that it was the Persian Wars which inspired these works: "They were written after the Persian Wars, they described the wars and apparently did not trace Persian history beyond them" (p. 32). This conjecture Drews finds supported by the sudden emergence of Eastern historical themes in other areas of Greek literature such as tragedy, elegiac, and choral poetry. The thesis is not certain in all details (for example, one fragment of Charon-plausibly assigned to his Persica-tells of an event in 465-64 B.C.), and the evidence is too flimsy to support it—as Drews would be the first to admit. It is refreshing, however, that he, unlike earlier scholars, does not attempt to make the fragments prove the unprovable, and the thesis is persuasive.

The perennial problem of Herodotus' histories is the relationship (chronological and thematic) of the great logoi—Lydian, Babylonian, Egyptian—to the account of the Persian Wars themselves. Drews cuts this Gordian knot by arguing that these logoi are not intended to be full histories of the peoples concerned nor was Herodotus' interest in them "limited to substantive interconnections with the Great Event" (p. 49). His interest was in the periods when great erga were done and in personages who produced great erga. This goes to explain why certain periods when these peoples were closely tied up with events of Persian history are passed over: nothing great was produced.

This thesis has the advantage of simplicity, and I think many will find the arguments simplistic. The length and the detail, especially of the Egyptian logos (the point of departure for C. W. Fornara's

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recent *Herodotus: An Interpretive Essay*), seem disproportionate to the organization of the histories that such a thesis presumes. The book is clearly written but is occasionally repetitive and padded. The bibliographical footnotes are valuable.

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PHILIPPE GAUTHIER. Symbola: Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques. (Annales de l'Est, Mémoire number 42.) Nancy: Université de Nancy. 1972. Pp. 402.

Rarely does a work of historical scholarship appear that combines a thorough mastery of both the primary evidence and modern literature with skillful organization, clarity of presentation, and sound judgment, and even more rarely does such a work have potential interest for the jurist, the historian of political and legal institutions, and the scholar of religious and philosphical thought. This is such a book, and it deserves wide recognition. Gauthier's basic interest is in the judicial treatment of noncitizens, xenoi or etrangers, in the Greek poleis and the development of legal and judicial institutions that address themselves to this question, particularly symbola or judicial agreements between states to provide protection for their respective citizens while in each other's jurisdiction. He has conceived his subject in a broad and generous fashion and consequently has been led to consider a wide variety of issues, some of which are really only tangential to his specific concerns. The book has benefited from this approach, and there is much to be learned here by scholars of various aspects of Greek history and civilization, as well as by those whose interests lie in comparative government and institutions and legal history.

Gauthier, who is as much at home in dealing with fragmentary inscriptions from the fifth to the second century B.C. as he is in precise textual analysis of Homer or Euripides, in penetrating the obscurities of Athenian private law or the relationships of Greek leagues in the Hellenistic Age, has digested and analyzed a great amount of material. He has been led to consider afresh such topics as xenia in the Archaic period, the nature of proxenia, the status of metics in Athens, the development of symbolai and their transition to symbola, the concept of asylum, and the nature of isopolity. Merely to indicate these topics is to convey some impression of the scope and nature of the book, which can not be properly evaluated in a brief review. By the application of detailed philological analysis, by careful attention to legal subtleties, and by sound and judicious interpretation of often ambiguous evidence against a solid basis of historical information, he has produced a significant work both of analysis and of synthesis—despite the

modest disclaimer on page 374. To mention but a few of the more important conclusions reached, Gauthier has demonstrated that there was little need for judicial agreements between communities in the Archaic Age because most xenoi were protected when traveling either by private, individual bonds of friendship (xenia) or by religious scruple; that symbolai (agreements between or among numerous cities that included, but were not limited to, judicial rights of xenoi) were not actually replaced by symbola (agreements usually bilateral in nature and specifically concerned with judicial protection), although the latter type became more important, because of political and economic factors especially for Athens from 350 on; and that the concept of asylum had more to do with commercial and economic than with religious considerations. Gauthier's work does not completely supersede the older, more specialized studies on which in part it is based, but it does clarify, correct, and bring together much valuable earlier work; not only that, but it is a model of logical organization that suggests the need to assemble and evaluate a variety of evidence in treating a broad conceptual topic. Doubtless the legal historian, the literary critic, or the specialist in Greek religion will take issue with specific points, but no serious scholar in these fields or in Greek political or institutional history generally can afford to ignore this masterful work. Gauthier has learned, and learned well indeed, from those who taught him or otherwise had a part in the making of this book: A. Aymard, L. Robert, E. Will, and M. I. Finley. Symbola reflects to their credit as well as to Gauthier's.

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ALAN WARDMAN. *Plutarch's Lives*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 274. \$11.95.

In recent years, there has been a spate of books on Plutarch, ranging from the sound and readable (C. P. Jones, D. A. Russell) to the superficial (R. H. Barrow) or inept (C. Gianakaris). Professor Wardman has entered the lists with a book on Plutarch's Lives that is plodding in style and redundant in organization, not unlike an army training film. It is also erudite and useful in that the author distills Plutarch's ideas from an overview of the Lives, rather than inferring them from a single locus classicus (e.g., Alexander 1 or Cimon 2). Unfortunately, Wardman considers Plutarch's own life unimportant and pays only scant attention to the world in which Plutarch wrote. Like a gnostic Jesus, Wardman's Plutarch is a bloodless spirit, definitely the Word but never incarnate. Despite its title, the book is not an analysis of the Lives but

of Plutarch's ideas abstracted from them. In dry prose and wearisome detail, Wardman describes how Plutarch fitted the great men of the Greek and Roman past to the Procrustean bed of Platonic virtue. Yet, Plutarch's obsession with the *politicus* as a paragon and the hopeless inconsistencies of his treatment of the theme display the workings of a second-rate mind, at best banal and blinkered. Plutarch's major claim to our attention has never been his simplistic notions on politics and virtue, but rather his charming capacity to clutter his writings with historical data that otherwise would have been lost. He could also tell a good story.

To be sure, Plutarch wrote historical sermons, not biographies, and his model of the ideal politicus was contrived and wooden, but he also had an avid curiosity about the past and a keen eye for significant trivia. It is this wealth of information on a variety of topics that has captivated posterity, yet Wardman only touches on such matters (such as Cato Minor's failure to wear shoes while serving as praetor) when they illustrate a Plutarchean attitude (a prudish disapproval of lack of decorum). Wardman discusses Plutarch's piety, his snobbery, his love for Hellas, and his Boeotian chauvinism, but he avoids the depth of Plutarch's religiosity and the passion of his anachronistic patriotism. Embarrassed by Plutarch's spiteful treatment of Herodotus, Wardman does not even mention Plutarch's morbid interest in Ctesias' grisly descriptions of torture. Wardman's Plutarch is a tepid fellow indeed. What could Mme Roland or Jean Jaurès have seen in him?

So anxious is the author to capture the "essence" of Plutarch that he eschews the prickly problem of sources. Granted that Quellenforschung often resembles Alice's Wonderland, Wardman ought to have surveyed the relationship between Plutarch and his sources more thoroughly. Despite his disdain for "tragic history," Plutarch could not resist the melodramatic appeal of Duris and Phylarchus. While damning both writers, he uncritically copied from their works, and we are enriched by his inconsistency. Although the disregard for sources is a serious flaw, Wardman is helpful in pointing out the philosophic underpinnings of Plutarch: "The Lives are an extended meditation on Platonist themes. . . . The political life, in Plutarch's view, is a form of philosophy in action." Even Plutarch's forte, the significance of insignificant data, is based on "Plato's idea that men's amusements are a guide to their natures." In this vein, one wonders how so arid a book can be written on Plutarch's Lives, but the author is willing to "concede that there are as many Plutarchs as there are readers."

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G. V. SUMNER. The Orators in Cicero's Brutus: Prosopography and Chronology. (Phoenix: Journal of the Classical Association of Canada. Supplementary volume 11.) [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1973. Pp. x, 197. \$12.50.

In the days before there were speech writers and "the media," a Roman in public life depended on his personal performance as an orator, both in political speeches and in the forensic activity that was one of the traditional ways in which a Roman with ambition for office kept himself in the public eye. Composition and delivery were discriminatingly assessed by contemporaries who were pursuing the same career. Cicero's Brutus constitutes a unique critical history of Roman oratory from the period of the Punic Wars down to his own time, dedicated to and named for his friend Marcus Junius Brutus, himself a distinguished orator. Since Cicero describes the careers and performance of more than two hundred personages who were active in the public life of their times, the work is a precious source for modern historians. Cicero treats as a group the orators of a particular period, in the historical setting of the epoch, and, on the basis of his own judgment, evaluates the effectiveness of the rhetorical style of the period as it was employed by the various figures.

Because of loss of other evidence, the further identification of some of the orators and the establishment of the chronology of their careers have presented difficulties for historians of the epoch, crucial as it was in the history of the Roman Republic, and the scholarly literature connected with the Brutus has become extensive. After well-known preparatory research, Professor Sumner, of the University of Toronto, here provides a valuable synthesis of the problems and the evidence. The material is conveniently arranged in a register of orators, a prosopographical commentary on the names, a study of the chronological structure of Cicero's treatment, and an investigation of Cicero's sources for his knowledge of the orators' dates. The book is to be welcomed as an important instrument of research that must be consulted by all scholars concerned with the history of the period.

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MICHAEL GRANT. The Army of the Caesars. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1974. Pp. xxxiv, 364. \$15.00.

This book claims to be "the first general history of the army in Roman society." That claim is staked somewhat widely. Only eighty pages of text deal with the time after A.D. 69 and only sixteen pages Ancient 107

of these are devoted to the last 241 years. Nor is the emphasis sociological, the main topic being the emperors' and their contenders' relation with the legions and the guard. Properly speaking, then, this is a history of the army in Roman politics during the Julio-Claudian period.

Within these limits the author's contribution is very valuable to both the general reader and the specialist, for the work is well written and the author's wide erudition in the classics and numismatics allows him to arrive at remarkable insights of a quality that often eludes the more narrowly specialized researcher. On the other hand, a work compiled chiefly from books rather than articles in scholarly journals and neglecting the fields of epigraphy and papyrology is bound to produce mistakes. Thus, military diplomas were not handed out on the Capitol but in the garrison provinces; Italians under Trajan did not constitute a mere one per cent of the legionary force, but twenty to twenty-five per cent; and evocati were not the veterans customarily kept with the standards for some additional years, but men singled out by the emperor to serve as officers.

The bibliography is useful but the purpose of the notes is baffling: in a book designed for the general reader one would expect them to cite modern works where the relevant documentation and discussion can be found; instead, they mostly refer to passages in the classics without any attempt to be either systematic or exhaustive—cui bono?

The epilogue concludes that the price for a politically active army is permanent instability and that the Roman Empire paid this price in the form of "extremely frequent and damaging upheavals." Yet, over the quarter millennium from Augustus to Caracalla there were only two armed conflagrations, damaging, but short—a record comparing favorably with almost any other type of state, ancient or modern, and disproving the suggestion that the army of the principate took politics in hand to an extent even remotely comparable to modern military regimes. Still, this is a book eminently worthwhile to read.

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GÉZA ALFÖLDY. Noncum. Translated by ANTHONY BIRLEY. (The Provinces of the Roman Empire.) Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974. Pp. xxiv, 413, 1 map, 58 plates. \$39.25.

This is a handsome volume, an excellent contribution to the series. The archeological material is admirably employed, and often visually presented, in fifty-eight plates and forty-five figures. The less abundant literary evidence is used fully. The translation is smooth.

Noricum was probably the least important of the provinces along the northern frontier. Civil wars and invasions sometimes passed it by. Into some of its backwaters, influences percolated slowly. Yet Alföldy shows that Noricum was in many ways typical. Roman influence penetrated the Celtic kingdom along with traders selling pottery and other wares and buying the all-important iron, metals products, and other local goods. The kingdom became a Roman ally. Under Augustus it was taken over almost without a struggle. Claudius, especially, accelerated the process of urbanization and the development of new social classes. Noricans served in the Roman army. The citizenship was granted liberally. For more than two centuries the area was secure and generally prosperous. But then came the third century; and though there were periods of recovery, as under Diocletian and Constantine, the trend was in general downward. Or should one say upward? For just as the towns had descended from the hilltops to the plain when the Romans brought security, so when security broke down the remnants of the people fled to fortified heights to escape the Alamanni, the Huns, and the rest.

Significant political, social, economic, and cultural history is carefully extracted from the meager sources. Alföldy occasionally outstrips his evidence: a tile stamp from Juvavum hardly proves the existence of a brick import trade from Aquileia (p. 10gn.), nor does the discovery of one coin hoard show "panic" (p. 153). Yet the author is usually judicious.

Some interesting facts emerge. Apparently natives sold their sons as slaves to rich Roman citizens on condition that the sons be freed at about age thirty—with Roman citizenship, of course. The practice later declined, perhaps because almost everyone after Caracalla had the citizenship.

The extensive apparatus makes the book eminently usable. There are seventeen appendixes—personal names, officials, military units, and so forth—an extensive bibliography, three indexes, and a good map.

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ALBINO GARZETTI. From Tiberius to the Antonines: A History of the Roman Empire, AD 14-192. Translated by J. R. FOSTER. London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1974. Pp. x, 861. \$30.00.

The original Italian version of this book was issued in 1960 as volume 6 of the eight volumes on the political history of Rome from its origins to the fall of the western Empire, in the series Storia di Roma published under the auspices of the Istituto di Studi Romani. That series contains volumes for ancient Rome on law, religion (pagan and Christian), art, literature, and topography. Garzetti therefore does not devote separate chapters to these topics, nor does he do so to social, economic, or provincial history. Naturally he introduces material from these fields in support of his treatment of the political and military history; for example, he used the columns of Trajan and Marcus as sources for their wars. The arrangement is by reigns, with a general scheme of personality, internal affairs such as the court and administration, external affairs such as wars and frontiers, and a conclusion on death and succession.

In a short review there is no space for detailed consideration of Garzetti's positions on debatable issues. He revised and added to both text and notes for this translation. In general his narrative (pp. 1–553) is clear, and his judgments on men and events are sound. He does not try to whitewash the "bad" emperors but presents from nonliterary sources, such as coins, inscriptions, and papyri, evidence for their effective contributions to government, to counterbalance the hostile senatorial tradition presented by the literary sources. The only criticisms that may in general be made about the text are that the style is heavy, the sentences are often unduly long, and no maps are provided, particularly for the wars.

Scholars will find of particular value the lengthy critical notes, both those translated from the original (pp. 557-730) and those covering 1960-69 added for this edition (pp. 731-44), as well as the full bibliography through 1969 (pp. 775-822). These notes and bibliography purport to take off from volumes 10 (1934) and 11 (1936) of the Cambridge Ancient History. There is, however, frequent citation of relevant material anterior to these dates. The notes present and analyze an immense range of new materials, chiefly inscriptions, and of modern literature for the years 1934/36-69. These critical notes therefore afford a rich resource of evidence, briefly but critically discussed to support the positions taken in the text.

In short no one concerned with the period from the accession of Tiberius in A.D. 14 to the death of Commodus at the end of A.D. 192 can afford to neglect this book, noteworthy for its fullness of treatment of political and military history, for its soundness of judgment, and for its wealth of evidence critically presented.

MASON HAMMOND

Harvard University

MEDIEVAL

RUSSELL FRASER. The Dark Ages & the Age of Gold. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 425. \$16.00.

Russell Fraser, chairman of the English department at the University of Michigan, here amplifies and repeats in part a thesis that appeared earlier in his book The War against Poetry (1970). This new study attempts to trace the emergence of rationalism, defined as a passion for unambiguous truth, which for Fraser marks the beginning of the great divide between the past and the present. This passion he sees as contemporary with the Renaissance and the Age of Reason, labels used not to designate different chronological periods but a single age characterized by a common mode of thought. The title of his book lends itself to confusion since it is not the author's purpose to focus attention on two chronological periods of traditional nomenclature, but to examine two drastically different overlapping modes of thought discovered by his examination of selected writings throughout the course of Western history. The scope of the literary field examined is awe-inspiring, but the broad research lays a foundation upon which a narrow, far-reaching conclusion is constructed. The method and purpose of the work are declared to be historical, but with the reservation and caution that the thesis speaks "only to a corner of things" (p. x). Fraser repeatedly warns of his bias and specifically orders Caveat lector (p. ix).

Causal relationships are not clearly indicated in the hypothesis that offers a litany of references from Abelard to Zola, from Bach to Babbitt. Chronological and geographical references are often vague. Fraser locates the dramatic break with the medieval mode of thought in two different localities at two different periods: on the Continent during the fourteenth century and in England during the sixteenth century. He acknowledges the confusion that exists concerning the historical explanation of the emergence of the modern age but concludes that for England the source of the confusion is the presence of Shakespeare, a medieval artist-the last and greatest-in the Age of Reason. Shakespeare is characterized as atavistic and medieval because "in him is summed up wondrously the capacity to entertain concurrent truths which may be contradictory" (p. vii).

Historians, whose discipline knows no area forbidden to trespass; have a responsibility to acquire the methods and skills of the special territory that they invade. Cross-disciplinary and interdisciplinary studies are not the province of any one academic field. Certainly literature is grist for a variety of intellectual mills. Historical studies of literature such as Fraser's should be encouraged. Nevertheless every academic must employ the techniques, terminology, and methods of the discipline he chooses in his search for truth, contradictory or not. No less should be expected of a literary expert who attempts a historical synthesis designed to

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interest the commuter as he journeys to work on the train.

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VACLAV MUDROCH and G. S. COUSE, editors. Essays on the Reconstruction of Medieval History. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 170. \$15.00.

The eight essays in this collection, all of them except that of Robert Folz originating in public lectures delivered at Carleton University in 1965 as part of a series on the medieval world, are essays in historiography—but at more than one level. Though the rationale for doing so is not altogether clear, the editors have divided them into two groups. The first four they describe as dealing with the changing assumptions and interpretations "that have characterized the study of designated aspects of the Middle Ages." These are essays by Norman F. Cantor on the interpretation of medieval history in general; and by Giles Constable, W. T. H. Jackson, and Armand A. Maurer on the study, respectively, of monastic history, of medieval literature, and of medieval philosophy. The four remaining they describe as presenting "in a comprehensive fashion . . . the fruits of more or less recent investigation within particular areas." Under this heading fall essays by Folz on Charlemagne and his empire, by Sylvia Thrupp on the medieval economic achievement, by Bertie Wilkinson on the late Middle Ages in England, and by the late Vaclav Mudroch on medieval heresy.

Given the disparate subject matter of these essays and the fact that some would appear to have been left in lecture form while others show signs of having been reworked and extended, it is unusually difficult in evaluating them to advance beyond a set of highly personal reactions. If all these pieces are certainly worth reading, Wilkinson's and Mudroch's are somewhat desultory in tone, and Maurer's, however helpful, is somewhat misleading in that it leaves the reader with no sense at all of the rich outpouring of scholarly work in the last few years devoted to the philosophers and theologians who came after Aquinas. Of the others, I found Thrupp's unquestionably the most stimulating and Constable's, with its rich apparatus of notes, historiographically the most rewarding. Folz's essay, valuable though it is, fits ill, because of the intensity of its focus, into the general pattern of the book.

Concerning the introductory lecture, which seeks to set the tone for the series, a more extended comment is appropriate. Here as elsewhere Cantor writes with enviable firmness, detecting "schools"

of historians where one may previously have seen only individuals and apportioning praise and blame with a confidence one can admire without necessarily being tempted to emulate. Some of his claims are highly questionable. Great historians though they were, did F. W. Maitland and Marc Bloch really perceive "the interaction of all aspects of medieval life"? And would historical understanding really be enhanced if we chose to begin "the medieval era with the foundation of the Christian Church in apostolic times"? But even where he fails to convince, Cantor usually contrives to stimulate. He is a restless and highly perceptive observer not only of the medieval world but also of the foibles of modern historical scholarship. Thus. he remarks, a little wistfully it may be, that "the advance in historical knowledge depends perhaps even more upon historiographical self-consciousness than upon laborious research into new documentary sources." Hyperbole, no doubt, but there are good grounds for believing that a better balance between the two would indeed be desirable. One would like to think that the essays printing in this volume will themselves do a modest something to help achieve that better balance.

FRANCIS OAKLEY
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JACQUES HEERS. Le clan familial au Moyen Age: Étude sur les structures politiques et sociales des milieux urbains. ("Collection Hier.") Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1974. Pp. 272.

This is an important book that will stir up a considerable amount of controvery. The author advances two propositions: first, that family clans played an important, and often dominant, role in the political and economic life of medieval towns; and second, that because the clans were composed of or led by nobles who had extensive rural landholdings, the sharp distinction made by most historians between rural and urban societies is not meaningful. The word "clan" is defined precisely. It is not just an extended family; it is an association of rich and poor, patrons and clients, landowners and businessmen, and at times nobles and non-nobles. The members of the clan accept a common leadership, group themselves around a common territorial center, and often reinforce their secular ties through control of a parish

The best evidence for these theories comes from Genoa, a town where the clans were officially recognized and where their power lasted well into the early modern period. The author's unrivaled knowledge of the Genoese archives enables him to work out the most intricate and revealing details about clan organization. The evidence for the rest

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of northern Italy, and especially for Tuscany, is not as full, but it still proves that the clans had considerable influence in urban government. Outside Italy the only completely convincing case is Metz. This may be, as the author says, because no one has really looked for clans in the trans-Alpine countries, although there has certainly been fairly careful investigation of the noble lignages. It seems more likely that the clans flourished only in the absence of a strong central government. It is hard to imagine Henry II of England or Philip Augustus of France allowing such autonomous associations to control their towns.

Two final criticisms: the author's definition of "noble" is a little imprecise (the ministeriales of Germany were certainly not noble when they began to play a leading role in German towns); second, in many towns, ranging from Burgos in Spain to Cologne in Germany, fraternities—to which the author gives only one page-were more influential than clans. Nevertheless, this book will make all medievalists think harder about their theories of urban development.

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CHRISTOPHER BROOKE. The Monastic World, 1000-1300. New York: Random House. 1974. Pp. 272. \$35.00.

The Roman poet Lucretius apologized for putting his thoughts on the serious subject of Epicureanism in verse form, but he explained that if he did not sweeten what he had to say with the honey of poetry, he would have no readers. This prefatory observation is not meant to imply that Professor Brooke would have had difficulty "selling" his study of medieval monasticism had he offered it in the conventional garb of a historical monograph. What the reference to Lucretius does suggest, however, is that it is no less necessary for the historian today, than it was for the scholar back in antiquity, to present his subject in an attractive form if he is to find himself any readers.

It may have been for the purpose of reaching a wider audience that Brooke undertook this work of collaboration with the noted art historian Wim Swaan. And all of us are the richer for their efforts. By being seen in each other's company, both Brooke and Swaan have made new friends, while the reading-and seeing-public will be better able to appreciate the vocation of the monk and his place in medieval society by meeting him in his physical, and esthetic, surroundings. Brooke writes: "We have both tried to see in the visible remains of medieval monasteries the history, culture, way of life and religious sentiment which they reveal" (p. 7). As the historian carries his story of monasticism forward from its origins through new rules and orders-Carthusians, Augustinian Canons, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, Franciscans, and others-there is Swaan at hand with his splendid photographs of monastic buildings, their interiors, sculptures, frescoes, and manuscripts, bent upon captivating the reader while at the same time illuminating the text. The striking picture of the monastery of Saint-Martin-du-Canigou in its beautiful natural setting, which graces both the dust cover and the text, is itself worth the price of the volume.

Physical remains are sparse for the early Middle Ages, but for the period 1000-1300 to which the authors give greatest attention, they abound. Here professionally and spiritually Brooke is most at home, and it is manifest from the intimate descriptions he offers of the history and building of such monasteries as Chartreuse, Maulbronn, and Mont St. Michel that he took the time to visit these and many of the other places he discusses.

To "the first and most challenging question . . . : can we fix our narrative together with the visible remains of medieval monasteries?" (p. 201), Brooke gives no convincing affirmative. But no matter; the reader will not object.

> JOSEPH DAHMUS Pennsylvania State University

R. C. SMAIL. The Crusaders: In Syria and the Holy Land. (Ancient Peoples and Places, volume 82.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1974. Pp. 232. \$12.50.

Recent studies on the institutions of the crusaders' states and continuing examination of extant architectural remains and other artifacts, notably by Richard, Prawer, Riley-Smith, Benevisti, Boase, and Buchthal, have necessitated a reassessment of many formerly held views. In this book, directed primarily at the general reader, R. C. Smail, already known for his Crusading Warfare, 1097-1193: A Contribution to Medieval Military History (1967), presents a synthesis of such researches together with conclusions of his own, derived in part from his own visits to many of the sites mentioned. As the title suggests, this is not a history of the crusaders' states, or a study of institutions as such. Rather it seeks to portray the life of the inhabitants, conquered as well as conquerors, within the framework of their institutions and laws and against the background of their ecclesiastical, military, and civil architecture.

Smail emphasizes the role of law in crusader society, and he explains how the relations, economic and legal as well as ecclesiastical, between the crusaders and the varied elements of the native population produced a generally acceptable coMedieval

existence. The chapters on castles, churches, and the decorative arts are well supplied with diagrams and ground plans, as well as photographs. Some of these are explained in detail. They are not, however, simply an appendix to the preceding chapters on institutions. For, whenever possible, building and art are related to contemporary political developments.

A final chapter considers whether there was a Franco-Syrian nation. Some historians have held that at least during the twelfth century a sense of crusader nationality was forming, but failed to bear fruit in the limited duration of the Latin Levant, especially after the confusion of the thirteenth century. Smail contends that even before 1187 what was developing was a Franco-Latin, not a Franco-Syrian, culture. This is evident in such essential factors as religion and language and in the continued dependence on the West, not only for trade and military support, but also for education and the development of literature. Although he has not directly considered the related question whether the crusaders' settlements were colonies, he has presented much of the material on a subject that has recently been re-examined by Joshua Prawer.

In a book that has consistently used an interdisciplinary approach, it might perhaps have been well to explain more fully the provenance of the thirteenth-century law books. The same could be said of the continuations of William of Tyre's history. Nevertheless, within the limits assigned, Smail has chosen his illustrations well and achieved his purpose of producing a work that will interest not only the general reader, but the perceptive advanced student as well.

The book includes seventy photographs, thirty-three line drawings, three maps, two genealogical tables, a selected bibliography, and an index. A recent work of a somewhat similar nature should be included in the bibliography: T. S. R. Boase, Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusaders (1971).

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W. J. FRANK DAVIES. Teaching Reading in Early England. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. xii, 211. \$14.00.

Davies interprets his subject so broadly that much of his material bears only tangentially on the teaching of reading—for example, the history of the alphabet or the discussion of pirated editions of Elizabethan texts—but his interest in all aspects of education should help to make the book interesting for a beginner in the subject. The book opens with Roman Britain and ends with 1612, but the treatment of the first millennium is necessarily

sketchy, for, except by inference, we know next to nothing of how Anglo-Saxons were taught to read and not much more about teaching under the Normans. There is a good deal more evidence for the later centuries, particularly the sixteenth, from which we have primers and the writings of Roger Ascham, Richard Mulcaster, and others.

As Davies points out, the problems (for example, the age for beginning reading) and methods (alphabetic, phonic, and so forth) that are still debated today were debated in the Renaissance. Educational theory appears to go round in circles. Fortunately the young mind is usually flexible enough to learn to read, no matter what educational hobbyhorse the teacher happens to be riding.

There is no bibliography, but there are fairly copious notes. The references seem a little old-fashioned. For example, there is no reference to M. L. W. Laistner's *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A. D. 500-900* (1931; rev. ed., 1957).

Davies shows a commendable interest in what there was for the pupil to read after he had learned how. One reason for the low rate of literacy in the age of manuscripts must have been the paucity of reading material. The book may be useful for one interested in general history of English education to 1612 or in the teaching of reading in the Renaissance. The expert in the Anglo-Saxon period will find nothing new. I cannot speak for the specialist in Renaissance education.

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MICHAEL R. POWICKE. The Community of the Realm. (The Borzoi History of England. Volume 2: 1154–1485.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1973. Pp. xii, 194. \$6.95.

In his foreword to this second volume of a fivevolume Borzoi History of England, Arthur J. Slavin, the editor, tells us that no one methodology or school of ideas has set the mold of this collaborative effort, that each author has written his volume according to "the drum each heard best" (p. viii). The beat of Professor Powicke's drum has him looking at English history between 1154 and 1485 "as the history of communities. Beneath the over-arching community of king and court-including the higher aristocracy-was a diverse constellation of communities that embodied the lives and aspirations of the people" and that "nurtured a culture, a form of conscious expression of attitudes and ideas" (pp. 10-11). As those devotees of English medieval history know, the drumbeat heard by Powicke is the sonorous and majestic beat of William Stubbs à la Bertie Wilkinson.

That this book has, therefore, a point of view, an ingredient lacking in most eclectic surveys and texts, is all to the good because the reader is presented with a succession of ideas and interpretations with which he can agree or disagree.

Following a useful introductory chapter on historiography from the Tudors to the present is a long, and incidentally the best, chapter in the book, "The Monarchy and the Community of the Realm." Only slightly concerned with political history from Henry II to Bosworth Field, it concentrates upon kingship, war, foreign policy, finance, royal government, justice, council, and Parliament. An expert on medieval war and institutions, Powicke presents a clear account of the functions, objectives, and growth of these parts of royal and central government. He does this under the ideological umbrella that "there developed a body of men at the center of national affairs who felt themselves specifically the trustees of national interests: they were 'the community of the realm' " (p. 52). Throughout this period when the common law and Parliament were taking their shape "cooperation was stronger than conflict, especially under a king who was militarily successful and in harmony with the spirit of his greater subjects" (p. 52). This optimistic view of English medieval political life occasionally leads Powicke to use words and to make statements inexact or awkward to defend. He uses "nation," "national," "national forum," "people's preference," and "popular leaders" frequently and loosely for such a period. He asserts that Richard II appeals to moderns because he made peace abroad and cherished the arts, that the average Englishman never had it so good as during the first half of the fifteenth century, that Henry III was a calculating administrator and something of an executive genius, that in the late fourteenth century Gaunt and Gloucester were military giants, and that those men who came to constitute Parliament were "proud and self-confident men" (p. 71). For such statements Powicke has insufficient or no evidence.

The chapter on local communities describes in a workmanlike fashion the household, manor, vill, and town, but most scholars have long abandoned the idea that the "continental medieval town was a "collective fief" " (p. 95). Some seventy-five years ago Henri Pirenne effectively destroyed this theory of Arthur Giry and Achille Luchaire. Only because James Tait found it an attractive idea do some English medievalists still cling to it.

In the chapter on church structures Powicke remains Stubbsian in his view of "the English church" and categorically asserts that "the existence of an *Ecclesia Anglicana* with its own identity and practices was generally accepted" (p. 105). This statement would surely annoy F. W. Mait-

land, considering all that he did to demonstrate the contrary.

The final chapter on intellectual and cultural history reveals the affinity of Powicke for things and accomplishments English. Imagine the reaction of French, German, and Italian medievalists to the following: "England was in the mainstream of the development of Western culture. . . . England's scholars and writers contributed to European thought on a scale out of proportion to its population and wealth" (p. 135).

Useful, with an appendix on primary sources, a discriminating bibliography, and a glossary of technical terms, this book presents views often unconvincing but ripe for controversy. To see how students react to it will be interesting.

BRYCE LYON
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ARTHUR STEPHEN MCGRADE. The Political Thought of William of Ockham: Personal and Institutional Principles. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Third Series, volume 7.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 269. \$18.50.

This is an original and authoritative exposition of the theories of the fourteenth-century Franciscan, William of Ockham, on the basis and function of secular authority and on ecclesiastical authority, power, and government. McGrade has given us not only a thorough and judicious discussion of the present-and confused-state of Ockham scholarship, but with unusual skill he has delineated the relationship between Ockham's speculative and political thought, always concentrating on the significance of those political ideas in their proper historical context. Ockham emerges from this study not only as the intellectual destroyer of the medieval Augustinian world order, which has long been argued, but as a political thinker much in advance of modern political and social practice as

McGrade traces Ockham's involvement in politics to his staunch conviction of the heresy of Pope John XII, discusses Ockham's support for his erstwhile protector Ludwig of Bavaria and for Edward III of England, and emphasizes Ockham's Dialogus III as the most systematic political treatise he composed. A fundamental characteristic of his English mind, one common throughout all of his writings, was the use of carefully constructed legal arguments to defend opposition to established legal authority.

Just as E. F. Jacob once observed that, "there seems to be no way round Ockham" and that "sooner or later he confronts every worker in late

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medieval history," so, many historians and political scientists will discover the necessity of consulting this book. It is soundly researched, coherently organized, and written with a lucidity rare for so technical a subject.

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ALBERT BOURGEOIS. Lépreux et maladreries du Pas-de-Calais (Xe-XVIIIe siècles): Psychologie collective et institutions charitables. Preface by MARCEL BAUDOT and MARCEL CANDILLE. (Mémoires de la Commission Départementale des Monuments Historiques du Pas-de-Calais, volume 14, part 2.) Arras: the Commission. 1972. Pp. 358, 12 plates. 60 fr.

The scope of its title notwithstanding, this work is essentially a closely documented survey of leprosaria in the Pas-de-Calais. It reaches back to the tenth century for the foundation of the earliest of these institutions and forward to the eighteenth century for evidence of their eventual dissolution, but the emphasis of the presentation is on the twelfth through fourteenth centuries, the period during which leprosy was most widespread in Europe. The incidence of the disease declined beginning in the fourteenth century and experienced a brief recrudescence in the early sixteenth century, but by the end of the seventeenth century most leprosaria were vacant of lepers and many were in ruins. Those that remained were made into hospitals or annexed to the new hôpitaux généraux created by Louis XIV.

In the history of charity and public assistance, the leper forms an important chapter. Although in medieval times he was the "malade par excellence" of Europe and gave his name in France to the institution created for him, the maladrerie, he was nevertheless distinguished in several important respects from other kinds of sick persons. The leper represented a threat to public order and public health before he concerned authorities as an object of charity. It is not surprising to learn therefore that most leprosaria in the Pas-de-Calais were of seigneurial and communal foundation and administration, rather than of ecclesiastical origin and control, as were most other charitable institutions in this period.

Furthermore, the leper was alone among objects of charity in that his condition was not invariably accompanied by poverty. Leprosy struck all classes of society. Not a few of the seigneurial foundations were due to personal or family experience. Leprosaria in the towns were often restricted to members of the native bourgeoisie, and some of these institutions were remarkably well endowed with buildings, lands, and goods. Mr.

Bourgeois is careful to observe that we know more about these bigger, often urban, leprosaria than we do about the smaller countryside shelters, or about the lepers who belonged to the lowest classes of society and were often mendicant, for neither of these latter has left sufficient records.

The Pas-de-Calais seems to have been distinguished both by the number of leprosaria it possessed (the list includes over 170, although most were small country refuges) and by the richness of many of those institutions whose records have survived. Bourgeois estimates that about thirty establishments possessed chapels and some produced enough income to enable their administrators to lend out money.

The introductory remarks that preface the survey refrain from drawing more from the documents than they will bear, and the survey itself, with its extensive notes, is a most valuable source for the early character of public assistance in the specialized form it took toward the leper.

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WALTER L. WAKEFIELD. Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100–1250. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. 288. \$14.00.

In The Medieval Manichee (1947), Sir Steven Runciman described "the Christian Dualist Heresy." To compare Runciman's work to Professor Wakefield's would be a little like comparing an Italian "primitive" painting, with no sense of perspective, to a painting of the later Renaissance. The parallel, if unfair, may indicate the progress achieved by recent research. Wakefield's description of "heretical" views and practices, notably Waldensian and Cathari, can draw on the work of Herbert Grundmann, Christine Thouzellier, and many others. Whereas Runciman saw "one great confederate Dualist Church stretching from the Black Sea to Biscay" (p. 171), Wakefield sees the rise of Western heresy as inspired by a general revival of religion; the "apostolic ideal" of holy poverty as behind both dissident and orthodox reform. The "Gnostic tradition" and Paulician missionaries from Constantinople are not needed to explain native criticism of ecclesiastical worldliness. Contacts established about 1150 between the Bogomils of the Balkans and the West do not seem as crucial as was previously thought. Even after many Cathari had adopted strongly dualist beliefs, their main appeal continued to be to the New Testament and to the contrast between the lives of the Cathari perfect and the contemporary Catholic clergy.

Wakefield's discussion of the southern French

social and ecclesiatical background avoids simplifications found in other authors, such as the identification of heresy with one social class or the idea that heretics ever formed the majority of the population. Here Wakefield is much indebted to the works of John H. Mundy on Toulouse. There follow unusually balanced accounts of the Albigensian Crusade, with its political sequel, the gradual incorporation of Languedoc under the direct authority of the French Crown, and of the beginnings of the Inquisition. The appendixes contain translations of contemporary sources, the most important being the vivid narrative of the early Inquisition by William Pelhisson. These translations supplement Heresies of the High Middle Ages (1969), edited by the late Austin P. Evans and Wakefield. The very full bibliography completes an extremely useful volume, which fills a long-felt gap in scholarship in English.

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HELMUT LIPPELT. Thietmar von Merseburg: Reichsbischof und Chronist. (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, number 72.) Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 1973. Pp. vi, 245. DM 36.

The purpose of this extended dissertation is a revision of the older "static" analyses of Thietmar's attitudes and motives for writing his chronicle. The author acknowledges the merits of his predecessors in the subject, like those of Robert Holtzmann, Karl Erdmann, and Anton Schneider, but proposes that the apparently heterogeneous elements in the world view of the eleventh-century author can be easily integrated. It has been said that Thietmar was at the same time a prince of the Church and a devoted holy man, a territorial lord and a good shepherd of his flock, a nobleman loyal to his king as well as to the Church, but also bound by family ties and clan solidarity. These terms neatly outline the "type" of the high medieval imperial bishop, however incompatible some of them may appear to us. The author of this book did not only wish to render obsolete such propositions as that of "two spirits fighting in Thietmar's soul" but also to reply to the question regarding the origin and background of all these elements in the chronist's work.

The book opens with a chapter on the three historical factors that defined Thietmar's world: the aristocratic domination of the early medieval Church, the office of the medieval bishop, and the specific combination of both in the "Ottonian system." Of course, on barely forty pages he can only offer generalities. The bulk of the text (pp. 46–137) is devoted to the correlations between Thietmar's biography and horizon of experience—and his

chronicle. Beginning with the aristocratic background through education and spiritual preparation to the official career of the bishop of Merseburg (1009-18), the author demonstrates the roots of Thietmar's information, biases, and judgments. He certainly knows his text well and also the commenting literature, but sometimes one would wish a somewhat less literal procedure from the "human conditions" to the written text. While it is, for example, certainly appropriate to confront documentary evidence on the quarrels between episcopal sees with Thietmar's text, such mental characteristics as "noble loyalty" and "clerical solidarity" are not so readily recognizable in selected passages. The third part of the book analyzes Thietmar's assessment of the five kings he is dealing with, from Henry I to Henry II (pp. 138-92), and compares his chronicle with writings originating in the circles of Liudolfing "family tradition." While the imperial bishop displays a more dogmatic view of kings and kingship than the "court authors" of the Ottonian dynasty, he, too, is deeply indebted and partial to his imperial patrons. The epilogue points to an important aspect of the chronicle that was less emphasized hitherto: its "memorial" character. The oft-quoted selfrecriminating sections in Thietmar offer the best hints at this tendency: the writer is troubled by demons and ghosts but finds peace in securing the individual and collective memory of departed confratres and benefactors. His writing of history is to a great extent motivated by this endeavor. Two excurses are added: one on the worship of the Baptist in the Ottonian dynasty and another on the legendary afterlife of Henry the Fowler. The transformation of the epitheton from an originally obscene reference to the "lustful king"-which found its reflection, though displaced, in Thietmar-into the harmless, though socially uncomplimentary auceps is nicely elaborated, together with other blendings of history and folklore. Maybe a wider discussion of some lesser-known topics—as these last ones would have deserved more detailed treatment, even at the expense of the sometimes repetitive reflections on the "influences" that formed Thietmar's mind and writing.

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DAGMAR UNVERHAU. Approbatio—Reprobatio: Studien zum päpstlichen Mitspracherecht bei Kaiserkrönung und Königswahl vom Investiturstreit bis zum ersten Prozess Johanns XXII. gegen Ludwig IV. (Historische Studien, number 424.) Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1973. Pp. 418. DM 76.

Dr. Unverhau has produced a monograph—an expanded version of her doctoral dissertation written

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under Professor Otto Brunner—that will have only a limited appeal to the general student of the Middle Ages. The subtitle of the work (in translation), "A Study of the Papal Right of Equal Participation in the Imperial Coronation and Royal Election from the Investiture Struggle to the First Charge of John XXII against Ludwig IV," sums up the focus of the work. As far as I can determine, the term "Mitspracherecht" may well be a juridical term that has taken root in German thought only in the last generation since, in the sense of "equal participation," it is absent from standard translating dictionaries.

After a brief glance at the beginnings of papal-Frankish relations, the main thrust of the study begins with the position taken by Gregory VII in 1076 and moves systematically through the first phase of the interminable contest between John XXII at Avignon and Ludwig the Bavarian. Thus the study covers the period of the Gelasian two-sword doctrine through the development of the theory of papal monarchy in the curia while in the Reich the imperial ideas move through the rediscovered Roman law to natural law to the concept of the secular imperium.

For the student interested in procedure, in precise terminology, in the shifting of the grounds of argument in the century and a half after 1076, the present work covers at length the arguments of the legists and the canonists as well as provides a running commentary and analysis of the positions taken by the modern interpreters of this process. While Unverhau's study ends before the Declaration of Rense in 1338, she has traced the logic that would end in the new posture of state and Church, rather than the medieval one of Church and state.

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WALTER HÖFLECHNER. Die Gesandten der europäischen Mächte, vornehmlich des Kaisers und des Reiches, 1490–1500. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Historische Kommission. Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, number 129.) Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1972. Pp. 490. DM 110.

This compendium, the author frankly states, originated as a research tool for a major study of diplomatic developments concerning Emperor Maximilian I and the Holy Roman Empire during the last decade of the fifteenth century. And it is indeed a most useful research tool. The author provides us with a listing, ordered by states, of all ambassadors and embassies, negotiators, heralds, and others who appear in the historical literature and in the available documents during this period.

In addition, the author gives, whenever possible, some biographical details regarding the major figure in each diplomatic mission, together with a brief résumé of the mission itself, and finally he supplies a brief annotation where the diplomat or the mission is mentioned in the historical literature or in the documents.

The basic sources for this compendium and repertory of a decade of European diplomacy are the as yet unpublished Regesta imperii XIV—Maximilian I, assembled by the historical institute of the University of Graz under the direction of Professor Hermann Wiesflecker. For his published sources the author relies on a vast array of works, primarily the Relazioni edited by Eugenio de Alberi, the Habsburg documents edited by Joseph Chmel, the diaries of Marino Sanuto, and the Calendar of State Papers. When primary sources, either manuscript or printed, were unavailable, Dr. Höflechner utilized standard diplomatic and other accounts such as Eduard Fueter, Karl Fischer, Johann W. Zinkeisen, and others.

This is a difficult compendium to use, but it contains a great amount of painstaking and accurate work. It is not an introduction to the diplomatic history of the period, but rather a reference work and a research tool. Given the depressed state of scholarly publication these days, the Austrian Academy of Sciences Historical commission, which provided the necessary financial backing for this volume, is to be most highly commended.

GUNTHER E. ROTHENBERG Purdue University

PIERRE TOUBERT. Les structures du Latium médiéval: Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IX^e siècle à la fin du XII^e siècle. In two volumes. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fascicule 221.) Preface by OTTORINO BERTOLINI. Rome: École Française de Rome. 1973. Pp. xxvii, 787; 790-1500, 7 maps.

In this lengthy thesis Professor Toubert examines the changing social and governmental structures of southern Latium and the Sabine region of central Italy, to the south and east of Rome, across the central Middle Ages. He maintains that "the great fact" in the history of Latium from approximately 800 to 1200 was incastellamento, the proliferation of castles from the early tenth century. This "castle revolution," as Toubert calls it, involved far more than the fortification of old or new centers of settlement. All other "structures" of medieval Latium were affected by it: the nature of settlement; the character of the rural economy; roads, markets, and exchange; the family; the organization of the Church; and the administration of justice. In regard to the rural economy, for example, Toubert

concludes that in the ninth century agrarian settlement was dispersed and open, and the peasant was free to expand his holdings at will into the wasteland. After incastellamento, settlement became closed and concentrated, and the peasant was burdened with heavy seigneurial exactions. Toubert suggests that the ninth century, in spite of occasional Saracen incursions, was a "golden age" for the Latian peasant, who enjoyed psychological comfort and security under the efficient but loose Carolingian regime. He affirms that "in the eighth and ninth century, the State did exist." The revolution of the tenth century thus marked not a renaissance, as Robert Lopez would maintain, but a "qualitative break" imposed upon an older growth. "The castrum marked the end of pioneer life," and it also allegedly undermined the preceding "rural happiness."

The novelty of these views will at once impress medievalists. Where others have seen impoverished serfs settled on overcrowded Carolingian manors, Toubert discerns free and open settlement and much bonheur nural. Where others speak of a tenth-century renaissance and the formation of active frontiers, he locates in the same period "the end of pioneer life." In support of his often audacious positions, Toubert maintains a nearly continuous polemic against those scholars who may have once expressed differing views. Given the character of his thesis, the scholars he chooses to attack are many, and the sharp terms applied to their work-illusoire, bien des contresens, non-sens, and the like-become a little disconcerting.

Toubert's great energy, competence, and high critical acumen lend lasting importance to his work. But the book also manifests several serious flaws. It is much too long. Perhaps there is something in the logic of the French thèse that requires the author to strive for comprehensiveness and hence to propose and discuss topics about which little can be known. Typical of much of the book is a section beginning on page 1330 where we are told that the "pénurie documentaire très marquée" makes necessary "beaucoup . . . de brièveté dans l'exposé." The section nonetheless runs on for nine pages and is chiefly composed of strings of unanswered questions. Other sections, also dealing with poorly illuminated topics, end in trivial or banal conclusions (see what is said about the "castle revolution" and the family, pp. 714 ff.).

On a more substantive level, reservations are also permissible concerning the central thesis of the book, the "castle revolution" and the sweeping changes attributed to it. We are told almost nothing about who built the castles and why. The author, over the many years spent in composing the book, seems to have altered his own inter-

pretations as his work progressed. At all events, the reader must puzzle how incastellamento can be called "une croyence" (p. 305) and yet be said to mark the end of the "vie pionnière" (p. 1357). At times the "castle revolution" is depicted as slow, gradual, incomplete, and quickly surpassed by other changes (p. 493). We learn that "many castles . . . quickly degenerated into isolated large farms," or were entirely abandoned. On page 733 the author speaks of the "fragile stability of the castle structure." Is incastellamento really the powerful motor of revolutionary change, transforming all that it touches, or only a short-lived phase in a larger process—the construction of the Papal State?

The relationships alleged by Toubert between incastellamento and settlement are especially perplexing. It must first of all be recognized that the documents-the richest of them are associated with the monastery of Farfa—are often vague or ambiguous, and it is nearly impossible to track individual farms or holdings over time. "Open and dispersed," "concentrated and closed"—the choice of such terms rests in large part on Toubert's own impressions. Other interpretations are possible. In the supposedly happy ninth century, impoverished peasants appear in the records of Farfa accepting land under onerous terms from the monastery, including heavy obligations in labor. Is this an example of free and open settlement? To peruse the documents of the same monastery in the twelfth century is still to encounter many references to hamlets (casali), which appear more often than explicit references to castles. The most frequent place reference in the documents remains, however, the vague term vocabulum. The castles are surely there, but their impact upon settlement is far from clear. Essentially, Toubert proposes a problem involving quantities and proportions: what proportions of the community came to be settled within or close to castles, as opposed to other centers—casali, villages, towns, and the like? An impressionistic reading of the sources can give a reliable answer to that question; some sort of quantitative index must be attempted. I found other conclusions advanced in this book questionable, but there is no space in a short review to discuss them further. Toubert has, in sum, produced a rich, serviceable, and stimulating, but also in parts a controversial study.

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JOHN HOLLAND SMITH. Francis of Assist. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1972. Pp. 210. Cloth \$8.95, paper \$2.95.

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Smith's book makes no attempt to advance research on Francis's life and ambience or, indeed, to sum up its recent findings—A. Fortini, for example, is cited once and K. Esser not at all. Smith offers instead a readable biographical essay, mercifully neither edifying nor sentimental, on the saint and his image. Smith bases his account mainly on Thomas of Celano but sometimes cites Bonaventure, the Legend of the Three Companions, the Fioretti, and, more rarely, The Mirror of Perfection. (Apparently R. Brooke's edition of the Scripta Leonis was published too recently for him to use.) Of modern writers the chief influence on his interpretation is C. C. Jung. Smith connects Jung's concept of Francis with Celano's: "It was very important that Francis saw himself as the Imitator Christi in his generation; it was equally important that Thomas of Celano also saw him in that light, and presented him to later generations as what Jung called 'the Cosmic Man, the Anthropos.'" His life had a mythological aura, as when he withdrew to a cave in preparation for his conversion. Here, Smith says, "the story reaches back beyond traditional Christianity to the mysteries of paganism, and especially those at [sic] Pythagoras and Orpheus, and Isis/Osiris/Serapis, in which the novice 'hearer' became an adept by spending a period alone in a dark place, returning to the womb, . . . and discovering there the great treasure of enlightenment and rebirth to eternal life." Even the description of Francis's marriage to the Lady Poverty in the Sacrum Commercium suggests to Smith "many of the mysteries of classical and post-classical times." For him the essence of Francis is his universality, which he sees as somehow stamped by the reception of the stigmata. At that point "Francis had become the embodiment of the anthropos archetype."

Smith seems more interested in the "archetype" than in the individual. His characterization of Francis is summary. He represents the saint as first a dropout and rebel who behaved abominably to his father because he was still an adolescent at twenty-five. He and his disciples were "hysterics and fanatics by nature." As for Clare, because she had been unable to marry Francis, "she had married Christ and had become the embodiment of the Lady Poverty for whom he fought all his battles." No serious effort is made to substantiate these insights by factual evidence and psychological analysis. Moreover their connection with the portrait of Francis as anthropos is unclear.

Unclear, too, is Smith's assessment of Francis the religious leader. On the one hand he appears to follow P. Sabatier ir. feeling indignant about the alleged falsification of Francis's intentions by prelates outside the order and "intellectuals and budding capitalists" within it. On the other hand he

suggests that realistic leadership could never come from Francis's literal-minded fanaticism. "The later history of the Franciscan Order shows how impossible Francis's ideal was as a practical way of life for a large number of men." Even with Francis, can one always have everything both ways? Smith makes assumptions that not only are doubtful in themselves but also appear to contradict each other. At various points in his book Francis is portrayed as the universal anthropos and as a narrow fanatic, as a courageous rebel against contemporary society and as a submissive victim to ecclesiastical slyness and authority. Smith does not try to explain these paradoxes. One wonders whether he is aware of their existence.

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EUGENE L. COX. The Eagles of Savory: The House of Savory in Thirteenth-Century Europe. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 492. \$22.50.

With this volume the author of The Green Count of Savoy (1967) pushes his study of Savoy into the thirteenth century, with the story of the seven sons and two daughters of Count Thomas I of Savoy (d. 1233), the last of whom died in 1285. And what medieval historian has not heard of Beatrice of Savoy, mother of four queens? Cox states his aims clearly: "The creation of the medieval Savoyard state has almost always been treated as the work of its successive counts, not as a family enterprise, yet as I hope to show, that is the most striking feature of its history once the multitudinous activities of the family have been brought to light. Nor has the role of the House of Savoy in the broader context of European medieval history been the subject of very much study." In a work strongly supported by archival research, Cox achieves his aims admirably within the confines that he sets for himselfessentially those of "international war and diplomacy." In one sense this book is a traditional diplomatic and political history and demonstrates both the strengths and weaknesses of the genre.

While one is indeed besieged by a welter of names, places, treaties, marriage alliances, and so forth, the diligent reader will be pleasantly rewarded, for the book contains numerous and at times surprising nuggets that are well worth uncovering. Cox adds to our knowledge of important issues and historical episodes in which the almost ubiquitous Savoyards were involved. Chapter 6, revealing the nature of Savoyard involvement in French and English diplomacy in the midthirteenth century, is particularly valuable for its description of the Savoyard role in Henry III's ill-

fated Sicilian venture. Chapter 7 analyzes the Savoyard participation in English politics and diplomacy during the period of baronial reform. The story of the struggle between Emperor Frederick II and Pope Innocent IV is enriched by Cox's analysis of Savoyard skill in playing both sides of the street. The efforts of two episcopal Savoyard brothers loyal to the pope and of two lay brothers loyal to the emperor resulted in the protection of the totality of interests of the family of Savoy, which escaped harm from either of the major participants while reaping rewards from both. Cox offers the first detailed study of Savoyard attempts to control and exploit the western Alpine passes into Italy. His exposition of Alpine institutional reforms that laid the groundwork for the fourteenth-century Savoyard Alpine state reveals an adaptation of the office of the bailli created by Philip Augustus of France that provides an interesting example of the spread of institutional innovation. Several pages recounting the activities of the countess of Flanders and her Savoyard consort allow intriguing glimpses into the roles that a woman could play in government and diplomacy (pp. 100-02).

Not all will wish to read this work in its entirety, but those concerned with almost any of the major. Western European political and diplomatic issues of the period with which Cox deals can only overlook this rich study at their own peril.

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WALTER BRANDMÜLLER. Das Konzil von Pavia-Siena, 1423–1424. Volume 1, Darstellung; volume 2, Quellen. (Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen, 16.) Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1968; 1974. Pp. 289; xiv, 477. DM 48; DM 98.

The first volume of Brandmüller's work on the Council of Siena was reviewed in AHR, 75 (1969): 109-10. The author promised a supplementary volume of selected source materials, which he has now provided in the present work. Brandmüller presents first the legislation of the council, a thin harvest of only six decrees, and then prints fortyeight papal letters, some of them previously unpublished. In the next section of the book he prints four hitherto unpublished sermons delivered at the council, three by John of Ragusa, the other by Jerome of Florence. John of Ragusa emerged as a major conciliar thinker at the Council of Basle, and it is useful to have this evidence of his attitudes to pope, council, and Church reform a few years earlier. Jerome's sermon provides an interesting example of humanistic papalism. In the final section of his book, more than half the total volume,

Brandmüller provides the first printed text of the "Protocol" of Guillermo Agramunt. Agramunt was a Spanish notary who served at the council as secretary to the embassy of King Alfonso V of Aragon. His "Protocol" is an account of the conciliar proceedings, richly documented with copies of letters and speeches that often survive only in this work. It is an invaluable source for the history of the council.

Brandmüller's first volume was generally welcomed as the first adequate account of the Council of Siena. It was especially strong in the area of diplomatic history. The author also put forward a controversial argument maintaining that the failure of the council was not due to the intransigence of Pope Martin V—as has usually been supposed—but to the maneuverings of King Alfonso V. The evidence offered in the present volume does not settle this question, but it provides valuable new source material for scholars who are interested in it and, indeed, for all students of fifteenth-century diplomacy and church history.

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M. N. TIKHOMIROV. Rossiiskoe gosudarstvo XV-XVII vekov [The Russian State during the 15th-17th Centuries]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie Istorii, Arkheograficheskaia Komissia Arkhiv SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 420.

N. N. POKROVSKII. Aktovye istochniki po istorii chernososhnogo zemlevladeniia v Rossii XIV-nachala XVI v. [Documentary Sources on the History of Taxable State Ownership of Land in Russia from the 14th to the Beginning of the 16th Century]. Edited by M. N. TIKHOMIROV. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Sibirskoe Otdelenie, Institut Istorii, Filologii i Filosofii.) Novosibirsk: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 229.

Both works are dated. This posthumous volume by Academician Michael Tikhomirov, who died in 1965, contains twenty-three items, twenty of which were previously published. The Pokrovskii study was a dissertation submitted to Tikhomirov in 1956 and published only now without revision. The editors of the Tikhomiroviana chose illustrative items from the entire gamut of this scholar's studies, ranging from terminological and literary discussions to historical geography. Some of the earlier pieces, dating from the 1920s and 1930s and published in Russian provincial journals, are particularly welcome. Among these are three works on Dmitrov, including a history of the town, the settlements in the surrounding district in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and a study of the population changes in the subsequent two hundred years. Tikhomirov later incorporated porMedieval 119

tions of these works in his historical-geographical studies of Muscovy. Three provocative items form an appendix to the volume. A short unfinished piece, on the Italians who came to medieval Muscovy, contains no new information but is distinguished by Tikhomirov's desire to restore perspective to foreign influence at the court of Ivan III. "The Feudal Order in Russia," which appeared in 1930, is virtually unknown in the West. Impressed by Pavlov-Silvanskii and others, who posited a form of feudalism in Russia akin to that invented by modern scholars for the medieval West, Tikhomirov developed a perceptive analysis of the Russian analogue. While it confuses feudalism with manorialism, the essay is sufficiently stimulating to raise questions concerning the institutional similarities and differences between medieval Europe's east and west. As such, it is worthy of translation. The last offering contains five interesting lectures given at Moscow University to students who were preparing for archival work. Tikhomirov analyzed the classes of documents kept by government bureaus in the seventeenth century, the pitfalls to be avoided, and the uses to which the evidence can be put. I know of no other guide to the study of the seventeenth-century prikazy papers as interesting and as sensible as this.

Pokrovskii seeks to chart the fate of the lands occupied by the Muscovite peasantry, but owned by the princes, from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century. He discusses the encroachments by aristocratic landlords and clerical institutions upon peasant-occupied lands, the unification of the northern principalities by Muscovy, and its impact upon military servitors and agriculturalists. The last of three chapters contrasts the freedom of the peasants living in the forested frontier of the north with the fate of those in the central provinces. The work was based on laborious archival study, but since its completion most of the documents have been printed. Pokrovskii made some attempt to add the published references to his footnotes, but these are incomplete. The study would have been much improved had Pokrovskii revised his dissertation. I regret that he disregarded many of the findings of Stepan Veselovskii in his magisterial study on landholding (1947), and a considerable body of literature that appeared after 1956, notably the works of Wilhelm Schulz and Sergei Kashtanov on immunities (1965, 1967) and by Carsten Goehrke on abandoned lands (1968).

GUSTAVE ALEF
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JAROSLAV PELIKAN. The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine. Volume 2, The Spirit of

Eastern Christendom (600-1700). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1974. Pp. xxv, 329, \$16.50.

It is always difficult to give a fair assessment of a monumental work before the monument has been completed. This book is the second volume of a projected five-volume series, one of which, The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600), has already been published, and three others. The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300), Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700), and Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture (since 1700), are forthcoming. It is the author's expectation that each volume will be able to be read independently, as well as in series. Volume 2 continues the narrative begun in the first volume through the Byzantine, Syriac, and early Russian development to the end of the seventeenth century. Highlighting of continuity and change marks the approach, though the style does not make for particularly easy reading. Each page is closely printed and the left-hand margins indicate, in abbreviated form, the sources from which the information has been drawn. This particular volume will be important for specialists in Christian history and theology who persist in neglecting Eastern Christendom but are willing to learn and for those others who need an overview of Eastern Christianity in order to understand Byzantine, Syriac, and Slavic civilizations.

The organization of the material is topical rather than strictly chronological, and the approach is theological rather than strictly historical, but the author is definitely committed to understanding and expounding the Eastern point of view from its own sources and its own spokesmen and in its relation to others. The six basic chapters survey, first, the authority of the Fathers in the areas of the changeless truth of salvation, the norms of traditional doctrine, the councils and their achievements, and knowing the unknowable; second, the union and division in Christ as related to the duality of hypostases, the one incarnate nature of God the Logos, actions and wills in unison, and Christ as the universal man; third, images of the Invisible in terms of images graven and ungraven, images as idols and as icons, and the melody of theology; fourth, the challenge of the Latin Church in expounding the orthodoxy of old Rome, the foundation of Apostolic polity, the theological origins of the Schism, and the filioque; fifth, the vindication of Trinitarian monotheism, including a discussion of the Trinity and Shema, evil and the God of Love, the One God-and His Prophet, and the God of the philosophers; and sixth, the last flowering of Byzantine Orthodoxy, embracing the mystic as New Theologian, the final break with Western doctrine, the definition of Eastern particularity, and Slavic Orthodoxy.

The Spirit of Eastern Christendom-so titled as to include non-Chalcedonian Orthodox and other Eastern Christians as well as the Orthodox Christian majority—clearly shows how Eastern Christendom was constantly being challenged by all kinds of religious, political, military, and ideological factors to interpret and refine Christian doctrine. Professor Pelikan, who is actively engaged in theological and ecumenical discussions, is acutely aware of the necessity of the Eastern orientation for a proper understanding of the whole of Christianity. The significant differences in cultural orientation between East and West are duly noted, as are the debates between Eastern Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. The continuous impact of Islam particularly is something that the Christian West has not had to live with for some time and so does not any longer feel its threat and chal-

The Orthodox East saw its faith as "that which has been handed down by Christ himself and by the apostles and by the holy ecumenical councils" (p. 287). The chief idea of all Eastern theology was the idea of salvation as deification, the presupposition of which was the incarnation of the Logos of God. This deification (theosis) was not achievable by human power but by divine power alone, essential for which was grace and free will of man. For the East there was no conflict between Divine grace and human freedom, though the gift of theosis achieved by the incarnation of the Logos was a matter of divine revelation made known to mankind through sacred teaching. From a knowledge of saving history of the incarnation, death, and resurrection of Christ one could reach a contemplation and ultimately mystical union with God. Faith was absolutely essential for salvation, and this faith was attached to the orthodox dogmas of the Church through which hope and love were also possible. As divinely revealed truth, these dogmas of the Church were believed to be changeless.

The Spirit of Eastern Christendom (600-1700) does not claim to be original or startling in its content or approach. Rather it is a fundamentally meticulous historical review of Eastern Christendom that fully exploits the bibliographic sources available to Western scholars and puts the role of Eastern Christianity in proper historical perspective. It is thus a work that deserves careful examination by every student of the history of Christianity and, indeed, even by every student of East-West relations for a much fuller understanding of the contemporary religious and cultural situation in a very large part of this world.

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Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Number 27. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin, Publisher, Locust Valley, N.Y. 1973. Pp. xvii, 339. \$20.00.

This issue is predominantly art-historical, as was the 1972 Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, of which most of the lectures are included here. Since this symposium was arranged as a forum where nine young medieval scholars presented their recent research, presumably one could draw some conclusions about the future bias of Byzantine studies. The book is also significant as it presents the empirical nature of current art history, which emphasizes the archeological nature of the collection rather than, or perhaps in reaction to, theoretical speculations.

Some of this research can be noticed here. Penelope C. Mayo explains the representation of trees in the Encyclopaedia of Lambert, the Liber Floridus of 1120. By patient reference to the text these may be understood as symbolizing the aspirations of a Western Christian after the success of the First Crusade. G. P. Majeska deduces the late Byzantine public's view of St. Sophia from fourteenthand fifteenth-century Russian pilgrim accounts: the pilgrim saw the interior not as a unified space enveloping the liturgical ceremony, but as an accumulation of famous relics enshrined for private devotions around the walls of the aisles. T. F. Mathews dates the Panagia Kamariotissa (a small church on the island of Heybeliada, or Chalki, about thirty kilometers offshore from Istanbul) to the late eleventh century in preference to the fifteenth century on the basis of its typical middle Byzantine recessed-brick masonry. The church is quatrefoil in plan with the transition to a dome by means of corner squinches; this type of structure, however modest in size, is significant for the interpretation of the role of Constantinople at this period. Mathews and Cyril Mango, in a postscript, discuss the implications: both suspect an influence from Armenia, and Mango suggests a connection with the Church of Christ of the Chalke Gate, designed by the Armenian emperor John Tzimiskes in ca. 972, and destroyed in 1804. Mathew's date is only an approximation, the church could have been built earlier; another possibility is that the Armenia type might itself be derived from some early Byzantine model in Constantinople. Both scholars find in the Kamariotissa a confirmation that the group of churches in Greece of the Hosios Leukas type were derived from models in the capital. Hosios Leukas has recently, but unsatisfactorily, been attributed to ca. 1011 by Manolis Chatzidakis, but Mango suggests that St. George of Mangana (1042-55) was the innovatory church. E. Kitzinger suggests that the Samson cycle on the early Byzantine floor mosaic found at Misis, Turkey (Mopsuestia) was derived from a fourth- or fifth-century parchment scroll of a picture frieze in the same format as the tenth-century Joshua Roll. He accepts two implications of his interpretation: that floor mosaicists in this period used manuscripts as one source of models and that the format of the Joshua Roll was not a medieval invention but had had antique forerunners. Margaret Frazer defines the iconography of middle Byzantine bronze doors in Italy as the Doors of Heaven on Earth. The miniatures of the Rabbula Gospels are proven by D. H. Wright to belong physically with the text of 586, produced at the monastery of Beth Zagba, located somewhere in Syria. The odd position of the Selection of Matthias and the Dedication miniature seems to be an unintentional workshop blunder. Mango and I. Ševčenko report field work in Bithynia, where their sites include a group of four-column domed churches seemingly datable to around 800; these suggest a reconsideration of the date and place of origin of the cross-in-square plan. E. J. W. Hawkins and Marlia C. Mundell describe the aniconic mosaics of Mar Gabriel in southeast Turkey and publish a fragmentary dedication inscription in Greek, which would seem to establish 512 as the date of the decoration of this transverse basilica.

W. E. Kleinbauer, on the other hand, passes beyond archeology into the interpretation of the aisled Tetraconch church plan and challenges some of the ideas in André Grabar's Martyrium (1946). The polemic at times underestimates the subtlety of Grabar's position, who is somewhat unreasonably criticized for statements made on the basis of the information available some thirty years ago. Kleinbauer suggests that the architectural type of this group can be explained by their primary function as cathedrals and criticizes Grabar for believing their primary function to be martyria. But their form can hardly be given a total explanation in terms of function (not all cathedrals are aisled Tetraconches!), and Grabar's thesis is broader than it is characterized, for his argument is that in the East at this period assembly churches adopted the vaults and domes of martyria chapels and that the "types" were assimilated. According to this interpretation, to ask the primary function of a church does not explain its form. Kleinbauer's idea that the Great Church at Antioch was the model for his group is also unconvincing; consequently he does not appear to have solved the problem of the origin of the type or the reason for its use any more cogently than has

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MODERN EUROPE

JOHN R. GILLIS. Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present. (Studies in Social Discontinuity.) New York: Academic Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 232. \$12.50.

How does one study "childhood," "adolescence," "youth," "adulthood," and "old age" historically? Social historians and psychohistorians have begun to formulate approaches to the study of a stage of life as encompassing not merely an age group but a variety of interrelated psychological, social, and cultural phenomena that characterize individuals and groups at certain stages of life. The complexity of these historical processes is clearly evident, even if one were to examine a stage of life only at one point in time, and for one social class. The task becomes enormous when one tries to explore the changing conditions of a particular stage of life among different social classes over three centuries. Gillis should be congratulated, therefore, for this ambitious attempt to analyze the emergence of youth as a distinct age group in England and Germany from the seventeenth century to the present.

The study tries to relate the changing status of young people in their family and in society to demographic and social change: "If the history of youth is to be written it must focus on that interface where the expectations of the young and those of their elders interact in a dynamic manner." In doing so, he tries to explore the historical experiences from the vantage point of youth themselves, rather than merely from the perspective of the caretakers and the educators. This approach approximates a closer interrelationship between social and intellectual history than studies based on proscriptive and advice literature only.

Gillis's historical model encompasses the evolution of youth through several stages, which generally correspond to the standard periodization of overall social change from preindustrial to industrial society. He sees the historical transition from the semidependency of youth on familial and surrogate familial arrangements to the emergence of adolescence as a middle-class phenomenon in the late nineteenth century, followed by the triumph of conformity in the "era of adolescence" in the period 1900 to 1950. In this last era, where the general tendency is toward the "convergence of the life

cycles of different social groups," alternative forms of youth organization are characterized as deviant and delinquent. In weaving this pattern, Gillis compares the experience of the middle class with that of the working class and analyzes the changing functions of fraternal and peer groups in different time periods.

The author uses modernization as the general explanation for the historical changes in the status of youth. In the absence of a rigorous definition, "modernization" appears to be a catchall for the overall changes associated with urbanization and industrialization. Despite the fact that current historical research on changes in family and demographic behavior and of stages of the life cycle is pointing to a periodization that is different from the traditional historiographic divisions, Gillis assigns the development of youth into the traditional "period" slots. For example, he interprets the efforts at social control and the regulation of delinquents as the dialectical counterpart of the idealization of adolescence, from the 1870s on. This does not explain, however, the increased activity toward the reformation and control of youth as the "dangerous classes" from mid-nineteenth century

Another theme that is not consistently maintained in the book is the relationship between youth and the family. While Gillis pays attention to the relationship between familial change and the role of young people in the earlier periods, the theme is obscured in the later chapters of the book. One loses, therefore, a sense of the relationship between youth as a stage of the individual life cycle and between its place in the family cycle.

The lack of continuity in the volume is partly dictated by the unevenness of materials utilized by the author; the first half of the book, covering the period prior to 1870, is almost entirely based on secondary literature in which various demographic studies, as well as the work of E. P. Thompson, Natalie Davis, and Michael Anderson are extensively featured. The second half of the book utilizes primary sources and supplements them with recent writings on youth conflict. While the first half of the volume examines youth within a family and societal context, the section covering the period since 1870 focuses primarily on the study of youth groups, youth movements, and social control movements directed toward youth.

From a conceptual point of view, the author faces the difficulty of differentiating between youth as an age group and youth as a stage of life. The former pertains to age cohorts in specific time periods, in the manner in which Norman Ryder has conceptualized it in demography. The latter, on the other hand, entails an integrated analysis of the social, psychological, and socioeconomic con-

ditions of different stages in the life cycle. The challenge to the historian is twofold: one, to understand how the definitions, conceptions, and experiences of specific stages of human development were discovered and changed over time; two, to examine the changing experience of specific age cohorts or generations as they go through that stage. Historians will come closer to understanding the relationship between individual and group identity and historical change only if the interaction between these two is constantly taken into account.

The study of a specific age group such as youth is particularly valuable in illuminating the interaction between "individual time," "family time," and "historical time." On the other hand, the study of such a specific age group or stage of development must take into account the experiences of other stages of life. The transition from childhood to adolescence is not determined merely by the societal definition of adolescence, but also by the expectations from adulthood and old age in that particular society.

While Gillis offers his pioneer work as a model for the study of other stages of life, historians, working in this area, will inevitably have to revise this model and experiment with alternative models in this very difficult undertaking.

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WILLIAM E. WILKIE. The Cardinal Protectors of England: Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 262. \$14.50.

The main shortcoming of this monograph, like so many doctoral dissertations, is that it is one historian writing to another, presupposing the reader's detailed knowledge of the period with little effort at interpretation or relation to other works in the field. The author impressively, although myopically, documents the neglected role of several Italian cardinals, primarily Lorenzo Campeggio, in the attempted annulment of Henry VIII's marriage. He is at pains to indicate that, since most of these cardinals were also "protectors" of the Empire as well as of England, Henry VIII and Wolsey could have their way only if they maintained a firm alliance with the Holy Roman Empire and the papacy. Once it was broken by Clement VII, the annulment was impossible, and Campeggio was finished.

Another fault of this book is the almost exclusive reliance upon British editions of sources and secondary works. For some reason the author chose to ignore significant North American scholarship. Also, the conclusion is weak, and one looks in vain

for contributions the book makes to the studies of Albert Frederick Pollard, Garrett Mattingly, or Philip Hughes. The picture of the general diocesan situation in England and corresponding chaos in Ireland is good, but one would like to see more on the structure, procedure, and abuses current at the time. When and how, for example, did the practice of consecrating those in minor orders as bishops arise?

What emerges is a good documentation of why the changes introduced by Henry VIII were not met with more resistance. British bishops were scarcely any better than their absentee Italian colleagues acting as flunkies in the lucrative intrigue of the royal and papal courts. Clement VII appears as the model of his Avignon namesake Clement VI, who purportedly said, "My predecessors did not know how to be popes," while Campeggio's ability as a canon lawyer was constantly blunted by his concern with nepotism and money. Every bureaucracy has its scandals, and certainly those of the Renaissance papacy were some of the worst, yet after reading this book one feels that then they were done with much more style and panache than those of more recent times.

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O. V. ORLIK. Peredovaia Rossiia i revoliutsionnaia Frantsiia (I polovina XIX v.) [Progressive Russia and Revolutionary France in the First Half of the 19th Century]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 297.

This volume by Orlik, like her earlier one, Rossia i frantsuzkaia revoliutsiia 1830 goda (1968), illustrates Soviet interest in French history, which has grown during the two decades since Stalin's death. Orlik is a member of the French history group in the Institute of General History (formerly the Institute of History), which began publishing an annual volume of essays on French history in 1959, the same year in which the Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique was founded.

The main themes of this book are that the revolutions of 1830 and 1848 in France were part of a larger historical process which led inevitably to 1917, and that the relationships between French revolutionaries and Russian "progressives" during the first half of the nineteenth century were close and mutually rewarding. Thus, a number of Russians played an important role in the French revolutions, and these two French revolutions were significant in the formation of Russian revolutionary thought. Similarly, these relationships helped to increase French interest in Russia and to create

friendly relationships among the leading progressive intellectuals of the two countries. Lenin, of course, was fully aware of these developments. Indeed, eight of the first twelve footnotes cite Lenin, and one cites Marx.

Orlik supports the main themes with substantial information from some of the memoir literature of these years, the principal secondary studies published in French and Russian, and Soviet archives, especially the reports of the Russian ambassadors in Paris and of the Third Section. She cites only two French journals and apparently carried on no research in France. She defined her subject so narrowly that the substantial literature in Western languages, particularly Italian, German, and English, on Russian intellectual and social history and on intellectual relations between Russia and the West is not mentioned even in the introduction, which is a kind of bibliographical essay. Above all, the volume fails because it so narrows its analysis, presumably for political reasons, that the revolutions outside of France in 1830 and 1848 are not mentioned. Thus, she neglects the Polish revolt of 1831 and the enormous impact this had on the French view of Russia. Adam Mickiewicz, who exerted such an important role in France in the 1840s, is referred to as a "well-known poet" who knew and admired Pushkin. Soviet scholarship must indeed break out of the national framework.

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ROGER BULLEN. Palmerston, Guizot and the Collapse of the Entente Cordiale. (University of London Historical Studies, 36.) [London:] University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Humanities House, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1974. Pp. ix, 352. \$20.50.

Roger Bullen's study provides historians with a detailed analysis of Anglo-French relations during the period preceding the revolution of 1848. Centering his focus upon Palmerston's role in the formation of British diplomacy, the author devotes his first chapters to a discussion of the liberal alliance, which bound England and France in the 1830s, and the "entente cordiale," which re-aligned them from 1841 to 1846. On proceeding, he then examines in the major portion of his work those problems that brought about the rupture of the entente after 1846. Bullen is especially adept in unweaving the complicated diplomatic issues surrounding the Spanish marriages crisis and in explaining their effect upon the estrangement that developed between Paris and London. His extended treatment of the Iberian question enables him to amplify and revise previous accounts of the collapse of the entente cordiale.

Despite the author's achievements, several aspects of his work are open to criticism. He could have enriched his analysis by making greater use of such source material as the press and parliamentary debates and by making a more concerted effort to measure public opinion, which had such a profound effect upon British and French diplomacy during this period. Besides these general shortcomings, certain specific weaknesses are apparent in the first part of Bullen's book. The chapters covering the period prior to 1846 deal primarily with British diplomacy and provide no deep or original analysis of French foreign policy. This deficiency probably results from the fact that the author documented these preliminary chapters with material derived from the private correspondence of numerous, largely British, diplomats and statesmen, without correcting or correlating these sources with information drawn from diplomatic archives. Bullen's assumption that the diplomatic record can be neglected because diplomats of the time confided their innermost thoughts to their private correspondence is unfounded, for French diplomatic dispatches in particular are rich in insights and information on the period from 1830 to 1846. The incomplete documentation of this first section, moreover, undoubtedly accounts for some serious errors and misconceptions, such as the author's belief that under the July Monarchy treaties required ratification by the French chambers. Fortunately though, the imperfections of this work are limited largely to the introductory sections; the main portion of Bullen's study is solid and thorough, if somewhat prolix and pedantic. Its drawbacks aside, this book should be consulted by anyone interested in understanding Spanish marriages diplomacy and the breakdown of the Anglo-French entente between 1846 and 1848.

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DAVID CHILDS. Marx and the Marxists: An Outline of Practice and Theory. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1973. Pp. 367. \$11.50.

V. F. PUSTARNAKOV. "Kapital" K. Marksa i filosofskaia mysl' v Rossii (Konets XIX-nachalo XX v.) [K. Mark's "Capital" and Philosophical Thought in Russia (End of the 19th-Beginning of the 20th Century)]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Filosofii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1974. Pp. 382.

RICHARD N. HUNT. The Political Ideas of Marx and Engels. Volume 1, Marxism and Totalitarian Democracy, 1818–1850. [Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 363. \$11.95.

There is no shortage of books on Marx and Engels or the movements that they inspired. Yet the out-

put of new works, both Western and Soviet, continues unabated. David Childs of Nottingham University has produced still another primer of Marxist thought and its impact throughout the world during the past century. A popular survey, it is designed for the uninitiated student and the general reader. The author is at his best when treating developments in Germany following the Second World War, an area in which he has previously specialized. The remainder, however, is disappointing. There are few fresh interpretations, the style is undistinguished, and the information is sometimes inaccurate. The bibliography, moreover, is of limited value, containing only works in English.

Pustarnakov, by contrast, has written a monographic study of a narrower subject. Sponsored by the Institute of Philosophy of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, it focuses on the impact of Marx's Capital in Russia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Capital, interestingly enough, was translated into Russian before any other language, the first volume appearing legally in St. Petersburg in 1872. The censors considered it too dull and academic to be subversive; few, they thought, would read the work, let alone understand it. To their surprise and consternation, however, its appearance provoked excited discussion in Russian intellectual circles, and during the first four months more than one thousand copies were sold. The book was read and admired by many who ultimately rejected its author's philosophy, influencing a wide range of social thinkers from anarchists and Populists to liberals and even conservatives. Pustarnakov examines the varying interpretations of Capital among these disparate schools of thought, with special attention to the Populists (including N. F. Danielson, who translated the book into Russian) and Legal Marxists as well as Plekhanov, Lenin, and A. A. Bogdanov, a theorist whose ideas remain inadequately explored and understood. Pustarnakov has produced a useful study based on a careful reading of the Russian sources, though he ignores the sizable body of Western scholarship on the subject.

In the third book under review, Richard Hunt of the University of Pittsburgh combines an analysis of the early writings of Marx and Engels with an account of their lives up to 1850—a second volume will deal with their later years. The result is a valuable work of biography as well as of intellectual history. Hunt finds that—in their younger years at least—Marx and Engels were neither totalitarians nor reformers but rather democratic revolutionaries who rejected both terrorism and dictatorship, proletarian or otherwise. What they envisioned, he says, was a spontaneous revolution carried out by the people themselves and ush-

ering in a direct or "participatory" democracy without professional leaders or administrators. Hunt's analysis of the intellectual development of Marx and Engels is closely reasoned and amply documented, though he tends to soft-pedal, if not to explain away, the more authoritarian aspects of their personalities and doctrines, which begin already to emerge during this formative period. His book is nevertheless one of the most lucid and provocative works on Marxism to have appeared in recent years, and one looks forward eagerly to the concluding installment.

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ISTVÁN DIÓSZEGI. Österreich-Ungarn und der französisch-preussische Krieg, 1870–1871. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1974. Pp. 311.

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 brought not only disaster to the Second Empire, but diplomatic defeat and a year of internal crisis in Austria-Hungary. Diószegi's account, which appeared for the first time in Magyar in 1965, differs from the usual monograph in diplomatic history; there is much more description of the forces operating on diplomacy than there is on its conduct. One merit of this emphasis is that it unmistakably brings out the interaction between internal and external politics. Diószegi's account of the shift of the Hungarian Deákists from an anti-Prussian to a mildly pro-Prussian stance in about a year's time is especially striking. This shift, he shows, stemmed from fears of aggressive "Slavdom," which were activated largely by the Russian government's denunciation of the Black Sea clauses. Absurd perhaps, but Diószegi's analysis of the Budapest press and of other evidence pretty well substantiates it. His account strengthens the conclusion that the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary was sometimes decided in Budapest rather than in Vienna. It is unfortunate, however, that Diószegi does not focus his attention on other issues related to his theme. For example, there is some discussion of Italian policy at the beginning of the war, but no mention of the repercussions in Austria of 'the occupation of Rome. There is, moreover, nothing at all on the fiscal and economic condition of the monarchy in 1870, an odd omission, given the place of publication. Diószegi does point out that the army required about six weeks to mobilize, but offers the reader no explanation as to why. Very clearly Beust and Francis Joseph were leading from weakness, but the reasons could be made clearer.

Despite the generally sound and refreshing interpretation there are a few slips. For example, Diószegi is convinced—like the Magyar chauvinists of a

century ago-that the tsarist government, imbued with pan-Slavism, was determined to have Constantinople (p. 12), that everyone in the Austrian court party was bent on revenge on Prussia after 1866 (p. 15), that a French "people's war" might have beaten the Prussians in the autumn of 1870 (pp. 118, 221), and that the French were imbued with the determination to revenge themselves on Germany after 1871 (p. 245). But Diószegi's skillful use of the archival material in Dresden, Potsdam, Merseburg, and especially Budapest makes this a valuable study. His portrayal of Beust, driven by the Hungarian hotspurs into a foolish policy, is sound. It is grist, too, for the mills of those who believe that diplomacy, even in autocratic states, does not operate in a vacuum but rather is subject to powerful, usually conflicting internal forces. This is one reason why foreign policy is not always rational but sometimes rather absurd, sometimes tragically absurd.

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DWIGHT E. LEE. Europe's Crucial Years: The Diplomatic Background of World War I, 1902–1914. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Clark University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 482. \$15.00.

So complex are the years 1902-14 that most scholars of diplomacy investigate only particular aspects of the age. While few historians have the courage to tackle it as a whole, Professor Lee, after twenty years of inquiry, has done just that. He offers here an excellent, up-to-date, and much needed synthesis of the entire "crisis period."

Lee's intention is not to convince us of one nation's guilt in causing World War I, but rather to demonstrate that "events and decisions led, often unwittingly, to a situation in which the only available recourse was war." His concern is with a detailed examination of diplomatic and political affairs aimed at an "overall approach to the question of why the war of 1914." Essentially dividing his book into two segments, he first provides an analysis of the diplomatic revolution accomplished by 1907. Careful consideration is given to the successful, if partial, separation of Italy by France and Britain from the Triple Alliance with a resultant change in European alignments, the emergence of a dynamic foreign policy under the direction of Theophile Delcassé, Germany's diplomatic failure to break the Entente during the first Moroccan crisis, and the shaping of the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907. It is underscored that in spite of Anglo-French-Russian arrangements that existed by 1907, a genuine Triple Entente was not yet achieved, German protestations of encirclement notwithstanding. It emerged only after tempering in the fires of the Bosnian and Agadir crises, the Balkan wars of 1912–13, and Sarajevo. A description of these events constitutes Lee's second segment.

Certain interpretations emerge as striking, namely that the Bosnian crisis was a "dress rehearsal" for July 1914 with the powers taking the same position in both cases and for the same reasons and that while Agadir proved a watershed, its aftermath having produced two camps, the lines between states did not become so tight as to preclude interpenetration. This last view is most interestingly supported by a discussion of German-British cooperation in defusing the Balkan wars. The subsequent delineation of Sarajevo and events leading to general conflict are objectively handled in depth. Lee concludes that if Austria, backed by Germany, took the first step toward conflagration, Russia took the second. Neither Germany nor England proved strong enough to deter their respective allies. While agreeing that the Austrian and German governments took a gamble, the author rejects Fritz Fischer's thesis of a German preventive war. War came, says Lee, because each of the major states acted out of a sense of desperation in maintaining its own interests.

This study takes advantage of both the best secondary literature available and all published documentary collections that are germane. Supplementary materials, accessible now for some time in various European archives, however, have apparently not been incorporated. While the footnoting is sometimes spotty and minor printer's errors are in evidence, the bibliographical essay should prove enlightening for advanced students and professionals alike.

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A. A. SOLOV'EV et al., editors. Russkie internatsionalisty v bor'be za Vengerskuiu Sovetskuiu Respubliku 1919 g.: Sbornik dokumentov [Russian Internationalists in the Struggle for the Hungarian Soviet Republic, 1919: A Collection of Documents]. (Instytut Marksizma-Leninizma pri TsK KPS, Glavnoe Arkhinoe Upravlenie pri Sovete Ministrov SSSR, Instytut Istorii Partii pri TsK VSRP, Venno-istorichestkii Institut i Muzei VNA.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Politicheskoi Literatury. 1972. Pp. 251.

This collection of 176 documents is a modest testimonial to what is known in Communist circles as "proletarian internationalism." Like other Soviet contributions on this subject, it records the interest displayed by the Bolsheviks in nascent Communist groups and parties during and after the First World War and the aid they gave to them. Of

these the Hungarian Communist party was the most successful in the short run.

Solov'ev's volume contains numerous extracts from the Soviet press devoted to events in Hungary in 1919 expressing sympathy for Bela Kun's regime. To these are added previously unpublished documents from Soviet and Hungarian archives, including the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow and the Institute of Party History of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in Budapest. These contain reminiscences of and references to Russian and Ukrainian prisoners of war and deportees who were interned in the Hungarian area of the Dual Monarchy. The downfall of the Central Powers led to their liberation and involvement in the Hungarian Communist movement. They were sufficiently numerous to form a Russian battalion that fought as part of the Hungarian Red Army against the Romanians in 1919.

To students of Bolshevism the most interesting documents are those that throw additional light on the efforts of the Bolsheviks in exile to spread their views among Russian prisoners of war during the Great War. With the tacit blessing of the Habsburg authorities, fairly large quantities of printed material reached the prisoners of war from Switzerland. The tenuous contacts Lenin and his associates maintained with their supporters and sympathizers in the camps contributed to the emergence of a section of the Bolshevik party in Budapest in December 1918. Its members published a newspaper in Russian and did their best to rally support for the Soviet cause.

IVAN AVAKUMOVIC
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FRANÇOIS CROUZET. Le conflit de Chypre, 1946-1959. In two volumes. (Centre Européen de la Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale. Études de cas de conflits internationaux, 4.) Brussels: Établissements Émile Bruylant. 1973. Pp. 478; 482-1187, 1 table, 1 map. 3,040 fr. B.

STEPHEN G. XYDIS. Cyprus: Reluctant Republic. (Near and Middle East Monographs, 11.) The Hague: Mouton; distrib. by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1973. Pp. 553. \$37.00.

There are two fundamental factors about Cyprus. One is geography, an island off the southern mainland of Anatolia, from which fact derives Turkey's strategic interest in it, especially in view of the possession of the Aegean Islands by Greece. The other is its ethnic composition—four-fifths Greek, one-fifth Turkish. Cyprus has never been an independent state—not at least until 1960—and there is no such thing as a Cypriot nationality. In the eyes of the Cypriot Greeks and of Greece, enosis is a simple case of national irredentism.

One hundred years ago Britain obtained control of the island, on a supposedly temporary basis, as a base from which to help Turkey resist Russian aggression. More recently, with the British imperial retreat and other Middle Eastern developments, the United States has acquired a stake in the status of Cyprus. The fundamental reason for the American interest is very similar to the British a century ago. These are the elements that go into the making of the Cyprus problem at the present time.

Professor Crouzet's essentially collective work traces the vicissitudes of the problem from the end of the Second World War until the compromise settlement of 1959, which could find no better solution than the creation of an independent state. It was a fragile solution, as subsequent events have shown, but represented the best equilibrium that could be achieved among the antagonistic forces that centered on the island. In the initial phase the issue was one between the Greek Cypriots and Britain. The contest proved to be another illustration of the ineffectualness of regular armed forces and normal legal procedures in dealing with insurrection that resorts to guerrilla tactics and terrorism, tools of which Colonel Grivas made skillfuluse.

After a while, and especially in the wake of the Suez fiasco of 1956, Britain was willing to shift her requirement from Cyprus as a base to bases in Cyprus. But this British willingness to retreat introduced the Turkish factor, for Turkey, which had been content with the British presence, interposed an immovable veto on the possibility of enosis. Once on his side, Archbishop Makarios had abandoned that hope, Turkey became willing to consider the compromise of Cypriot independence. Direct Greco-Turkish negotiations were quickly concluded in Zurich, then underwritten in London, Britain retaining the sovereignty of two bases.

This is the story that Crouzet relates at great length and in sometimes wearying detail, but unquestionably with exhaustive thoroughness. Although he stresses Britain's responsibility, his judgments are balanced, full of the "on the one hand, but on the other" approach. Like other studies in the same series (the Saar, Morocco, Trieste), sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, this is a valuable case study that has larger implications than those of the limited locale with which it deals.

Professor Xydis is as qualified an authority as is to be found in the United States on the score of Greek external affairs. His book fills out and supplements Crouzet's study, dealing in exhaustive fashion with the last phase of the settlement only, the period from 1958 to 1960, from the point when the shift in the British, Greek, and Turkish posi-

tions made possible the elaboration of the final compromise of Cypriot independence.

The direct approach of the Turkish foreign minister to his Greek counterpart, in connection with a session of the United Nations in December 1958, was the turning point. The latter's sound observation that the Cyprus problem had so far been dealt with in the context of petite politique, when that of grande politique should have been the case, unhinged the stalemate of hitherto irreconcilable requirements.

Though, admittedly, there are gaps in the currently available documentation, the Turkish especially, that both writers note, it is unlikely that additional disclosures will contribute substantially to a modification of the tale unfolded in these two works. Both writers approach their task from the standpoint of considering the Cyprus problem as an instance, or case study, in conflict resolution. The changing context of international relations adds relevance to such a point of view; it also illustrates the limitations of the type of results it is possible to achieve. In the particular case of Cyprus, Xydis' closing comment is most apt, that subsequent events have shown to be prescient: "Old vinegar, it seemed, had been put into new bottles."

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MERVYN JAMES. Family, Lineage, and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics, and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500–1640. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 233. \$16.00.

Understanding the nature of society in the counties is essential to the comprehension of developments in England in the century and a half before the Civil War. Mervyn James has attempted an ambitious analysis of the Durham region in that period, and even if he does not wholly succeed in his effort at "total history," he still provides much useful information that illuminates national as well as local history. The evolution of society in the Durham region was subject to some unique influences such as the effects of the Northern Rising of 1569 and the impact of the developing coal industry, and because of this, generalization on the basis of Durham evidence is risky. Nonetheless, James has some suggestive observations to make, notably his contention that society evolved from what he calls a lineage society to a civil society. By the former term he means a society based on the great landed families and their connections, by the latter a society characterized by C. B. Macpherson's "possessive individualism." Such a transition involved a break with "the bounded horizons and particularized modes of thought" of the traditional, inherited society, and James is surely correct in suggesting that this was one of the most significant developments of the period. Up to 1570 the older patterns are seen as dominant; after that date a new society was emerging that would see things in quite different ways.

Some of what James says is speculative. Generalizations about the nature of family organization, especially before 1570, are based on limited evidence, much of it drawn from wills, and it could be argued that this produces some distortion. The least successful sections are those that deal with the popular mentality; here the evidence is simply too scanty to allow the kind of analysis that would be desirable. Instead of receiving a fully rounded picture, one is left substantially at the level of formal religion; admittedly, James provides at that level a convincing analysis of the introduction of Protestantism in the region. The most successful sections are those which deal with county politics and the county community, and here James makes a valuable contribution to the growing body of studies on local political loyalties.

The absence of any significant body of previous studies on the area has complicated James's task. He notes, for example, the existence of an excellent series of parish registers in Durham, but since no comprehensive analysis has been made of them, his own discussion of the demography of the period is "a matter of rough estimates, round figures, and general impressions." Despite such shortcomings, this is a valuable study, and one hopes that it will inspire further detailed investigation into the implications of the transition from "medieval" to "early modern" in the North of England

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MARTIN FLEISHER. Radical Reform and Political Persuasion in the Life and Writings of Thomas More. (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 132.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1973. Pp. 183.

In view of the spate of books expounding Thomas More's Utopia that in the past quarter century has flooded the scholarly world, that world might well be forgiven if it threw up its hands and exclaimed, "Enough! Please God, not another!" But there is another, Martin Fleisher's Radical Reform and Political Persuasion in the Life and Writings of Thomas More, and the scholarly world needs to pay attention to it. The title itself indicates the author's intention of extending his investigations well beyond the bounds of More's most famous book. In his prefatory acknowledgments Fleisher indicates that his work differs from that of two of his immediate predecessors "in its attempt to analyze all of

More's writing . . . [and] to understand More's thought in terms of its unifying principles." To a remarkable extent the author achieves what he ambitiously attempts. With *Utopia* as recurrent focal point, he subtly meshes More's writings and his deeds into an intricate and subtle pattern that perhaps comes closer than any previous effort to doing justice to and making sense of the complexity and simplicity of that perplexing man. There is no way in the allotted space to summarize, much less do justice to, Fleisher's intricate argument. Much of it is original, most of it is persuasive, and all of it is at least plausible, commanding serious consideration. The reviewer especially admired the section on "Dialectic and Rhetoric." There the author sets forth skillfully the old conflict between those two approaches to truth and analyzes with precision the deep moral and religious implications of More's allegiance to rhetoric.

Fleisher is aware of the point at which his study may be most vulnerable to adverse criticism. He prefaces one of his most interesting points with the clause, "It is, I believe, not perverse scholarly ingenuity [to] suggest "Occasionally witnesses to the breath-taking intellectual maneuvers by means of which Fleisher seeks to make manifest the interrelation and compatibility of the "unifying principles" of More's thought may wonder whether they are in the presence of solid demonstration or verbal legerdemain. Yet those occasions are rare, and even when they occur the reader would do well to hesitate long before making an adverse judgment. On the very rare occasions when he made such a judgment, the present reviewer was inclined to do so charitably. By experience he is painfully aware of the temptation to see more in Utopia than 'a cold assessment of the evidence would suggest is there. Indeed, the reviewer suspects that it is a temptation to which he himself has more than once succumbed.

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A. HASSELL SMITH. County and Court: Government and Politics in Norfolk, 1558–1603. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xviii, 396. \$27.25.

This important study provides an outstanding example of the way in which the examination of a single locality can enlarge our understanding of national problems. Dr. Smith's subject is Elizabethan Norfolk, a county torn by factionalism and intense political rivalry among its leading gentry. The struggles began shortly after the execution of the chief political patron of the county, the duke of Norfolk, in 1572. His removal created a vacuum in

local politics that a number of gentlemen eager for power, prestige, and economic gain sought to fill.

By the mid-1580s these men had coalesced into two distinct groups, each holding a particular view of county government that looked beyond mere personal gain. One group, led by the irascible Sir Arthur Heveningham, comprised what Smith calls the "court" gentry. These men, who came from well-established but often financially troubled Norfolk families, sought to use the power of the central government as a means to political ascendancy in the local arena. For this reason, they welcomed the administrative innovations of the 1580s and 1590s, working zealously as deputy lieutenants, royal patentees, and commissioners for purveyance. Against them stood a group of magistrates clustered about Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey. This faction, composed of men from families more newly risen in Norfolk society and who displayed marked puritan sympathies, represented the "county" viewpoint. They worked chiefly through quarter sessions and assizes to preserve the autonomy of their locality and their own personal interests, which they saw threatened by the activities of Heveningham and his allies.

Clashes between these groups, which were frequent and sometimes violent, saw almost every office of local government manipulated for factional ends. Smith suggests that such controversies eventually became bound up in national politics, with Parliament serving as the final arbiter of questions that had gone unresolved at the local level. Indeed, Norfolk's experiences indicate that "the political issues of the early seventeenth century did not originate in parliament by some process of self-generation and then filter down to the county; rather they had their origins in county communities which regarded statute as the ultimate solution of their constitutional, social, and economic problems."

Smith has written an excellent book that deserves to be read by every student of Tudor-Stuart politics. What he has done for Elizabethan Norfolk cannot help but become a model for similar investigations of other county communities in this period.

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W. SPEED HILL, editor. Studies in Richard Hooker: Essays Preliminary to an Edition of His Works. (The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker.) Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1972. Pp. xiv, 363. \$12.50.

In 1836 John Keble's edition of Hooker's works was published; in 1888 the recension by R. W.

Church and Francis Paget appeared; in 1970 the decision was made to publish the Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker. W. Speed Hill, as general editor, issued his Richard Hooker: A Descriptive Bibliography of the Early Editions, 1593–1724 (1970) as a trial edition, which when revised will appear in the complete works. Now Dr. Hill has edited six preliminary studies.

This volume is a collection of six essays, together with a well-selected annotated bibliography of forty-two pages. The longest essay (seventy-four pages), by Dr. W. D. J. Cargill Thompson of King's College, London, discusses "The Philosopher of the 'Politic Society': Richard Hooker as Political Thinker." Dr. Thompson acknowledges that Hooker's reputation as a political thinker has declined, that some of his ideas were anticipated by the writings of Marsilius of Padua, George Buchanan, Stephen Gardiner, and John Whitgift. Nevertheless, Hooker as an apologist for the Church of England and the status quo, as a polemicist writing against Walter Travers and Thomas Cartwright, and as a thoughtful exponent of the two eternal laws and subdivisions is deserving of study.

Harry C. Porter of the University of Cambridge presents the essay "Hooker, the Tudor Constitution, and the Via Media." He helps the reader to put Hooker in a proper context, and he provides the background by emphasizing the new learning of the 1530s, by stressing the Erasmian humanist tradition, and by studying the ideas of Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, Parker, Cartwright, and Whitgift. W. Speed Hill examines the evolution of Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. He stresses the importance of Walter Travers's attack as an initial cause for Hooker's book and argues for the role of Richard Bancroft, Sir Edwin Sandys, and George Cranmer in making the Ecclesiastical Polity a quasi-official apologia. Egil Grislis presents Hooker as a theologian concerned with principles. After reviewing different approaches to Hooker, he examines with Hooker the Puritans' claims and finds them wanting. He then presents Hooker as interpreter, as one who strove more valiantly for objectivity, sound knowledge, careful writing, charity, and for the idea of revelation joined with judicious reason.

John E. Booty, who has given us the best edition of John Jewel's Apology of the Church of England (1963), and also his study, John Jewel as Apologist of the Church of England (1963), indicates in his essay, "Hooker and Anglicanism," that Hooker emphasized the importance of reason, free will, church, tradition, and human nature. Hooker reflected the Anglicanism of the sixteenth century and influenced the development and direction of this system in the seventeenth century. Finally, in a fascinating essay, Georges Edelen analyzes "Hooker's

Style." He indicates that Hooker utilizes irony, epigrams, contrasts, and logical subordination; also he reveals that Hooker is open to the charge of being discursive, abstract, archaic, unclear in his referents, and of piling too many elements of thought before his main clause.

This book is remarkably clear of errors. I found only two misprints or misspelled words. Perhaps it is worth mentioning that Travers's *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae* was printed by Michael Schirat at Heidelberg, not at La Rochelle or "Rupellae" as given in the book's imprint.

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COLIN G. C. TITE. Impeachment and Parliamentary Judicature in Early Stuart England. (University of London Historical Studies, 37.) [London:] University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1974. Pp. xi, 249. \$15.00.

This book is about the "revival of impeachment" in the Jacobean Parliaments. One of its contributions is to emphasize the need for quotation marks around the phrase. Impeachment finally came to signify the one lawful criminal process in Parliament (for attainders are rather a substitute for process), consisting of specified accusation by the Commons and trial, adjudication, and punitive decision by the Lords. There was no such definite thing lurking in medieval parliamentary practice to be revived, nor did the Jacobean Parliaments invent it supposing they were reviving the past. The final product was a possibility among other related ones suggested by the medieval records; it remained a possibility, some steps along the way to selection as the viable one, when James I's parliamentarians had done their work. Prompted by the precedents and by their own preferences and the exigencies of each case, those parliamentarians experimented with various means to the approximate end of impeachment, while consciously achieving the revival of something vaguer than even the variegated cluster of procedures serving that end—the "judicature" of Parliament.

The book is essentially devoted to making these points in careful detail. Its focus is procedural, but within that focus the narrative of the several impeachment cases is clearly presented. In explaining the obsession with judicature and why the cases were taken up and pursued in the forms adopted, the author seems to me a bit shy of making hypotheses and of reaching for the full flavor of a disastrous and creative political environment, but he certainly warns effectively against explanatory simplism. The book speaks primarily to a technical interest in early seventeenth-century his-

tory. That is to say, it is not directly in point for contemporary American concern about what the impeachment process has been and might be. Less directly, however, it is worth the consideration of people with that concern. The lesson I would draw in such larger terms-for which the author of course bears no responsibility—is simply that impeachment in its ultimate English form, which passed with modifications into our Constitution, did not have to be. The seventeenth-century quest for parliamentary judicature could have led to a more profound and less fortunate muddying of the distinction between legislative and judicial offices than the somewhat residuary impeachment process finally came to represent. On the other hand, without the strange contingencies of Jacobean politics, impeachment might never have been launched toward its consummation as a pillar of two constitutions. At a time of somewhat heady popular conviction that the impeachment process "works," it might be well to reflect whether we would be much worse off without it.

CHARLES M. GRAY
Yale University

J. S. MORRILL. Cheshire 1630–1660: County Government and Society during the English Revolution. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 357. \$17.75.

This book is a notable addition to the important body of studies on the English counties during the Civil War inaugurated by A. M. Everitt's *The Community of Kent and the Great Rebellion* (1966). Prefaced by a brief but useful survey of Cheshire's social and political circumstances in the prewar decades, the book gives us a detailed political and administrative history of the county from 1640 to the Restoration.

It drives home once again the astonishing variety of English regional life in the seventeenth century. The useful model Everitt offered for Kent has to be modified extensively when applied to Cheshire. Background circumstances were, of course, different. The northern county was a small compact society, remote from the capital, and ruled by a stable and long-established elite of local gentry. They resented government policies in the 1630s but had raised vocal opposition only on the eve of the meeting of the Long Parliament. They entered the war with the greatest reluctance, and only a few had deep commitments to either of the contending parties. The shire was the site of military operations throughout the war; Chester fell to Parliament only in January 1646.

Quite in contrast to the situation elsewhere, the Parliamentary in Cheshire was dominated almost totally by one man, the local military commander, Sir William Brereton, a middling squire of ancient lineage and an outspoken prewar critic of Charles I's regime. His withdrawal to the national political scene after 1646 loosened up the local political situation but led to little overt antagonism. The county remained quiescent during the second Civil War; royalists were generally allowed to work their passage on easy terms. After 1649 the county, like many others, fell under the sway of a new local elite, men of lesser consequence but few of them recruited from outside the ranks of the middling gentry. Only in 1659, in Booth's Rebellion, did the older leadership re-emerge, a characteristic alliance of Royalists and Presbyterians.

The book is particularly rich in its detailed account of revolutionary finance and local administration. Morrill gives a full and illuminating picture of the economic burdens of the war, in a county where fighting went on continuously and almost all the money collected was expended locally. He is able to give a detailed account of the effect of the various parliamentary taxes levied in the county. A particularly original and important part of the book is the author's argument that the local government of Cheshire in the 1650s was more competent and more responsive to social needs than any preceding. At the same time he emphasizes the local gentry's continuing fears of social disorder-arising from different sources at different times, but mostly aroused by the radicals after 1646.

This is a well-researched and intelligently written work that offers a persuasive but flexibly structured interpretation of the Civil War years in this local setting.

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY Harvard University

BRIAN MANNING, editor. Politics, Religion and the English Civil War. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1973. Pp. viii, 272. \$13.95.

These six essays examine the role of certain categories of men and sectors of society. All concern, in varying degrees, religion and politics. Their approach, by way of local history, the history of ideas, statistical analysis, women's activities, and the relation of class consciousness to contemporary issues, brings fresh understanding of a complex story. The five authors were stimulated by research undertaken in the history department of the University of Manchester. This, together with Brian Manning's prefaces to the book as a whole, and to each individual study, lends, in spite of their range, a sense of unity to the collection.

"Puritanism and the Ecclesiastical Authorities" by R. C. Richardson describes the "case of the diosese of Chester," contrasting the leniency toward its Puritans by the Elizabethan government with the insistence upon uniformity by Charles I and Archbishop Laud. Earlier appreciated as a bulwark against Catholicism, Puritans later appeared merely as a dissident group. Their resulting harassment thus became another factor in growing opposition to royal policies. Keith Lindley in "The Part Played by the Catholics" provides statistics based on the records of London and eight counties to support the conclusion that Catholics did not form any very considerable part of Cavalier forces. A few even may be discovered in the parliamentary ranks. Lindley points out that Catholics had been widely unpopular, heavily fined as recusants, and generally seem to have preferred neutrality where they could maintain it.

Patricia Higgins, carrying on the earlier research of Ellen A. McArthur, describes, in "The Reactions of Women," a number of activitiesranging from work on fortifications to petitioning on behalf of peace and the Levellers-which modify public statements about female submissiveness. Women had a wider appreciation of the political situation than often conceded, though this found some recognition in contemporary satire. "The Levellers and Christianity," by J. C. Davis, presents one of the best modern studies of the subject. The Levellers were Christian pragmatists, by no means doctrinaire, and supported the laws of necessity, of Nature and of God. They stressed the importance of "self-propriety" and believed-like some later Quakers-that there could be no toleration without civil liberty.

Two studies are by Brian Manning. "The Aristocracy and the Downfall of Charles I" admirably depicts the king's mistreatment of those who should naturally have supported him and his preferred dependence upon personal friends and courtiers. "Religion and Politics: The Godly People" deals with "the middling sort" of persons who eventually became mainstays of the parliamentary side. Tradesmen, yeomen, and artisans were often resentful of what they thought unfair assessment in taxation, of growing exclusion from a part in local government, of the authoritarianism of the Established Church, and of the ungodliness of many of the nobles and gentry. The political issues that absorbed the attention of England's upper echelon in 1640 at first scarcely affected the Puritans, strongest in the middle bracket. As they were sneered at as "roundheads," and their grievances seemed most likely to be remedied by the parliamentary side, they became involved in constitutional, as well as ecclesiastical, controversy and demands. Manning thinks that to many of these people, it appeared impossible to be both godly and gentle; beneath Puritanical pretext lay marked class consciousness. Not everyone will en-

dorse conclusions in this and the other essays, but all students of the period will find much to encourage further investigation along the lines suggested.

CAROLINE ROBBINS
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SIR NEIL CANTLIE. A History of the Army Medical Department. In two volumes. Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone; distrib. by Longman, New York. 1974. Pp. 518, 3 maps; 447, 7 maps. \$42.00 the set.

Sir Neil Cantlie, late director-general of the army medical service, has attempted to remedy the lack of a history of the medical department of the British army by producing a study of the medical service from Cromwell's New Model Army to the establishment of the Royal Army Medical Corps in 1898 based on a vast array of published and unpublished materials. Although he concentrates on the administrative development of the medical service, Cantlie also deals with the major diseases that afflicted the British army and the general treatment of war casualties.

During most of the two and a half centuries covered by this study, the British medical service consisted of two distinct branches of medical officers: the regimental branch, in which surgeons served with regiments, and the medical staff branch, which comprised garrison surgeons and administrative officers in hospitals. In the mideighteenth century an army medical board was established, which administered the service until it was replaced in 1809 by an army medical department supervised by a director-general. Until the Crimean War there was no rank-and-file branch in the medical service, and soldiers—usually misfits—were assigned from military units for hospital duty. Nor did the Cardwell reforms in the 1870s, which united the regimental and medical staff branches to form a single corps, enable medical officers to exercise command over the soldiers in the army hospital corps and their patients.

In the first volume, Cantlie provides a medical history of British forces during the eighteenth-century wars, with special emphasis (in seven chapters) on the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars and the lesser wars in Africa and Asia (1824-53). But one of the most interesting chapters in this volume is that which deals with the important work of the very able James McGrigor as director-general of the army medical department from 1815 to 1851. The second volume presents a very detailed medical history of the British army during the Crimean War. After delineating the reform of the medical service following the Crimean War, Cantlie reviews its role in the wars in Asia and Africa (1873-98) and the establishment of the Royal Army Medical Corps. He concludes the

work with an incisive discussion of army health (1836–98) and interesting essays on British military medical writers and notable medical officers. This is indeed an excellent study enhanced by very useful appendixes and maps.

J. O. BAYLEN

Georgia State University

GRAHAM MIDGLEY. The Life of Orator Henley. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 297. \$19.25.

"It was worth while being a dunce" in Pope's time, Dr. Johnson commented, and plainly no accomplishment of John "Orator" Henley could outlive the recognition accorded him in books 2 and 3 of Pope's *Dunciad*. Graham Midgley has nonetheless looked behind the grotesque bust of the dunces' Poet's Corner and has found a man—grotesque still—but not unworthy the attention of a full-length biography.

The book, it must be said, takes a while to arouse one's interest. This is partly because Midgley describes in excessive detail the plan and proceedings of the "Oratory" that Henley opened for divine services, lectures, and disputes after he separated from the Established Church in 1726, and partly because some of the potentially most interesting episodes—Henley's affair with Mrs. Tolson, for example, and his quarrel with Bishop Gibson-have resisted Midgley's efforts at full recovery. But much of the rest of the book is absorbing, most notably the accounts of Henley's controversies with Pope and Christopher Smart and of the absurd disputations in the Oratory, which so frequently resulted in total disorder that by 1749 the attendance of two constables was required.

Henley was not an attractive man. A paid government informer, he at times took vengeance on those who disturbed his Oratory meetings by reporting their antigovernment statements. He had an intense anger and did not easily forgive. He was not always scrupulous in his publications or in fulfilling his obligations to his Oratory audiences, who paid for their admissions. Because of these traits, he was an abject, lonely man, rejected at last even by his wife, who left her little portion to her brother and sister rather than to him. His pulpit had protective spikes around it, a symbol of his isolation and outspokenness.

Mr. Midgley neither conceals nor excuses Henley's innumerable faults. He does, judiciously, see them in context. For the industrious and irrepressible Henley was a poet of at least modest ability and, more important, a pioneer in Church reform who might have left his mark upon the Church had he possessed the wit to divert attention from his faults to what was truly good in him. Although a

dunce, he was an extraordinary dunce, very well suited to Pope's measure.

BERT'RAM H. DAVIS
Florida State University

HERBERT M. ATHERTON. Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth: A Study of the Ideographic Representation of Politics. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xx, 294, 122 plates. \$32.00.

Public opinion, which Atherton rightly calls "a much neglected subject," looms as the eminence grisatre of history, as real as it is elusive. For the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Interregnum sermon literature, Restoration poems on affairs of state, and now Georgian political prints, give limited but fascinating insights.

Atherton has come upon a storehouse and therefore considered—probably correctly—that certain basic chores of inventory and categorizing are necessary. At its best this exercise in ordering allows a profitable concentration on single topics or figures (party or patriot king, Excise or Jew Bill, Walpole or Bute); at its worst it begets a file-card anesthesia. We have, then, a sense of accumulation rather than assimilation, emphasized by the tactics of the book: it opens with a numbing survey of printmakers, deals disparately with circulation, propaganda, and government attitude, and equally disparately with parties and other topics; next it looks at three critical issues under "City [?] Interest," then at the graphic treatment of five major politicians (in two chapters); and it concludes with a fine overview. But couldn't the printmakers have been cataloged in an appendix, or the subsectioned chapters made more integral, or the overview placed so as to introduce what is terra incognita for most of us? Such questions are posed because this treasury of information merits optimum presentation.

The 122 illustrations have been carefully selected but are sometimes so tantalizingly small that it is impossible to read the script. Still, they are here, which is much more than we have ever had and, though known or posited dates in the captions would have helped, they nonetheless constitute a rich and useful panorama of political response. And indeed without Atherton's help, without his discerning eye, the ordinary viewer would miss much of the riches and not fully comprehend the extent of their usefulness.

Atherton's study, then, is highly evocative. very reader will wish that the book responded to own particular interest—which is probably the est tribute to the essential nature of political ints and this work on them.

HOWARD H. SCHLESS Columbia University

W. S. LEWIS et al., editors. Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Henry Seymour Conway, Lady Ailesbury, Lord and Lady Hertford, Mrs Harris; Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Henry Seymour Conway, Lady Ailesbury, Lord and Lady Hertford, Lord Beauchamp, Henrietta Seymour Conway; Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Henry Seymour Conway, Lady Ailesbury, Lord and Lady Hertford, Lord Beauchamp, Lord Henry and Lord Hugh Seymour. (The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, volumes 37–39.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. lxi, 584; 578; viii, 557. \$22.50 each.

These three most recently published volumes of Horace Walpole's Correspondence, like their predecessor, contain Walpole's intimate correspondence with his close relatives; in this case, the descendants of his mother's sister, the Seymour Conways. Walpole's own generation of Conways included two brothers, their charming wives, and two sisters. In addition, three of the younger generation are represented briefly in these volumes.

The subject matter of the letters depended to a large extent on the careers of the two cousins and the places to which their professions took them, as well as on the character of the period covered, 1737-95. Lord Hertford represented his sovereign as ambassador to the court of Louis XV of France and as lord lieutenant of Ireland. He later served as lord chamberlain of the household. Henry Seymour Conway, clearly Walpole's favorite, had two principal careers. His first love was the army, but his independent spirit led to temporary disappointments. He gained, lost, then regained a regiment, and finally attained the rank of field marshal. He was less happy in politics, but accepted the appointment as secretary of state in 1765 and undertook the leadership of the House of Commons.

When abroad, Hertford in the diplomatic service and Conway in the army welcomed news from home and from a source they could trust. Hertford was especially concerned about possible changes in government that might affect his future. Conway, on the other hand, was so eager for letters that he once wrote, "Say anything, I don't care what" (vol. 37, p. 154). When in Paris or Dublin, Lord and Lady Hertford filled their letters with news of local politics and descriptions of their social life. From Paris, Hertford wrote repeatedly of the growing spirit of liberty.

General Conway's letters from the Continent differed from most of Walpole's correspondence, for they dealt with details of camp life and experiences at the front. Later, when Walpole was visiting in Paris, he kept Conway, then secretary of state, informed of significant developments in French affairs.

As for politics at home, Lord Hertford was most

cautious in his comments. Yet, late in his career, he wrote sadly, "We have contrived to make England less an earthly paradise than we were taught to esteem" (vol. 39, p. 422). Conway seldom disguised his liberal views. For instance, at a most delicate point in his career he opposed the ministerial stance on general warrants. Walpole was equally rash but had less to lose. By 1768 he had become so disillusioned with politics that he retired from Parliament, but he did not abandon his concern, and consistently denounced ministerial conduct that resulted in the loss of the American colonies.

In one way or another all the cousins were under obligation to Walpole in matters of time, money, or both. The letters of Henrietta, the younger sister, were devoted largely to seeking favors from her cousin whom she evidently found more approachable than her brothers. At Oxford, Lord Beauchamp, Hertford's eldest son, obtained Walpole's help in preparing a poem to submit to his tutors. As lord chamberlain Hertford sought Walpole's advice on the licensing of plays. But no one had as much reason for gratitude as Conway. Walpole once wrote to him, "You have ever been the dearest person to me in the world" (vol. 38, p. 381). And he proved his devotion on more than one occasion. When Conway's independence caused him the temporary loss of a regiment and also his place at court, Walpole altered his will in his cousin's favor. One might think that Walpole received little in return for his generosity; but it is safe to say that in spite of some disappointments the affection of these friends and their regular correspondence gave him untold satisfaction.

In addition to the specialized topics of diplomacy, war, and politics, these letters reflect the great variety of interests that occupied the time and thought of their authors. Life for Walpole, he confessed, was dull without "a new book, play, intrigue, marriage, elopement, or quarrel" (vol. 38, p. 511). He noted the changing seasons that lured him to Strawberry Hill in lilac time or back to London with the chills of autumn. And he duly recorded the weather. For him summer rain meant that his hay would be ruined but that his lawns would be green. Yet he seemed more interested in the decorative effect of the haycocks than in their practical use. As years passed he grew more philosophical about life-its sorrows and its ills-accepting with wry humor his frequent companion, the gout, thankful for the comfort of his "bootikins," and ever more grateful for his friends. They responded in kind.

Throughout these volumes Walpole's style seems more warm and natural than in some of his other correspondence. That is not to say that these letters lack the puns, witticisms, intriguing allu-

sions, gentle irony, and the humerous stories that made him a deservedly popular and quotable guest or host as well as correspondent. Those who replied appear to have affected the same style, with somewhat less success.

These volumes give new evidence of the unrivaled skill of the editors as, for example, in locating seemingly lost letters in such an unlikely place as Ceylon. More than half of these 687 letters are now printed for the first time. As in other cases, the introduction and preliminary explanations contribute to an appreciation of the letters themselves. An identification of others besides the principal correspondents would have been welcome, however; and the passage about the duke of Richmond raises the question as to why his letters were not included in these volumes if he was really considered "in the Conway connection" (vol. 37, p. xix).

All those who use this edition must necessarily admire the encyclopedic character of the footnotes. Any minor criticisms that may occur in the course of reading these volumes, such as the seemingly unnecessary repetitions or explanations of the obvious, by their comparative insignificance merely serve to emphasize the exceptional quality of the editing.

DORA MAE CLARK
Wilson College

F. O. SHYLLON. Black Slaves in Britain. New York: Oxford University Press, for the Institute of Race Relations, London. 1974. Pp. xi, 252. \$14.50.

This somewhat odd book, published for the Institute of Race Relations in London, is the fifth recent volume to appear on black history in Britain. Set beside the two volumes by James Walvin and the work of Howard Temperley, it fares badly as scholarship, and even when compared with Edward Scobie's recent Black Britannia: A History of Blacks in Britain (1972), which contains modest dollops of genuinely new material, it does little better. For Black Slaves in Britain is not an examination of the social role, or the economic functions, or of even public attitudes toward black slaves in Britain, despite its title. Rather, it is a close, often angry, examination of the way in which British common law approached the issue of slavery, and the volume focuses strongly upon the Somerset case of 1772.

The problem is that most historians of black, British, or imperial history know by now that Chief Justice Lord Mansfield's discharge of one black slave, James Somerset, did not end slavery or extend moral condemnation of it over the entire fabric of British law. How should anyone who understands the common law have expected that it did so? While much liberal cant was generated by

a number of careless historians who read too much into the Somerset case, by and large only journalistic histories accepted at face value the words attributed to Mansfield, "The air of England has long been too pure for a slave and every man is free who breathes it." Indeed, these words do not appear even in Capel Lofft's reports on the Court of King's Bench, and the quotation is, in fact, from John Lord Campbell, The Lives of the Chief Justices of England (London, 1857). All this Jerome Nadelhaft, among others, demonstrated in 1966 in the Journal of Negro History.

Dr. Shyllon now demonstrates it again, with a fuller list of quotations from writers led astray by Mansfield, Campbell, or William Cowper's poetry. He demonstrates not once but three times that Sir Reginald Coupland was sentimental and wrong in his The British Anti-Slavery Movement (1933), and that it in turn gave rise to more making of myths. This argument, with numerous interesting and often caustic asides, is amply supported in the text, and again in an excellent note on sources. Yet the anger reveals a certain naiveté about how historians are led into error, and time and again an author's work is condemned as a "farce," as deliberately misleading, and unfortunate, in tones that speak of Roosevelt's man with the hoe. When one has finished this book, one feels that it could have made an excellent article that would have nailed the myths of Lord Mansfield to the door for all time; instead, by resorting to verbal overkill, it almost leaves one sympathetic to the poor, deluded historians who were so foolish as to believe what they read.

ROBIN W. WINKS Yale University

JOHN NELSON TARN. Five per Cent Philanthropy: An Account of Housing in Urban Areas between 1840 and 1914. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 211. \$23.50.

ANTHONY SUTCLIFFE, editor. Multi-Storey Living: The British Working-Class Experience. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. x, 249. \$17.00.

ENID GAULDIE. Cruel Habitations: A History of Working-Class Housing, 1780-1918. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. 363. \$15.75.

The history of working-class housing in Great Britain during the past century and a half has received much attention from historians in recent years. This extraordinary scholarly activity reflects both the quickened pace of study in urban history as well as the increased concern being given to the lives of the working class and the poor. The books under review make substantial contributions to both areas of research.

It was the nineteenth century that discovered the slum. The hideous conditions in which large segments of the working-class population lived became so manifest that reformers were compelled to do something to alleviate the situation. Humanitarianism certainly played a role in bringing about remedial action. But stimulus also came from the fear of what the classes dangereuses might do to upset the security of the possessing classes. At first the danger from the working class arose from the fear that their districts were the source of epidemic disease and death; thus, as all three books agree, the movement for improved housing developed as an adjunct to the public health campaign. Toward the end of the century, with the extension of the franchise and the coming of hard times, the alleged danger from what Gauldie calls "this unsafe people" was increasingly political, and it was self-defense that moved those in authority to seek new ways of providing better housing.

All three works generally agree that the solutions tried in the nineteenth century were inadequate largely because philanthropists, reformers, and politicians alike were prisoners of Victorian values. Two sacred principles stand out as determinants of housing policy and design: that the provision of housing was a matter of private enterprise and ought to bring a return on the funds invested, and that to subsidize housing for the poor-ipso facto the undeserving-out of taxes and rates was unthinkable. Given the economics of building, the improved housing, whether erected by building societies, speculative builders, or philanthropic model-housing associations, could only be made available to the better-paid workers. Even then, the barracklike blocks of tenements and the by-law streets that replaced the back-to-backs produced a grim environment for the working

Government intervened to regulate, but not to build. Legislation was permissive, however, and local authorities lacked the will to use their powers. The acts, most notably the Torrens and the Cross acts, were defective, and their implementation frequently aggravated the housing problem. Ultimately it was the intractability of the problem that led reluctant local authorities in the twentieth century to the necessity of building and owning homes. Yet, the solutions of this century, the garden cities and suburbs, and the high-rise blocks, as Tarn and Sutcliffe and his contributors point out, were only partial ones and indeed have spawned their own problems.

Although the three books, then, cover similar ground, they are quite different in emphasis and approach. Professor Tarn has concentrated on the work of the quasi-philanthropic model-housing associations, such as the Metropolitan Association

for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes and the Peabody Trust, and traces their impact on the planning of model communities such as Port Sunlight and Letchworth. Tarn's approach is primarily that of an architect and planner. He is at his best in analyzing the developments of building and community design and relating these to the larger history of the problems of working-class housing. Dr. Sutcliffe's book is a collection of essays by seven contributors, each dealing with an aspect of flat, or apartment, dwelling. These essays argue that flats are "un-English," and that until the present they were undesirable aberrations from the norms of English housing. Nevertheless multistory living grew in the nineteenth century as a relatively cheap way to provide better working-class housing, and in the twentieth as a way of adapting cheap housing to the suburban ideal. But in the postwar era the suburban ideal had degenerated into urban sprawl, and the high-rise blocks were called into existence to combat that problem.

Where the two previous books concentrate on special aspects of housing, Gauldie's study is a broad and more general survey. She deals with urban as well as rural working-class housing, with affluence and poverty, and private enterprise as well as government activity. She has not only incorporated the latest research in the field but has enriched her study with valuable sociological insights. While she condemns the Victorians for their callousness toward the poor and for their obsession with the sanctity of property, she nevertheless gives careful attention to the economic and political realities that made reform so difficult.

Inevitably there are areas of disagreement among the authors that raise important questions. Were housing problems inherited from rural conditions, or from the new industrial-urban conditions? Did the model-housing movement encourage or delay solutions to the housing question? Is flat-dwelling intrinsically a defective type of housing? What are the merits or demerits of concentration or dispersal of housing? Then, too, the books invite further study, particularly about the impact of housing policy and design on the lives of the working classes. How did the various patterns of housing affect family and social interactions? The authors offer not only new information, but pose provocative questions, and in so doing they have made important additions to the history of working-class housing.

ROBERT M. GUTCHEN
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PIERS MACKESY. Statesmen at War: The Strategy of Overthrow, 1798–1799. [London:] Longman. 1974. Pp. x, 340. £7.50.

In his third study of British policy and strategy Professor Piers Mackesy traces England's efforts to organize and direct the Second Coalition. Designed primarily by the foreign secretary, Lord Grenville, the coalition's objectives were indeed grandiose. The Alliance sought to overthrow the Republic, reduce France to her pre-1792 frontiers, and restore the monarchy.

With precision and clarity Mackesy describes Grenville's efforts to create the coalition. After months of tortuous negotiations, England failed to detach Prussia from her policy of neutrality but succeeded in concluding an alliance with Russia and a less formal working agreement with Austria. Grenville also devised and convinced his partners to accept a comprehensive military strategy. The campaign of 1799 called for coordinated campaigns in Italy, Switzerland, and southern Germany plus an amphibious assault upon Holland aided by local counterrevolutionaries. In 1800 Grenville planned two major offensives-one from Switzerland and the other from Holland. As the allied armies moved on Paris, royalist risings would seal the Republic's doom.

Given the conflict of ambitions among the coalition's members, it is not surprising that the Allies failed. Professor Mackesy describes the rivalries within the allied ranks and shows how the clash of political objectives adversely influenced military operations. Austria's decision to invade Belgium via the lower Rhine in order to gain bargaining strength at the war's end fatally weakened the coalition's strategic position. The Austrian move left a Russian army isolated in Switzerland and exposed it to a French riposte. Insufficient manpower, lapses of coordination between British and Russian commanders, and an overestimation of pro-Allied sentiment in Holland led to the failure of the Texel expedition.

Since the Continental powers did not consider France a threat of sufficient magnitude to cause them to put aside their ambitions in the interests of a common cause, Grenville had to settle for half measures and could not relate political considerations to military reality. Only years of continued French expansion would create the conditions for an effective coalition.

Professor Mackesy weaves together the strands of British policy strategy and operations. He avoids the danger of oversimplification without leaving the reader mired in a welter of trivia. He has successfully focused attention on an important though hitherto largely ignored period. The War of the Second Coalition set the scene for Napoleon's conquests and British resistance to the threat of French hegemony. Failure in 1799 forced England's leaders to undertake a major reappraisal of their arms and resources. I hope Profes-

sor Mackesy will continue his excellent studies of British strategy and policy into the period of the Napoleonic wars.

STEVEN ROSS

Naval War College

CHRISTOPHER HOWARD. Britain and the Casus Belli, 1822–1902: A Study of Britain's International Position from Canning to Salisbury. London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1974. Pp. xiv, 204. \$12.00.

As in his previous book, Splendid Isolation (1967), Christopher Howard examines the realities that lie behind the conventional phrases historians have employed in explaining British foreign policy during the nineteenth century. In this slim and impressive volume, Howard finds little evidence for the use of general terms like isolation, a free hand, or the avoidance of binding alliances as principles of action. British foreign secretaries throughout the century, as most other European diplomats, said one thing and often did the opposite when it suited their purposes.

Through an examination of such episodes as the Belgium Treaty of 1839, the Tripartite Treaty of 1855, and the Luxembourg Treaty of 1867, it is demonstrated that British governments, regardless of party, gave formal and explicit guarantees when deemed necessary. The pragmatism that characterized British policy accepted or explained away the obligations as circumstances of the moment dictated. Even Lord Salisbury, the model of an isolationist foreign secretary, did not hesitate to incur responsibilities when he found it desirable. When he thought it inconvenient, he fell back on the constitutional argument that no British government could ever guarantee a specific pledge would be honored because of the inability to forecast the attitude of the House of Commons.

The true explanation for the absence of commitment to Continental powers, Howard argues, was simply the lack of a formidable army, and this made Britain less attractive to prospective partners. In addition no compelling reasons for an alliance appeared until the end of the Salisbury era. Despite his efforts to minimize the relevance of the customary generalizations, Howard admits Britain still enjoyed far more liberty of action than any of the major Continental powers.

In some ways, then, the author has attacked a straw man, for many historians have recognized that British diplomats based foreign policy on self-interest and used rhetoric for their own purposes. Thus the book should interest diplomatic historians, but some will coubtless regard it as an elaboration of the obvious.

RICHARD A. COSGROVE University of Arizona EDITH F. HURWITZ. Politics and the Public Conscience: Slave Emancipation and the Abolitionist Movement in Britain. (Historical Problems: Studies and Documents, 23.) New York: Barnes and Noble. 1973. Pp. 179. \$10.50.

The last decade has witnessed a revival of interest in British slave emancipation, inspired no doubt by the growth of black studies, but equally motivated by a sense that previous interpretations were defective. Eric Williams's Capitalism and Slavery put paid to the simplistic humanitarian determinism. of Reginald Coupland, Frank I. Klingberg, and W. L. Mathieson, but few historians today accept Williams's equally simplistic economic determinism. Although Dr. Hurwitz is aware of the inadequacies of both approaches, she has avoided them at the cost of considerable confusion and contradiction. This emerges most distressingly in her chapter "Ideological Trends in Anti-Slavery Thought." While it is true that British abolitionism derived much of its moral passion from the late eighteenth-century evangelical notion of an abounding divine grace available to all men, it hardly follows that "Anti-Slavery thought cannot be divorced from the general body of Protestant theology" (p. 44). What about Luther quoting St. Paul on slavery? And what, for that matter, about the considerable body of Catholic literature critical of slavery, the influence of the Enlightenment, and of natural law with its roots in pre-Christian Stoic thought? The point that must continue to preoccupy the historian is that while most of the components of antislavery thought had been floating about Europe for centuries they did not form a coherent ideological attitude until the latter part of the eighteenth century. Why then, and why so powerfully in Britain?

Dr. Hurwitz also comes a cropper over another awkward aspect of the antislavery movement: the sharp contrast between the fiery concern of so many abolitionists for the condition of Negro slaves and their equally callous indifference to the state of the emerging English working class. She attempts to account for this by drawing a distinction between the emancipationists' "moralistic" narrowness and the broader "humanitarianism" of those concerned with "the great social questions relating to the industrial revolution" (p. 43). The possibility is not considered that what made many abolitionists "nonhumanitarian" was not so much their narrow orthodoxy or their preoccupation with morality as their political economy.

A subsequent chapter, "Anti-Slavery and the Emancipation Act," presents a summary, utilizing recent scholarship, of the pressure politics developed around the abolition, apprenticeship, and emancipation issues between 1831 and 1840. This is

more useful work. But Dr. Hurwitz seems willfully blind to the thrust of her own evidence. "It was not the industrial north aligned against the agricultural south, or the newly enfranchised boroughs versus the older counties and pocket boroughs that determined the nature of Anti-Slavery opinion. . . . The high principles, the immutable truths of the religious appeal penetrated into boroughs and counties of all sizes and in both the north and the south" (p. 55). This is the conventional wisdom that Harold Temperley's recent British Anti-Slavery has tended to reinforce. But a few pages later Hurwitz tells us that an "analysis of the vote of 24 July [on limiting apprenticeship] reveals where the greatest strength of the movement lay. There was formidable Anti-Slavery strength in the new boroughs.... Middle class in their orientation, ... [the] 50 per cent increase in the electorate that resulted from the Reform Bill was solidly in the abolitionist camp" (p. 68).

The seventy-four pages of documents that follow the introduction include characteristic remarks from Wilberforce, Buxton, and Knibb on behalf of the slaves, the duke of Wellington and others on behalf of the planters, as well as a large extract from the Abolition of Slavery Act of 1833.

> ALAN H. ADAMSON Sir George Williams University

JANET ROEBUCK. The Making of Modern English Society from 1850. (Development of English Society.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1973. Pp. xii, 205. \$8.95.

Dorothy Marshall, editor of the series in which this volume appears, hopes that it will provide answers to the question "How did we get from there to here?" "There," according to Professor Roebuck, was a mid-nineteenth-century England as much rural as urban and divided along class lines. "Here," she maintains, is an urban England in which class distinctions have all but vanished.

Limited by the number of pages assigned her, the author can only hint at the reasons for the change. Although, for example, she frequently refers to increasing state intervention as an important factor in the improvement of working-class living standards, she nowhere discusses changing attitudes toward this phenomenon, as social-service state gave way to welfare state, as the principles of the Charity Organization Society fell before those of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission. Nor do her occasional summaries of the economic factors determining the course of industrialization and urbanization mention the consequences of the rise and fall of Britain's second empire.

Able to devote relatively little space to an analysis of the way in which the England of 1850 became the England of 1970, the author prefers to reiterate her contention that the events of the intervening century have effaced all but the last vestiges of class. She does little to suggest how the Victorian working class was "made"—Chartism, although essentially a pre-1850 movement, might have rated at least a mention. The "unmaking" she attributes to the growth of a white-collar class, the spread of mass culture, and constantly expanding educational opportunities. In building her case she ignores evidence to the contrary: the work of Brian Simon and of David Lockwood and J. H. Goldthorpe, for example, which argues that class distinctions remain very much a part of English life and contribute to its complexity and vigor in a way the author fails to appreciate.

One is left wondering who is expected to read this book. Dorothy Marshall claims it is not meant as a text, but rather as a "background book." But background is what one constantly craves as one reads it; an occasional halt in the narrative for an analysis of this or that historical phenomenon; a fuller and more imaginative use of primary sources—sadly skimped; the inclusion of photographs—there are none. Smoothly and often thoughtfully written, the book unfortunately appears to answer no one's particular needs.

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B. A. ROZHKOV. Angliiskoe rabochee dvizhenie, 1859–1864 gg. [The English Workers' Movement, 1859–1864]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Vseobshchei Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 234.

Was it a time of lost direction and spent energy—or a vitally constructive period solidly preparing the next advance? Were these years fruitful thanks to—or in spite of—the Chartist legacy? Which counted more, the cautious "New Model" unionism, the quickened zeal for political action revived by men like Robert Applegarth, or simply the desperate strike activism of the rank and file? Opposite answers have long abounded in the scholarly literature.

According to Rozhkov the period registered advances—despite determined aggression by both employers and a government linked to reaction abroad, and despite the defective leadership of labor. Those leaders, seeking to defend the privileges of the labor aristocracy, forswore greater tasks—only to find their lesser-defensive tasks hopeless; it took the course of events, and pressure from below,

to teach them the need for united political action. Rozhkov tests labor leaders many ways: internationalism, militancy, suspicion of the bourgeoisie, and above all, awareness of the largest question of all—how to advance the day when a unified, class-conscious working class could forge instruments for class politics of its own. The case is not stated for the alternatives. However, the alternatives of joint action with middle-class spokesmen for gradual electoral reform and limited unionizing campaigns with minimum recourse to strikes are mentioned.

Turning to evaluation, all depends—for me—on whether comparisons are with the "east" or with the "west." Measured against works from the Webbs through Frances Gillespie and the Coles to today's Royden Harrison, this is two-dimensional stuff, a stock morality play acted out against thin hangings; the rich tapestry of actual workingclass-and interclass-debate, and the personal complexity of major figures like Applegarth, George Potter, and John Bright, are hardly suggested; the huge detail on union affairs, spread at large in the Webbs' pages, seldom appears. Yet, for volume of detail within its chosen material, and for relative freedom from ritual quotes of Lenin and Marx, it comes off better than some products of the Akademiia Nauk. The heavy reliance on one newspaper, Potter's Bee-Hive, reflects Rozhkov's framework and conclusions, but the explicit acknowledgment of the role of Radical liberals in suffrage reform and the conspicuously minor role accorded to Marx in founding the First International are distinctive.

PAUL B. JOHNSON
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GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB. On Liberty and Liberalism: The Case of John Stuart Mill. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1974. Pp. xxiii, 345, v. \$8.95.

The reviewer who thinks, as I do, that On Liberty and Liberalism is a wrong-headed and mean-spirited piece of work is under a particularly stringent obligation to insist on its virtues. It is an easy and a pleasant obligation to fulfill, for the virtues of the book are numerous and obvious. Miss Himmelfarb is well known as a very readable historian of ideas; she conveys a sense of intellectual and moral urgency, but does so with enviable lucidity and calm. She possesses a considerable talent for thumbnail intellectual sketches, and here she employs that talent to bring in many of Mill's nineteenth-century critics without crowding the stage or confusing the issues. And it goes without saying that this book is a highly intelligent one; once the oddity of On Liberty has been noted and elaborated, Himmelfarb provides what is in principle the right sort of explanation of it.

A crude summary of what Himmelfarb believes is that On Liberty is the textbook of radical individualism; its leading principle is the individual's absolute sovereignty over himself, and the corollary is society's absolute impotence; this moral stance conflicts with the views of the "other" Mill, who insisted on the futility of laying down any single, simple principle to determine the limits of social and political action and offered to society a much larger role in the training and disciplining of its members. On Liberty seems to envisage the individual as permanently at odds with society, and permanently threatened by the dead weight of public opinion. Since the 1850s were not years of peculiar repressiveness in English social life, On Liberty's fear of moral oppression needs explaining. The explanation is to be found in the relationship between Mill and Harriet Taylor; the extreme individualism of the essay stems from her concentration on the social disabilities of the would-be emancipated female; its simple-minded espousal of one absolute principle stems from her attachment to absolutes. Himmelfarb ends with a coda indicting the twentieth-century individualism that she believes has the paradoxical effect of encouraging too much state intervention in some areas and too little in others; the best safeguard of liberty is not a belief in its absolute value, but an appreciation of a plurality of values of the kind one finds in Burke or in the "other" Mill.

Himmelfarb's case will be familiar to those who have read her other essays on Mill; indeed much of what appears here is no more than a repetition of what has appeared already, and within the book itself there is a good deal of repetition. It is more damaging that Himmelfarb never questions her own belief that On Liberty is as much at odds with the corpus of Mill's work as she says. But since she first put forward her account of the "two Mills," a number of writers have defended the view that there is only one Mill, and that On Liberty is consistent with Mill's other more obviously Utilitarian writings. Himmelfarb quite properly concentrates on nineteenth-century commentators and therefore ignores all this; but even Mill himself went to some lengths to deny Himmelfarb's view of what he was doing. He insisted that the right to liberty was not a natural right to individual sovereignty, but was derived from utility. Mill's view may be hard to swallow; but it is not a view that sets us the task of explaining why On Liberty is so unlike most of Mill's other essays.

On Liberty has a very obvious place in Mill's career as a Utilitarian. Utilitarianism is an ethics that relies very heavily on the sanctions of public opinion; Mill feared that this reliance threatened the Utilitarian goal itself. It is the Mill of the essay on Bentham who asks how we can take an interest

in each other's virtue without mutual oppression; On Liberty suggests some of the answers. All this is neglected by Himmelfarb, who, as a result, caricatures Mill's somewhat complex position and turns it into just the doctrine of mutual indifference that Mill said he deplored. Himmelfarb is thus inaccurate in her account of what On Liberty contains and unfair to Mill in offering so incomplete a picture of his views about noncoercive social relationships. Since she starts off by drastically misconceiving the nature of the essay she is trying to explain, it must, I fear, follow that much of the effort and ingenuity that On Liberty and Liberalism so abundantly displays has been a waste of time.

ALAN RYAN
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D. A. LOW. Lion Rampant: Essays in the Study of British Imperialism. (Studies in Commonwealth Politics and History, number 1.) London: Frank Cass; distrib. by International Scholarly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1973. Pp. x, 230. \$12.50.

C. C. ELDRIDGE. England's Mission: The Imperial Idea in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli 1868-1880. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1973. Pp. 288. \$10.95.

IAN M. DRUMMOND. British Economic Policy and the Empire, 1919–1939. (Historical Problems: Studies and Documents, 17.) New York: Barnes and Noble. 1972. Pp. 241. \$13.50.

For sixty years theories of and studies in the theory of imperialism have made the shelves sag in a dozen languages. Today historians of all nations are readier to take a closer look at the empires themselves without wincing. They are prepared to find out what went on in these properties before issuing the automatic verdict, acceptable on platforms form China to Peru, that imperialism was a wrong inflicted on humanity and that nationalism was a right enforced by a fraternity which would not conform to that wrong or agree to its continuance. Finding out what went on is, however, not easy to do, since most of it was not documented. The older-fashioned historians of empire do not help much. They told the stories of expansion, the deeds that won the empire, with anecdotes now and then about the bewilderment of natives who wondered what it was the white men wrote all day at their desks. The best of them allowed that they were dealing with both a phenomenon and a puzzle. Why was the alien control, so physically flimsy, so readily accepted? Why were all colonial governments multiracial? They knew that in India the millions, if minded to do so, could easily have swept away the handful of foreigners who ordered

their affairs. Why were they not minded to do so? Gandhi, on his return to India from South Africa in 1916, saw the point almost at once: Indians had only to say no. Imperial officials knew of both the question and the answer and were careful to refer to neither in their memoirs. But they knew, too, that the reason for their own success was not what Hilaire Belloc thought it was: "We have the Maxim gun, and they have not."

The gun could help to establish law and order, but it could not enforce it. In imperial terms law and order meant peace and order: no abstract matters of justice were involved. Empire was a system, a way of making the affairs of an expanded world work. Progress was the vision, but organization was its base. Order was the basis of all social action. If there were few soldiers and policemen around, that itself proved the point: the mass of the people agreed with the principle, not because it was alien or because they loved foreigners but because it was so obviously useful, as any Chinese merchant in Malaya could have told anyone who asked. The common sense of this-clear to the imperial memorialist, his readers, and his juniors out in the midday sun-was later overlaid by the argumentation of those who declared that since power corrupted everyone all the time (not what Lord Acton said), anything established by means of its use could do nobody any good at all, ever.

Nowadays the notion that a world order of some sort is essential to keep chaos at a distance has won over even those who believe that establishing an empire is a poor or fascist way of going about it. Systematization, modernization, and development are names for the exercise of power which have not attracted the opprobrium that has been attached to imperialism, because the vision they follow is acceptable everywhere. Three new books consider this question of intent. D. A. Low calls his book on the British Empire Lion Rampant-but "Lion Couchant" would make a better title, since Low is discussing the ways by which empire established its control over the habits, and therefore the minds, of its subjects. He deals with acceptance and conformity, both of which lie in areas of darkness. The strangest imperial innovation introduced was that of a social framework larger and more powerful than that which every people everywhere had already made to suit themselves and their own situations. Efficiency was its magic, and the assurance of those who organized it made them the wizards of their day. Low examines the ideas of authority, development, and Christianity-seen from below as a better guide to success here and now and there and later. He insists there are other, more rewarding themes for scholars of imperialism than the impetus of the West. The ground to be investigated is local ground, not what the controllers thought but what the controlled wanted. Societies among which imperialists descended had their own reasons for reacting as they did. Why Afghans behaved one way and Matabele another will not be discovered from studying any theory of imperialism.

Low looks at unmapped territory and skillfully draws a chart. C. C. Eldridge's book treads wellknown ground, but he takes up a stance not far from Low. Instead of weighing theories or the persons of Ronald Robinson, John Gallagher, D. C. Platt, and Oliver Macdonagh in the scales, Low advises a look at mid-Victorians' intentions. These were men unconvinced that empire was either a workable or even a useful system, but they were ready to be shown otherwise. By the end of the century the people who showed them had won out because they had lived longer, to see the days when open doors and free trade no longer commanded beneficial results and to deal with competitors who thought more of force than of example. But if mid-Victorian imperialism was, as Eldridge allows, "a very weak affair," that was because it had no reason to be strong. This wellresearched book deals fairly with a generation fortunate in having so many options and intelligent in the way it handled them.

To read Ian M. Drummond's book on imperial ideas during the interwar years is to find these same themes underlined. Here were men who misunderstood their few options. They dreamed economic dreams of self-sufficiency that had no basis in political circumstance. They emblazoned "The Empire" on a flag under which they intended to exploit an elusive "trade": but these days had gone. Drummond tells why, clearly and sometimes kindly. Empire still has its ground for tilling, as these three excellent historians prove.

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RICHARD D. WOLFF. The Economics of Colonialism: Britain and Kenya, 1870–1930. (Yale Series in Economic History.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 203. \$9.75.

The antislave campaign in East Africa launched Britain into a period of colonization and a total reorganization of the region's economy. The efforts of Consul John Kirk during the 1870s to abolish the slave trade culminated in British acceptance of Livingstone's earlier idea that commerce and Christianity were the joint solutions. In 1887–88 the Imperial British East Africa Company was formed, and formal European penetration and administration of East Africa began.

Many economists and historians have claimed

that Africa's role in Britain's economic empire was insignificant. Wolff provides figures and tables to prove that the economic benefits derived by Britain could not have been gained if she had not maintained direct control over her colonies. African colonies became leading suppliers of metals, foodstuffs, and other raw materials, so that by 1913 over 80 per cent of the value of British imports originated in Africa. It is interesting to note, however, that after devoting over 20 per cent of this volume to such statistics, the author leaves the reader wondering what the role of Kenya was. Since two of his conclusions are that European farming was inefficient in Kenya and indigenous farming collapsed under the pressure of "forced labor" on European farms, and since Kenya is without the natural deposits of copper and tin that benefited other British colonies, how does this case study of Kenya disprove earlier theories?

During the administration of Commissioner Charles Eliot, European immigration into the Kenya "white highlands" gained impetus. A chapter is devoted to the colonization of land in Kenya, and another chapter details the determination of crops. Groundnuts and ostrich feathers were suggested by settlers in 1903–05, and a cotton experiment failed. Major acreages were, however, devoted to successful planting of maize, wheat, coffee, and sisal.

In order to provide labor for European farms, the British administration taxed Africans so heavily that their only means of earning sufficient cash was to work for a European planter. This was followed by initiation of a pass system that required employment on a European estate. Wolff further indicates that Africans were forced to work for Europeans when the British government refused to aid them with modern technology, loans, or credit. While this may be true for the region of the Kikuyu, it does not apply in Kavirondo where the annual and quarterly reports from 1906-25 indicate that the government introduced various seeds and technical assistance to raise the value of crop production. From 1908 to 1912, for example, the value of exported agricultural products raised in Kavirondo rose from 60 tons to over 28,000 tons. This increased production, however, did not give the African a higher standard of living; it merely enabled him to pay his taxes.

Although the Asian was an important element in the economic growth of Kenya, his role is intentionally omitted. What Wolff has done, therefore, is to present a study of British colonialism and the effects of that colonialism on the British home government, British settlers, and the British economy. This is an interpretation that appears fresh. While not condoning colonization by the British, the case is made that at the time it took

place, colonization of East Africa was necessary for the British to survive economically and compete in world markets.

> HARVEY G. SOFF Decatur, Georgia

MICHAEL ROE. Kenealy and the Tichborne Cause: A Study in Mid-Victorian Populism. [Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; distrib. by International Scholarly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1974. Pp. xiii, 255. \$14.85.

Michael Roe's subject is not the Tichborne case, the legal cause célèbre of the later 1860s and 1870s that raised the question whether the claimant was truly Sir Roger Tichborne, heir to an ancient English baronetcy, or rather Arthur Orton, son of a Wapping butcher. Douglas Woodruff's The Tichborne Claimant (London, 1957) provides the most complete account of that "Victorian Mystery" while suggesting that a good deal of mystery remains. Roe's subject is rather "the cause," the movement of popular support led by Edward Kenealy, the Irish-born London barrister who was by avocation a poet, a novelist, and an eccentric theologian who privately suspected that he was a "Messiah," twelfth in a chain that-via Genghis Khan, Mohammed, and Christ-stretched back to Adam.

His failure in 1874 to save the claimant from conviction for perjury and from jail did not prevent Kenealy from winning a surprise parliamentary by-election victory the following year and from temporarily leading an inchoate popular movement of local "Magna Charta Associations." They favored freedom for the claimant, triennial Parliaments that excluded lawyers, land-law reform, votes for women ratepayers, and the monarchy on the one hand, while opposing both major political parties, Roman Catholics, capitalist stockjobbers, and compulsory vaccination, education, and liquor licensing on the other.

In a provocative and valuable seventh chapter, the author places the Tichborne agitation of the 1870s within the context of a neglected antielitist, antistatist, and often highly emotional English "populist" tradition—with roots in the seventeenth century and with exemplars ranging from the Queen Caroline supporters of 1820 and the Feargus O'Connor Chartists of the 1840s to the down-and-outers depicted by George Orwell in the 1930s. The rest of the book, though based on careful research, is unfortunately poorly organized and written in a style devoid of either clarity or grace.

WALTER L. ARNSTEIN. University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign GILLIAN SUTHERLAND. Policy-Making in Elementary Education, 1870-1895. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. x, 391. \$21.00.

Recent work on the history of education in Britain marks a new, revisionist stage in that study; one may speak of a New School, in which Sutherland, the author of a manifesto in its behalf, holds a leading place, which is confirmed by the present book, a reworking of his dissertation. His first love, however, appears to be government and administration, education serving to test the "revolution in government" thesis. He favors Oliver MacDonagh over Henry Parris but finds that both ideology and the administrative process itself were important in policy formation.

In this masterful analysis of the interplay of institutions, personnel, and policy, a contrast quickly emerges and runs throughout. The politicians, whether lord presidents of the council or local school board members, originated all significant policy changes; the Education Department, Lingen's "passionless bureaucracy," exerted a passive, often deadening influence. This contrast is true enough but is overdrawn and smacks too much of our contemporary cant that bureaucracy is a bad thing.

Part 2, "Policy-Making" to 1888, unlike part 1, "Policy-Makers," deals with matters more familiar to historians of education. The establishment of compulsory attendance by the Acts of 1876 and 1880, and the creation of the habit of school attendance, are detailed; the issue of free or what Gladstone persisted in calling "Gratuitous Education" is considered but not carried to an appropriate point owing to Sutherland's questionable chronological division. One has the same sensation of being left up in the air by his analysis of the grant system and of the modification of payment by results. Here, too, the exposition breaks off at 1888 so that the final abandonment of payment by results and the abolition of fees are left over to part 3, "Policy and Policy-Makers" to 1895. Here A. H. D. Acland, surprisingly in a book quite devoid of heroes-indeed iconoclastic of the education reputations of, for example, W. E. Forster, A. J. Mundella, and Matthew Arnold—emerges as the uniquely whole-hearted reformer.

Why end at 1895? The Cockerton Judgment of 1899 and the subsequent reorganization under the legislation of 1902-03 form the logical terminus and would not lengthen the book unduly. This contention finds support in Sutherland's account of Treasury efforts to curb education costs—see his earlier essay, "Administrators in Education after 1870," in Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth-Century Government (1972)—so, too, that invention of the school boards and the higher grade schools, which

cannot be ignored, especially as they fit Sutherland's thesis on policy innovation so neatly.

Sutherland's suggestion that the school boards enjoy too "good a press" in the writings of Brian Simon and Eric Eaglesham commands assent. On Robert Lowe he is a little old-fashioned and does not reckon with Christopher Duke's "Re-Appraisal." One misses in the bibliography such stalwarts as John W. 'Adamson, C. Birchenough, G. A. N. Lowndes, and Frank Smith. Sutherland's mastery of a vast range of primary sources does not absolve him of this common failing of revisionists. The book's focus is almost solely on England. To that extent the challenge of the New School has not been met.

In many respects, then, this is a profound and important book, but in the end one parts from it unsatisfied; I hope it will serve Sutherland as a gateway to a work of larger scope.

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G. N. UZOIGWE. Britain and the Conquest of Africa: The Age of Salisbury. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 403. \$14.00.

This book pretends to do too much. Its jacket heralds a "radical reinterpretation of British imperial policy in Africa," and Professor Uzoigwe asserts in the preface that his study "breaks new ground in methodological and conceptual terms by discussing the intellectual and socio-politicoeconomic problems of the second half of the nineteenth century against the background of European diplomacy and African history." But while Britain and the Conquest of Africa raises several issues and proposes many themes that might have been pursued with profit, it develops few of these with any thoroughness or rigor, and the reader soon discovers that the introductory fanfare was unduly exuberant. Well researched and copiously documented, this substantial monograph will interest all researchers in the field of nineteenth-century European imperialism, but it does not invite comparison with a historiographical landmark such as Ronald Robinson's and John Gallagher's Africa and the Victorians (1961).

Uzoigwe's study focuses directly on the figure of Lord Salisbury, British prime minister and foreign secretary for a combined total of fourteen years during the last quarter of the nineteenth century; it is the author's main contention that "Salisbury's claim to historical fame lies not in foreign policy so-called but in his management of the conquest of Africa." Others may not choose to share that view, but Uzoigwe illustrates in fine detail the patient mastery with which his protagonist conducted

British policy in the course of the African partition, and his chapters on the drawn-out rivalry with France for control of the Niger, an episode that all too often gets short shrift, are especially instructive. Subsequent sections, "East and Central Africa" and "Egypt and the Sudan," most notably the former, seem to have been rendered with a less-sure sense of purpose and authority.

Appropriately, it is the climactic years of Salisbury's last term at the foreign office (1895–1900) that receive the greatest emphasis in Uzoigwe's book. The author seeks to demonstrate, however, that Salisbury, far from being a "reluctant imperialist" at any stage of his career, was out to gain the lion's share of Africa for England from the start. That argument rests precariously on one piece of objective evidence: an exposition on "the pacific invasion of England" written by Lord Salisbury in 1878 with exclusive reference to the Middle East and Turkey. Uzoigwe has been captivated by his documents and sometimes tries to make too much of them.

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ALFRED F. HAVIGHURST. Radical Journalist: H. W. Massingham (1860–1924). (Conference on British Studies Biographical Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 350. \$19.50.

This book is a notable addition to a series that has, with one other exception, so far proved undistinguished. The subject is well worth writing about. Massingham was an editor in a golden age of editors. A. G. Gardiner of the Daily News, J. L. Garvin of the Observer, C. P. Scott of the Manchester Guardian, J. A. Spender of the Westminster Gazette, St. Loe Strachey of the Spectator-these were his contemporaries. Moreover, as editor of the London Nation he was for more than a decade the arbiter among a group of exceptionally gifted liberal intellectuals. H. N. Brailsford, J. L. Hammond, L. T. Hobhouse, J. A. Hobson, C. F. G. Masterman, H. W. Nevinson-these were his friends and colleagues. It is a curiosity of British historiography, in sharp contrast with American practice, that the work of journalists, publicists, and intellectuals should so largely have been ignored. There is a current fashion for writing about "high politics" in a way that effectively dismisses the influence of ideas. But the intellectuals, for whom politics was largely about ideas, cannot be assimilated to such a method. And while it is welcome that Professor Havighurst has now written fully about Massingham, it is somewhat disappointing that he does not give the formal content of his political thought more attention. Attempts

to reinterpret and reformulate liberalism as a general theory were matters of serious concern on the Nation, and it does not do justice to this side of Massingham to deprecate this as a superficial "verbalisation of Liberalism and Radicalism." This caveat aside, the study fullfils all reasonable expectations. Massingham did not leave a large collection of papers, and the author's research has been both painstaking and eclectic in filling as many gaps as possible. Many archives have been consulted; a comprehensive use of the files of the Nation has yielded much of value; stray references in a wide range of publications have been noted; and the level of accuracy is generally high. The result is a convincing reconstruction of the pattern of Massingham's activities. The balance of the story is held judiciously, and the easy availability of extensive source material at some points is not allowed to distort it. The author's claims for Massingham are neither excessive nor unduly modest, and the solid merits of this book ought to earn it a place in all bibliographies of the period.

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KENNETH D. BROWN, editor. Essays in Anti-Labour History: Responses to the Rise of Labour in Britain. [Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1974. Pp. viii, 409. \$15.00.

The rise of Labour along with the parallel, if not consequent, decline of the Liberals must surely be the central issue of British politics in the twentieth century. Yet we know almost nothing about the response to Labour, nor, until recently, was the question even raised. Labour seemed so woolly and so tame that it was difficult to conceive of anyone becoming frightened at the prospect of Labour taking office. Or if they did, it seemed reasonable to assume that politics continued much as before. The British, unlike the French or the Italians or most peoples of the world, are supposed to have acknowledged the legitimacy of political opposition: would they not respect all parliamentary opponents regardless of their ideology or program? Somehow we took this for granted. Though we argued about the inevitability of the rise of Labour and the relative importance of Liberal factionalism or tactical "mistakes" such as the Lib-Lab electoral agreement of 1903, we forgot that Labour's rise to power, whatever the reasons, had to be permitted by Labour's opponents. Their permission was granted, to be sure. But this was in spite of, not in the absence of, a great many efforts to keep Labour out.

Kenneth D. Brown's book deals with these efforts and the reasoning behind them. It suffers as a volume from a tendency to confuse sociálism with

Labour, never explaining when Labour was first perceived, as a threat, whether the threat was ideological or electoral in nature, or whether it was the same for both Liberals and Conservatives. It covers, on the other hand, a much broader period of time than Maurice Cowling, *The Impact of Labour*, 1920–1924 (1971), the only other work on this subject. The essays—there are twelve of them—are good, and they let us draw certain conclusions, however limited they may be.

From Christopher Kauffman's "Lord Elcho, Trade Unionism and Democracy," J. W. Mason's "Thomas Mackay: The Anti-Socialist Philosophy of the Charity Organisation Society," D. J. Ford's "W. H. Mallock and Socialism in England, 1880-1918," and N. Soldon's "Laissez-Faire as Dogma: The Liberty and Property Defence League, 1882-1914" it would seem, for example, that increased labor militancy and the formation of a Labour party merely intensified pre-existing fears of state intervention. Landed aristocrats, Conservatives, old Whigs, model employers, publicans, place seekers, Spencerian individualists, elitists, and traditional do gooders all felt threatened by Gladstone's legislation. The question is whether their response was entirely negative. Edward Bristow, "Profit-Sharing, Socialism and Labour Unrest," and Kenneth D. Brown, "The Anti-Socialist Union, 1908-1949," deny that it was. But the qualifications they discuss are minor, as they themselves point out, at least where the Conservatives are concerned.

With regard to the Liberals, Michael Bentley in "The Liberal Response to Socialism" reminds us of certain political considerations, the danger of adopting a positive policy that might alienate too many supporters and the difficulty of adopting a negative, antisocialist position when Conservatives were far more convincing. According to Bentley, the Liberal response was ill conceived and inept: if Peter Cline, "Eric Geddes and the 'Experiment' with Businessmen in Government, 1915–1922," is correct, then the hardening opposition to Labour, inept or otherwise, cannot be blamed on the businessmen recruited by Lloyd George.

So much for the postwar years; the remaining essays deal with an earlier period. All agree that the Liberals were holding their own against Labour; they differ as to why. Kenneth O. Morgan, "The New Liberalism and the Challenge of Labour: The Welsh Experience, 1885–1929," suggests that it was the old liberalism that flourished and that it continued to flourish until specifically Welsh grievances were eliminated, ironically through the passage of Liberal reforms. In contrast, Edward David, "The New Liberalism of C. F. G. Masterman, 1873–1927," and Chris Wrigley, "Liberals and the Desire for Working-Class

Representatives in Battersea, 1886–1922," note the importance of Liberal reforms and the willingness of Liberals to meet Labour halfway. So does Roy Douglas, "Labour in Decline, 1910–1914." But in demonstrating how effectively the challenge of Labour had been contained, he calls into question one of the points in his *History of the Liberal Party* (1971), namely that the Lib-Lab electoral pact of 1903 was a mistake from the Liberal point of view. In the context of his present essay, the pact might better be seen as contributing to the success of the new liberalism—a wise concession that ought to have been made sooner than it was.

BARBARA MALAMENT Queens College, City University of New York

JOHN GOOCH. The Plans of War: The General Staff and British Military Strategy c. 1900–1916. (A Halsted Press Book.) New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1974. Pp. xiv, 348. \$14.95.

A laudatory foreword by Michael Howard should ensure this book the attention it deserves. Both its limits and achievements require noting. The first half of the work traces in detail an essentially skimpy and incompleted process. The theme is the grafting on to the much-troubled central organization of the British military establishment an adaptation of the German general staff system—"The Brain of an Army." This section, organizational in emphasis, can profitably be read in conjunction with Brian Bond's The Victorian Army and the Staff College, 1854-1914 (1972), which takes one away from Whitehall not only to the staff colleges of Camberley and Quetta, but also to the test of battle on the western front. While the maneuvers of the ubiquitous Lord Esher and others are carefully traced, as are the evolutions of staff rides and conferences, training manuals, and professional journals, the overall effect is one of tentativeness. The general staff never really seems to have taken hold. This is a valuable conclusion but in itself less than gripping.

The real contribution of the work for most readers is in the chapters on military planning from the Boer War and the Anglo-Japanese alliance to 1914. Deliberately de-emphasizing the traditional attention to what Howard has called the Continental commitment, Gooch focuses first on the "strategic reorientation" following on the Japanese alliance, then discusses the defense of India and Egypt. The important implication to be drawn from his analysis is that naval doctrine on the "command of the sea," combined with the existence of an alliance with Japan, freed the army from concentration on defense against invasion and enabled it to think

less in terms of raids and more in terms of largescale operations. Japan, rather than France, "seemed to offer the surest pattern for the future course of military co-operation with other powers" (p. 191). After a brief review of the projected British role in Franco-German hostilities, the book concludes with the dissolution and reconstitution of the general staff in 1914-16.

Gooch writes well and with obvious intelligence, though his style is somewhat subdued. More important, one might wish that he would take the time to assess the bearing of political and diplomatic factors on his two subjects. This sober monograph, based on a variety of private and official primary sources, is to be welcomed as an indisputable contribution to the history of British military organization and planning before 1914.

PAUL GUINN State University of New York, Buffalo

J. M. WINTER. Socialism and the Challenge of War: Ideas and Politics in Britain, 1912-18. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974. Pp. ix, 310. \$17.00.

The virtues of this book are, unfortunately, outweighed by its defects. The bulk of the volume concerns the ideas of Sidney and Beatrice Webb, R. H. Tawney, and G. D. H. Cole first as they evolved from 1912 to 1914, in response to the labor unrest of the prewar years, and, in the second half of the volume, as they developed under the impact of war. Winter precedes the latter half of his study with an epigraph from Rosa Luxemburg concerning the delusion that socialist thinking could emerge unchanged by the war. The author, however, ends by concluding just this: the war had "neither a creative nor a decisive effect on the development of socialist theory in Britain." The curious inappropriateness of the epigraph only accentuates the reader's doubts concerning the meaning and viability of the study.

Winter insists that the real influence of the war was to be found on the "practical" front, for example, in the decision of socialists to use the Labour party as a vehicle for their ideas, and in the victory of the Webbs' view of socialism in the party's constitution of 1918. But his discussion of these questions constitutes the smallest and least persuasive part of the volume. Certainly, there is little concern with leading movements of British politics in the decade before the war that seem important to his thesis: we hear virtually nothing, for example, of the efforts of Chamberlain to turn the Tories from free trade, or of those of the New Liberals to bring their party onto a more "socialist" road. Nor, for that matter, does the author tell

us about the wartime movements toward state intervention, described so well by the late Professor S. J. Hurwitz.

All in all, the thinkers to whom he devotes himself seem to live in a strangely isolated world, largely that of the English labor and socialist movement in the six years from 1912 to 1918. Sometimes this myopia has a ludicrous aspect. For example, Sir Oswald Moseley's racism and anti-Semitism are attributed to the Labour party, a British socialist sin growing out of the racism of the Webbs. Surely Sidney Webb was not the only source of contagion to which a wealthy baronet might have been exposed after his desertion of the Conservative party for Labour.

Still, the author displays some good insights in his portrait of Tawney's Christian socialism, and Cole's gild socialism. Winter is least original on the Webbs, to whom he gives the bulk of his attention, and against whom he seems to be waging a vendetta.

BERNARD SEMMEL
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ARTHUR J. MARDER. From the Dardanelles to Oran: Studies of the Royal Navy in War and Peace, 1915–1940. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 301, 5 charts. \$21.00.

Though four of the five chapters in this somewhat expensive work revise previous publications, their collection is most welcome. Chapter 5, about a third of the work, is a new and masterly study of one of the largest actions of the Royal Navy-four capital ships on each side—during World War II. Marder sees "Oran, 3 July 1940: Mistaken Judgement, Tragic Misunderstanding, or Cruel Necessity?" as a cruel necessity. A question raised by chapter 3, "The Royal Navy and the Ethiopian Crisis of 1935–1936," is the influence of France's letdown of 1935 on British thinking in 1940. Chapter 4, "'Winston is Back': Churchill at the Admiralty, 1939-40," may end Marder's debate with the official historian, S. W. Roskill, over Churchill's "undue" interference in naval operations. Marder finds that this interference was primarily psychological and "in the main extremely beneficial," and that "it was the impression the First Lord gave, far more than specific acts of interference with naval operations.'

Chapter 2, "The Influence of History on Sea Power: The Royal Navy and the Lessons of 1914–1918," finds the submarine danger, naval aviation, and amphibious operations neglected for replays of Jutland. Were the reasons, again, partly psychological? Chapter 1, "The Dardanelles Revisited: Further Thoughts on the Naval Prelude,"

fixes on one line of unswept mines and almost convinces a believer in the maxim that something always goes wrong with such inexperienced forces, Why an "if only" Dardanelles rather than another Jutland? The answer may well be Winston fascination.

Charts, index, and footnotes are admirable, though "the serious reader" who wants to "consult Captain Roskill's provocative, and in places, amusing, article" has to dig back from note 142 to notes 137 and 21 (ch. 5) to find it. Pictures are mostly of personages, an unconscious revelation, perhaps, of Marder's mastery of the personalities of this era. Because of this, he might go into some additional psychological issues. He has dealt with "the interwar obsession with a fleet action." Was there a similar obsession—in addition to the political reasons for it-with the Mediterranean? The French navy had not been a companion in arms like the French army. Did France's interwar naval follies help to keep the Royal Navy from what Marder in 1940 saw as its twin problems since 1880: "The Invasion Bogey" and "The 'Guerre de Course' Nightmare"? On naval aviation, other historians have clear sailing, especially in that landlocked sea that was Il Mare Nostro to so many powers. THEODORE ROPP

Duke University

PAOLA BRUNDU OLLA. Le origini diplomatiche dell'accordo navale anglo-tedesco del giugno 1935. (Quaderni della Facoltà di Scienze Politiche dell'Università degli Studi di Cagliari, Serie dell'Istituto di Storia Politica.) Milan: Giuffrè Editore. 1974. Pp. 143. L. 2,200.

"The British authorities, concerned above all with appraising the technical and military aspects of the prospective accord, neglected to examine fully the political implications." Such is the summation of this account of how the British government, with the Admiralty to the fore, so feared unilateral action by Hitler in naval building that they signed the agreement of June 18, 1935, which tolerated German construction up to thirty-five per cent of the tonnage of British Commonwealth fleets. And this less than two months after Britain had subscribed to the condemnation by the Stresa Conference of violations of Versailles.

Here, then, is a study in British foreign policy rather than international affairs. It relies heavily on Foreign Office papers in the Public Record Office, London, a number of which are reproduced—albeit with egregious misprints—in appendixes. Peripheral intelligence is gleaned from the files of the Italian ministry of marine, but on the German side only published documents are

cited. Moreover, Signora Olla is constrained to admit that her sources throw little light on the deeper motives of British policy: did Whitehall gravitate toward Germany out of umbrage at France's overtures to Fascist Italy and the Soviet Union? How far was Britain swayed by the rise of Japan or the looming Ethiopian affair? Skirting these questions, this brief book—text and notes occupy a bare seventy-three pages—confirms more than challenges received opinion.

ALAN CASSELS

McMaster University

SIR GEORGE CATLIN. For God's Sake, Go! An Autobiography. Gerrards Cross, Bucks.: Colin Smythe; distrib. by Palm Publishers, Montreal. 1972. Pp. 470. \$14.75.

G. E. G. Catlin, pioneer of American political science, prolific author, and tireless fighter for peace, was born some seventy-eight years ago and educated at St. Paul's and New College, Oxford. He received a doctorate from Cornell and became a professor there in 1925. Newly married to novelist Vera Brittain, the next decade was probably the happiest period of his life. Their daughter, born during this time, is the Labour minister, Shirley Williams. Catlin argued in two early works for an exact science of politics based upon the concept of power and headed a nationwide study of prohibition that contributed to the eventual repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Returning to England in 1935, he devoted his life to lecturing, journalism, the analysis of the causes of war and peace, and the promotion of Indian independence and the ideal of "Atlantic Community." He was an unsuccessful perennial Labour candidate for Parliament, advised world figures, and associated with intellectuals in numerous enterprises.

Rambling, overdigressive, and anecdotal, often reading like an international "Who's Who," and badly in need of editing, the book does offer some fascinating sketches of prominent individuals. Although in many respects a singularly impersonal story, it is a useful account of turbulent years from the pen of an egocentric who is deeply embittered by his homeland's failure to reward his talents with a suitable academic appointment or other office. Always an outsider in England, his record tells something of the inside operations of the Establishment. One further value of the autobiography is its clear revelation of the roots of the American science of politics-to which Catlin made a significant contribution—in the Utilitarianism of Hobbes, Bentham, Mill, and the Webbs, and classical political economy, and scientific positivism. Viewed in such a light, this "science" of politics seems particularly parochial, naive, and old-fashloned.

NEAL WOOD

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ANTHONY SUTCLIFFE and ROGER SMITH. Birmingham 1939–1970. (History of Birmingham, volume 3.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the Birmingham City Council. 1974. Pp. xiv, 514. \$38.50.

In 1952 there appeared a history of Birmingham in two volumes, commissioned by the city council and written by Conrad Gill and Asa Briggs. It is still the best history of any major British city in the modern period, and it did much to make Birmingham the best-known example of British urban development and therefore the inevitable point of comparison for the study of other British towns. By commissioning a third volume to cover the years 1939-70, the city council has again exercised an enlightened patronage. The careful analysis that its two authors, Anthony Sutcliffe and Roger Smith, bring to the recent history of the city places Birmingham yet again in the center of attention for all who wish to reflect on the British postwar urban experience.

The authors have produced a work of high professional standard. Particularly perceptive are the opening and the concluding chapters, where they stand back from their material and reflect on their work. Elsewhere the going is harder and the detail can be overwhelming.

The fundamental question, as they are well aware, is whether Birmingham in the midtwentieth century was still a suitable unit of study, as it had certainly been in the period covered by the earlier volumes. Since the completion of the work, that unit has in fact been merged into the larger metropolitan county created by the reorganization of English local government in 1974. While this impending demise might strengthen the case for rounding off the history of the city, it also underlines the fact that during these very years there were powerful forces at work, integrating Birmingham into larger economic, social, and political structures.

The book speaks of the declining power of the city to shape its own destiny and emphasizes in a variety of contexts the crucial role of the central government in circumscribing or permitting its development. The government's industrial location policy, while it placed few obstacles in the way of the expansion of the traditional local industries, directed new kinds of industry away from the west Midlands. Since the high cost of land and labor was working in the same direction, however, it is hard to tell how much of the result was in fact the government's doing. The most obvious conflict be-

tween local priorities and central control occurred over boundary extension, a subject over which cities had of course never enjoyed a free hand. The story of the conflicts between the city council, convinced by 1959 of the absolute necessity of acquiring large tracts of new land for public housing, and successive ministers of housing who preferred arrangements by which Birmingham exported its population beyond its boundaries, gives an excellent insight into the relation of local and central government in modern Britain. It also explains better than anything else why the reorganization of local government units had become desperately overdue by the early 1970s.

In dealing with the two most striking features of Birmingham's development in recent years, colored immigration and city-center renewal, the book is also breaking new ground. By recalling the circumstances under which decisions were made that appear in retrospect to have been of crucial importance, it acts as a valuable corrective to much loose talk. It is generously provided with statistical tables and photographic illustrations. Only the lack of a legible map mars what is in other respects a beautifully produced publication.

E. P. HENNOCK
University of Sussex

G. W. S. BARROW, editor. The Scottish Tradition: Essays in Honour of Ronald Gordon Cant. [Edinburgh:] Scottish Academic Press; distrib. by Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, N.J. 1974. Pp. xi, 267. \$16.00.

It is most fitting that a collection of essays should be published to mark the retirement of Ronald Cant, whose geniality and liveliness of thought have long inspired not only his colleagues and students at St. Andrews but many others interested in things Scottish. That this collection of essays should be styled The Scottish Tradition is, however, misleading, suggesting, as it does, that some unifying theme is to be expounded. In his introduction the earl of Crawford and Balcarres suggests that "their unity is ultimately founded . . . on that microcosm of Scotland, St. Andrews." But St. Andrews can hardly be regarded as a microcosm of Scotland, and the nineteen essays themselves, whatever they owe in inspiration to St. Andrews, are mostly unrelated to it in contentand, indeed, to one another.

They begin, however, with an essay on St. Andrews before the time of Alexander I. Here the fine scholarship of Majorie Anderson is rendered somewhat sterile by the absence of readily intelligible conclusions. In contrast Barrow not only displays his incomparable skill as an editor of texts in "Some East Fife Documents of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries" but expounds the texts—undramatic though they be. The St. Andrews connection is maintained by Marinell Ash in her

most useful study of Bishop William Lamberton, a major historical figure associated with both William Wallace and Robert Bruce. The remaining essays include a demonstration that Peter's pence was not levied in Scotland, as well as studies of the architecture of Scottish collegiate churches, funerary monuments, the early history of Scottish printing, a Spanish Armada shipwreck, the legal concept of corporate personality as applied to the Scottish burghs, matriculation patterns of the Scottish universities, the political attitudes of William Drummond of Hawthornden, the reaction of the Swiss Reformed Churches to the early stages of the Covenanting movement, coal mining in Fife in the later eighteenth century, letters of Charles Townshend that are of more than the educational interest suggested by the essay title, an exposition of the muddled administration of the forfeited annexed estates, 1752-84, and a contemplation of the faculty of advocates as possible "ancestors of the modern trade unionists"—a paradoxical exercise that at least gives a fine portrayal of the advocates and the judicial system in which they worked. It might hardly be supposed from the title of the final essay, "Lexicography and Historical Inter-pretation," that the author is largely concerned with corn-drying kilns.

Given the present—and highly desirable—tendency to regard all aspects of human experience as fit subjects for the historian, it might be invidious to single out any particular essay as being especially valuable. Yet this distinction may reasonably be claimed for David Murison's essay, "Linguistic Relationships in Medieval Scotland," in which, for the first time, the linguistic basis of the cleavage between Highlanders and Lowlanders is fully and authoritatively expounded. Apart from this, and a few other exceptions, the essays are somewhat esoteric. Indeed in "The Illusory Breve Testatum" J. J. Robertson candidly admits that his speculation may be "insignificant, unpromising and barren." The lucidity and learning that he displays must, however, disarm criticism, a consideration applicable to the whole book, which exemplifies high standards of scholarship.

This is not a book for those who come to Scottish history for the first time. It is decidedly for the cognoscenti. Having already trodden the broad highways of Scottish history they may all the better appreciate the scenery along the less-frequented paths that it has marked out.

RANALD NICHOLSON University of Guelph

MARK DILWORTH. The Scots in Franconia: A Century of Monastic Life. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1974. Pp. 301. \$13.50.

These Scots are not an ethnic minority or a hitherto unmarked migration, but are rather the former Benedictine monks of St. James in Würzburg. Nor is the book a monastic variant on the village-history form, for there is almost no account of the internal life or economy of the monastery. Devotional activities are hard to find out about and do not really interest Father Dilworth much anyway. The origins of the monks, aside from their being Scottish Catholics, are hazy and scarcely noted. Even the most earnest local historian might be baffled at what to say about a community that rarely numbered more than three members at one time and apparently peaked at twelve.

One might begin by asking how so small and eccentric a foundation survived during the religious turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is where Dilworth's narrative mainly falls. By the mid-sixteenth century the monastery's medieval foundation had decayed and become a sinecure for ecclesiastical officials without serious monastic interests. But around 1595 the monastery was revived by the energetic prince-bishop of Würzburg, Julius Fechter, as a center to recruit and train young Scots for missionary work back in Scotland. Its subsequent history gives a captivating everyday view of the European Counter Reformation politics that kept the monastery intact. The Vatican and the bishops of Würzburg fended off repeated efforts by German establishments and secular clergy, by Jesuits, Spanish Carmelites, and even by the emperor to take control of Scottish monastic revenues for more parochial pur-

Dilworth's research was careful, his judgment discriminating, and his presentation is fluent and invites confidence; he has a lively imagination with a nice sense of limits. Two items from the supernatural history of the monastery must be mentioned. The founder and house saint of St. James, the abstemious twelfth-century Abbot Macarius, was famed for his miraculous ability to turn wine into water and so represented in chronicle and portraiture. A second miracle involved the dispatch of certain relics of Macarius to England in 1688, at the Oueen's request. These were to succor the newborn Prince of Wales, who was at the time expected to die of the same ailments that had carried off his five elder siblings. The relics were appropriately applied, the infant recovered, and the Glorious Revolution ensued. The Old Pretender is said to have carried the relics about with him ever after, but with apparently limited effect. Readers of the AHR will need no special notice of the possible implications of these events.

MACK WALKER
Johns Hopkins University

DAVID STEVENSON. The Scottish Revolution, 1637–1644: The Triumph of the Covenanters. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. 416. \$15.95.

Despite Gilbert Burnet's observation that no clear understanding of the Great Rebellion can be achieved without first fully stating its Scottish origins, historians of the twentieth century have proceeded to reassess the English Civil War and compare it to Continental conflicts with scarcely a backward glance toward the northern kingdom. To correct this omission, David Stevenson has written a political history of the Scottish people from the beginning of the agitation against Charles I's religious policies through the temporary constitutional triumph of the Covenanters to their military intervention south of the Tweed. Building upon the standard interpretation found in Gordon Donaldson's Scotland: James V to James VII (1965), the author stresses the importance of secular motives and laymen working through the constitutional framework. While not denying the importance of ecclesiastical disaffection, Stevenson subscribes to G. R. Elton's dictum that "political history must come before any other."

What results is a detailed elucidation of the merged secular and religious ground swell of Scottish nationalism leading to the Solemn League and Covenant. Covenanter was not an exclusively clerical label. This elaboration on the more familiar church history of the period provides a fresh re-emphasis. The author demonstrates that the Covenanters were seeking a closer union with the English Parliament for such mundane reasons as securing commercial benefits, expanding Scottish influence abroad, and curbing the excessive royal power. His work is thorough and insightful, but the purported balance is strained. While admirably expounding political concerns, he underplays the importance of such religious matters as ecclesiastical patronage, the liturgy, and governance of the kirk-concerns that lay at the root of the quarrel with the Stuart monarchy.

The title of this expanded doctoral thesis is a misnomer. As important as these events were for Scotland's future, they were achieved without overthrowing the constitution. Stevenson carefully accounts for the rise of the Covenanters to political and military power, but he neither demonstrates that their triumph constituted a revolution nor assesses the total and rapid collapse of their movement. A final chapter assumes the existence of a revolution and then provides a brief analysis of the dimensions of that rebellion and attempts to draw comparisons with more recognizable seventeenthcentury revolutions. Yet for the Scots nearly half a century would pass before they precipitated another conflict that proved to be revolutionary in its effect upon church and state.

In reaching his conclusions, Stevenson has utilized the standard Scottish manuscript and secondary sources. A bibliography, index, and maps are included. The inappropriate title and somewhat

graceless style of this chronological narrative are unfortunate but should not restrict the usefulness of this welcomed addition to seventeenth-century Scottish constitutional history. One hopes that it will stimulate further research in a field that too long has been neglected.

ROBERT PAUL BARNES Maryville, Missouri

BRENDAN BRADSHAW. The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 276. \$16.50.

Early in the sixteenth century, the Irish Church was in a sorry state and monasticism was crumbling from within, but the mendicant orders were building upon recent decades of vigorous expansion. The various phases of suppression, as they developed from 1537, would in consequence have to deal with widely differing communities. Most crucial was the approach of St. Leger, who became lord deputy in 1540. He anticipated that suppression and the resulting transfer of land, particularly in a period of rapidly changing rules of land tenure and descent, would serve as a tool for reconciliation, the acceptance of the Crown, and the establishment of a new relationship between Dublin and the localities. Initially confined, this dual process became national in 1541 when Henry became king. St. Leger's concern for political equilibrium, however, largely explains the slow progress of the movement. When Henry died a significant percentage of monastic foundations and mendicant communities survived. The Reformation was never really forced upon Ireland in the central Tudor period, but eventually that country would represent an outstanding success for the Counter Reformation. This had little to do with the resilience of friars and monks. Instead, by this account, liberal and constitutional nationalism were in the air until 1557. It was colonization, not conciliation, which fastened upon the transfer of land; resistance looked beyond the British Isles, and Ireland acquired its "ideological neurosis."

This coherent and explicitly constructed monograph explores an Irish story rooted in native demographic and political considerations. In his provision of details and analysis of episodes, Bradshaw has not only illuminated a subject crying for its historian but contributed to our burgeoning sense of Irish history. Only the price is to be regretted.

w. j. jones University of Alberta

BRIAN FARRELL, editor. *The Irish Parliamentary Tradition*. With three essays on the Treaty debate by F. S. L. LYONS. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1973. Pp. 286. \$11.00.

These nineteen essays, which effectively blend matters of general interest with scholarship, begin and end with the assertion by the editor, Brian Farrell, of the importance of the Irish parliamentary tradition and come at a time when assertion is needed. Revolutionaries and secret societies easily capture the imagination of the general reader, giving the impression that Irish history in the last two centuries has been shaped primarily by conspiracies, uprisings, and martyrdom and obscuring the role of the Grattans, O'Connells, and Parnells who, during most and possibly all periods of recent Irish history, have enjoyed the sympathies of the majority of the people.

The essays on the early Irish parliaments, which include one on representative institutions in Gaelic Ireland, make the point that even in its medieval context, the Irish parliamentary tradition owes much to the connection with England. Hugh Kearney, in his excellent essay on seventeenth-century parliaments, finds that they had little influence on later developments but makes it clear that they are of interest for their own sake. The first half of the book is devoted to the history of the parliamentary tradition up to the eighteenth century, which is reasonable in a volume of some 250 pages, but more space might have been given to Joseph Lee for his treatment of Grattan and to Oliver MacDonagh's essay on O'Connell. Kevin Nowlan provides a brief but clear explanation of the eclipse of parliamentary influence during the famine.

The power of Irish parliamentarians from Grattan to Parnell was in their ability to make use of "out-of-doors" influence. This was always difficult, but their achievements were more impressive than those of the United Irishmen, the rebels of '48, and the Fenians, who broke with the parliamentary tradition. The Easter Rising of 1916 was in defiance of Irish parliamentarians as well as of British power. It brought about a new balance of forces in which the "out-of-doors" agitators, who could be managed by parliamentarians, were replaced by a partnership with a military underground movement that the parliamentarians could not control. The essays end, in a sense, on a note of failure in F. S. L. Lyons's perceptive discussion of the treaty debate. With independence virtually established, the losing party in the debate sought redress in civil war.

This is an excellent and timely volume. It deserves attention because contemporary events in Ulster have obscured the fact that, although shaken on occasion, the parliamentary tradition has been and probably still is the strongest force in Irish politics.

HEREWARD SENIOR McGill University

E. D. STEELE. Irish Land and British Politics: Tenant-Right and Nationality, 1865-1870. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. ix, 367. \$19.50.

People working in Irish history emphasize the relationships between agrarian discontent and agitation and the growth of Irish nationalism, but until the recent contributions of scholars like Joseph Lee, James Donnelly, Jr., and Barbara Solow, the actual economic and social conditions of nineteenth-century agrarian Ireland were shrouded in the fogs of nationalist mythology and propaganda. In The Land Question and the Irish Economy, 1870-1903 (1971), Solow presented evidence indicating that inthe 1850s, 1860s, and early 1870s, the standard of living in rural Ireland improved considerably as prices increased more than rents. She argued that Irish agrarian radicalism was more political and social than economic and that Irish land acts passed by the British Parliament responded to political and social demands rather than economic

In his analysis of the Irish agitation, British public opinion, and British political dimensions of the Land Act of 1870, E. D. Steele supports Solow's theses. Gladstone understood that Irish nationalism fed on peasant resentment against landlords as representatives of alien conquest and occupation. He tried to give tenant farmers a stake in the land they occupied by legislating and extending Ulster custom throughout the country. The fears of the British establishment, however, expressed by journalists, pamphleteers, and politicians from both major parties, that tenant right in Ireland might undermine property rights all over the United Kingdom, forced the prime minister to retreat from fixity to security of tenure. The Land Act hoped to achieve the latter by legislating custom where it existed and by preventing evictions in other places through compensation for improvement and disturbance. The Bright clause encouraged land purchase and peasant proprietorship on a modest scale.

Irish agrarian and nationalist agitators rejected the Land Act of 1870 as an inadequate response to their demands for fixity of tenure, and the vicious cycle of violence and coercion continued. But Gladstone's efforts pioneered the way that finally led to peasant proprietorship, and his attempt at agrarian reform in Ireland established a precedent limiting property rights in the United Kingdom, opening the gates of legislation that eventually produced the welfare state.

Although in his background discussion of the Land Act of 1870 Steele tends to exaggerate the agrarian radicalism content of Irish nationalism, particularly in its Fenian manifestation, and toward the end of his work he obscures the Irish dimension in the intricacies of British political and journalist debate, he has contributed a valuable book. His thorough research and intelligent analysis have clarified the complicated interactions between Irish agitations and British politics. But a

shorter book would have been better and less expensive. Repetitive details and arguments dull rather than illuminate issues and often make for tedious reading.

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DOMINIC DALY. The Young Douglas Hyde: The Dawn of the Irish Revolution and Renaissance, 1874–1893. Foreword by ERSKINE CHILDERS. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield. 1974. Pp. xix, 232. \$13.50.

"When the Gaelic League was founded in 1893," wrote Patrick Pearse, "the Irish Revolution began." Its founder, Douglas Hyde, was then thirtythree. Apart from a short biography by Diarmid Coffey in 1938, little has been known about his personal life. Dominic Daly has had access to thirteen volumes of a diary kept regularly by Hyde between 1874 and 1912, and on this basis he has reconstructed Hyde's life down to the founding of the league. We learn in fascinating detail how as a boy of fourteen Hyde learned Irish from a gamekeeper and a poor countrywoman. We also learn how his passion for Irish led him to acquire what Daly calls "an extraordinary library for a young man of twenty who never had a formal lesson in Irish history or literature." More surprising is the revelation of the bitter hostility that existed between Hyde and his father, a parson, and of the open quarrels that took place. Hyde once wrote that his father was "the most opposed and obnoxious to my way of thinking that could ever exist on the face of the earth."

In view of the fact that Hyde strenuously resisted all attempts to involve the Gaelic League actively in politics, it is surprising to learn how ardent was his Fenianism and how strong was his hatred of England as a young man. "My hundred thousand curses on England and on her rule," he wrote in 1881. No less strange is the almost total absence from the diary of any mention of Parnell, though Tim Healy is referred to once as "a scoundrel."

Though Hyde was elected president of the Gaelic League and remained so for twenty-two years (1893–1915), Daly makes it clear that Eoin MacNeill was chiefly responsible for establishing the new organization. Nevertheless Hyde gave up his own creative work to become the apostle of the league, leading Yeats to speak of him regretfully as "the great poet who died in his youth." Daly's book is indispensable to students of the Irish Literary Revival.

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I. D. MCFARLANE. A Literary History of France: Renaissance France, 1470–1589. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. xxiv, 557. \$18.00.

This volume, in a series under the general editorship of P. E. Charvet, does not escape all the pitfalls of survey treatments, yet has much to offer. I. D. McFarlane, professor of French literature at Oxford, provides a sensitive, informed commentary on scores of writers between 1470 and 1587, a time long recognized as one of the most vigorous and tumultuous periods of French literature. Recognizing the importance of the historical setting, McFarlane has attempted to describe the social and political context in the general introduction and in sections of individual chapters. These sections may attempt too much. For the specialist they often appear insufficiently nuanced; yet they do include many qualifications, and the average student will probably find them too thick with underbrush. Such are the frustrations of attempting to cover a rich century in five hundred pages.

It is when McFarlane takes up the individual writers that his experience as a don pays off. He guides the reader through the century, phase by phase, introducing the major writers and many minor ones as well. He seems to have kept abreast of the flood of secondary studies on François Rabelais, Pierre de Ronsard, and Michel Eyquem Montaigne, but he is careful to keep his balance. After noticing the tendency of the present generation to emphasize Rabelais's Christian orthodoxy, McFarlane suggests a recent "shift of emphasis towards the study of Rabelais's art and the nature of his comic genius." Such comments do not, of course, take the place of commenting on the texts themselves, and in this McFarlane is superb. He usually manages to include at least a stanza or paragraph. In explicating these passages he is perceptive and sensible, alert to both style and substance. His broad background in French literature enables him to make illuminating comparisons with more recent writers like Stéphane Mallarmé, Paul Valéry, Paul Claudel, and Gabriel Marcel.

Quite willing to include his personal evaluations, McFarlane makes a rather convincing case for elevating the significance of some writers on the second level. In *Délie* (1544), for example, Maurice Scève "puts his stamp on the evolution of love-poetry for the rest of the century." And Agrippa d'Aubigné, admittedly capable of a tedious moralism, is praised as one whose significance "transcends national boundaries." Incidentally, among McFarlane's previous works are editions of *Délie* (1966) and d'Aubigné's *Tragiques* (1970).

The author is not merely a literary historian but also a historian of ideas. Both his chapters and his bibliographical references indicate a strong interest in comparative literature. Classical and Italian influences are frequently mentioned. Even more valuable is McFarlane's clear recognition of the polemical atmosphere of the century. He carefully avoids isolating ideas and taking them as representative of the period, when in fact they can be properly understood only in relation to their polarities. "There is no *leitmotiv* of Renaissance man that does not immediately conjure up its counterpart," he writes, "and it is no coincidence that, at a time when these polarities are exacerbated in the context of a dislocated world-picture, the Neoplatonic theme of unity in diversity should command so much sympathy."

There are minor annoyances, however. The glossary, while adequate for most purposes, includes some definitions that are surprisingly imprecise. A general bibliography is mainly limited to book-length studies, omitting all but a handful of articles. The section "Further Reading and Study" dismisses America as needing a separate description because of its "immense resources." But such petty irritants do not limit the value of a book that contains much solid nourishment.

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PIERRE GOUBERT. L'Ancien Régime. Volume 2, Les pouvoirs. Paris: Armand Colin. 1973. Pp. 262.

Volume 1 of Goubert's Ancien Régime: La société (1969), the best short introduction to French demographic and social history, 1560-1789, was followed in 1973 by the second and final volume, subtitled Les pouvoirs, which in my opinion is the best short introduction to institutional and political history for the same period. Not everyone will agree with this assessment of Les pouvoirs, largely because Goubert simply omits what many specialists of the ancien régime in English-speaking countries still believe to be institutional and political history. Goubert ignores almost completely the narrative of court politics and ministers-parlement conflicts in order to suggest in the boldest possible terms that this traditional narrative is the mere tip of the iceberg in the broader histoire totale of the "powers."

Together these volumes constitute a somewhat truncated study of the ancien régime established by the leaders of the so-called Annales school. Goubert's organization, his views on economic and social structures, and particularly his stress upon continuities immediately suggest comparing this book with Marc Bloch's Feudal Society (1961) and Fernand Braudel's The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II (1972). There are differences, but the similarities, particularly that studied lack of precision in defining institutions and the looseness between the social and

institutional structures of society, are what one expects from members of the Annales school. The truncation in this instance is not one of form but, rather, of content; Goubert presents a major work of synthesis while providing very little evidence or examples to support his argument. Instead, the form is that of a witty textbook almost without notes, but with selected source materials excerpted and published without comment. A historian less able than Goubert, or more inhibited by the professional conventions of historians or worrisome textbook editors, might have produced a disaster, but his almost complete control of both old and new monographic literature and annaliste problematics about social organization turn this book into a tour de force that merits the attention not only of specialists of French history but of history in general.

Goubert defines the "powers" of French society as neither narrowly derived from social structure nor derived simply from institutions. They are only greater and lesser capacities for coercive action; the king, royal ministers, councils, law courts, bishops, nobles, bourgeois, Protestants, curés, tax collectors, and so forth are all endowed with greater or lesser "powers" in the ancien régime. According to Goubert the aim, if not the principal function, of all the powers was the extraction of wealth from the least powerful and powerless elements of society. Those invested with "powers," either as institutions or as individuals and social groups, had proportionately less power to extract wealth from others wielding power than from the powerless; thus they together collected rents, taxes, seigneurial dues, tithes, and so forth from the millions of peasants and artisans who were the producers of wealth in this traditional economy. "Powers" are thus, in a sense, not only the ability to coerce others to give up their wealth, but also the ability of the powerful to avoid having to give up wealth.

Goubert implies that the narrative of state efforts to alter the "powers" need not be given because not even the most powerful of kings and ministers altered in any fundamental way this equilibrium of "powers" that characterized the ancien regime. There were peasant revolts, of course, that were brought on by the conjuncture of crop failure and a demographic crisis which coincided in the 1630s and 1640s with the "powers" efforts to raise taxes; yet it was not the increased taxation but rather the agrarian and demographic crises that forced the peasants to pay a heavier toll than anything demanded of them by the state. Popular revolts, like Colbert's tax reforms, failed to alter the fundamental equilibrium of powers in a kind of société bloquée that was the ancien régime. The determinants of political action are social and institutional throughout the book; individuals, just

as in Bloch and Braudel, are convincingly portrayed only enough to define their extremely narrow and almost inconsequential spheres of action.

The most provocative aspect of the book is the concluding analysis of the ancien régime itself. Existing in time, as history, it of course collapsed in 1789, but Goubert boldly asserts that many patterns of social behavior, notably about paying taxes, survived the French Revolution and continue to be influential at present. And when the leading historical demographer of France trenchantly concludes that it was higher average age of life after 1750 that accounts for the rise in population, the result is a bold new interpretation of the French Revolution. While expressing cautious acceptance of all the conclusions about the social and economic causes of 1789, Goubert eagerly stresses the effects of a surcharge de jeunes. With older generations living on an extra decade, there simply were not enough housing, jobs, and royal offices all up and down the society to permit the young to have the lives and careers that they had been raised to expect. This monumental delay in marriage and placement led to the montée des jeunes of 1789. Here Goubert's assertions will need further testing and refinement, but this newly emphasized cause of the Revolution ought not to be dismissed as merely a reading of the "events of 1968" in France back into those of 1789. Goubert stresses the solidity and continuity of the ancien regime; he must have more than the political history of elites, the aristocratic and bourgeois revolutions to cause the collapse of such a strong structure of "powers." Historians may find it useful to pursue Goubert's assertions and to begin exploring the effects of aging and growing populations on strained status structures and institutions.

OREST RANUM
Johns Hopkins University

ROLAND MOUSNIER. Les institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue, 1598–1789. Volume 1, Société et État. (Histoire des institutions.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1974. Pp. 586.

When a recognized historian of the highest rank publishes a massive work of synthesis during the latter part of his career the event assumes major significance for his professional audience. Such a work Professor Mousnier here presents in this first volume of his elaborate treatment of French institutions during the age of absolutism. The undoubted competence of the author and the lack of anything comparable for this period of French history combine to render the book uniquely valuable to all students of the period. Eschewing earlier narrow approaches to institutional history, Mousnier defines an institution merely as any human

collectivity that is animated by a given objective and ideal, occupies a definable position in society, functions according to known procedures, and makes a contribution to the whole. Furthermore, he reflects the influence of recent French scholarship by insisting that such institutions cannot be understood apart from the broader social, economic, and ideological structures that prevailed in their time and sharply influenced the lives of all persons and groups. He therefore devotes all but the final two chapters of this massive volume to an elaborate analysis of French society and then moves from these social foundations to a discussion of the monarchical system of government. The very extensive specifics, with which he treats all topics, reflect both his vast personal knowledge of legal, institutional, social, economic, and intellectual history-much of it evidenced in his earlier publications—and the latest French scholarship. Not the least valuable feature of the book is its extensive bibliographies at the end of each sec-

A mere listing of the contents of the volume will indicate its comprehensive coverage. After recounting the evolution of views concerning French society by comparing the ideas of Loyseau, Saint-Simon, Domat, and Barnave and analyzing the enduring significance of the ties that stemmed from family relationships and personal fidelities, Mousnier takes up the elements of what he calls the "society of orders." First the nobility, with its gradations, privileges, social status, economic position, and ideology, is examined in detail with copious supporting information. An interesting subsection is devoted to the anoblis and the bourgeois vivant noblement. Less detailed is the treatment of the commonality: bourgeoisie, manual laborers, and the poor. The extensive section on the clergy includes not only all customary items-its elements, privileges, wealth, social origins, institutions, and Gallicanism—but also its style of life, and the rise and decline of the Catholic Renaissance. The Protestants and Jews as elements of society are also examined. This section is followed by an analysis of both the société de corps (groupings of officials, jurists, universities, academies, and guilds), which reflects the influence of Olivier-Martin, and the seigneurial system, which includes the usual economic and judicial factors and a suggestive treatment of the seigneurial reaction in the eighteenth century. Villages, parishes, cities, and provinces are analyzed for their institutions that combined territorial and corporate features. Finally the author turns to the monarchical state, the governing power that was indispensable for preserving order in this thoroughly fragmented society. Here the nature, power, and ideology of absolute monarchy are treated, together with an estimate of its very limited human and financial resources.

The resulting work takes the form of an elaborate, authoritative manual and is in large measure a very scholarly objective compilation. Inevitably, however, Mousnier incorporated some of his personal views and preferences when analyzing so vast a subject. One appears in his insistence that religious conceptions and values were fundamental to the structure, functioning, and purposes of the society of orders that prevailed in seventeenth-century France. The significance of this factor he makes clear, although it is unusual in treatments on this subject. Another is his repeated contention that during the eighteenth century, French society evolved from a society of orders to a society of classes. The first was religious, hierarchical, authoritarian, and static, with traditional institutions and values to which all conformed, whereas the second was secular, functional, democratic, and dynamic, with the people and their interests ultimately in control. He repeatedly finds evidence of this transition in the changing attitudes and social alterations of the later period, and, indeed, insists that a major purpose of the work is to trace this fundamental reshaping of French society and institutions. His personal preference enters notably in his evident distaste for this evolution, and he does not hesitate to label it a change from an ètat d'ordres to an état-gendarme. This personal note, however, does nothing to lessen the value of the work. It will long serve as an extremely valuable synthesis for its vast information and many suggestions for further research.

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DOROTHY ANNE LIOT BACKER. Precious Women. New York: Basic Books. 1974. Pp. xi, 308. \$10.95.

The seductive intimacy of the seventeenth-century précieuse alcove is expertly evoked in this study of a phenomenon more often ridiculed than understood. Would-be prudes sharing secret metaphors with sighing suitors, elaborate discussions of "questions d'amour," an adored mistress reigning over all from her bed-throne-these major components of life à la précieuse seem frivolous, but, according to Backer, they hid a deeper purpose. Préciosité, she argues, was a "feminist" phenomenon, an attempt to free women from early marriage-or failing that, the convent-and repeated pregnancies. To achieve this freedom, the précieuse retired to her bed with real, feigned, or psychosomatic illness. From there she received her friends and admirers, entertained lavishly, practiced conspicuous prudery, and enjoyed literary occupations of dubious merit. The précieuse movement,

launched by the marquise de Rambouillet during the age of Richelieu and interrupted by the Fronde, became "bourgeois" in the 1650s, went out of fashion, and was dealt the coup de grâce by Molière's satire in 1659. The women who survived gave themselves a new name, "femmes savantes," but these too suffered ridicule by the same satirist. Ultimately, intelligent educated women, inspired by the popularization of science that announced the Enlightenment, turned from literature to physics as their main preoccupation. They also abandoned their alcoves for the salons and in general were more interesting than their predecessors.

This book on the precious women suffers from a lack of compelling intellectual material in précieuse life. After a promising beginning—a re-creation of an alcove setting—the book offers little more than a string of female portraits, endless anecdotes of unfulfilled love, private intrigue and verbal duels, and recapitulations of poor poetry and bad novels. Even the author, while sympathizing with the efforts of the précieuses, writes ruefully of their low level of accomplishment. Indeed, to have earned the title "feminist phenomenon," the précieuse would have had to fight for social, political, economic, and legal equality with men. Not only did she not do this, but men-pleasing them, teasing them, and winning them-remained the center of her life. The movement was a "feminine" phenomenon; created by and for women, it had a considerable effect on the "feminization" of French social habits. Between the uncouth age of Henri IV. and the smooth etiquette of Louis XIV stands the marquise de Rambouillet's "chambre bleue" and her real and spiritual daughters.

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A. J. KRAILSHEIMER. Armand-Jean de Rancé, Abbot of La Trappe: His Influence in the Cloister and the World. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xvi, 376, 8 plates. \$25.00.

Scholars and teachers sometimes tend to forget that the seventeenth century in France was an age of revitalized faith, the flowering of the Counter Reformation. Alongside famous administrators, warriors, and intellectuals one must place the famous saints and obscure religious men and women as true expressions of French creativity and genius. Such a man was Armand-Jean le Bouthillier de Rancé, the abbot of the reformed Cistercian abbey of La Trappe.

Rancé's career is known mostly from Chateaubriand's romantic Vie de Rancé (1844) and Henri Bremond's unreliable L'Abbé Tempête (1929), nei-

ther of which can be deemed objective biography. Rancé's contemporaries seemed to have regarded him as either a saint or a charlatan, and early biographies all obscured or concealed much valuable material about his life before and after his entry into the cloister. Mr. Krailsheimer is clearly sympathetic toward his subject and desirous of defending him from charges of excessive austerity and combativeness. This book is not a biography of Rancé. It is a presentation of all the available evidence in manuscript and printed sources, the result of extensive research in numerous archives in a number of countries, and is designed to let the historical figure of Rancé emerge from behind legend and distortion. As such the book is not completely digested or digestible and makes difficult reading, but the author's method and purpose are in the best tradition of scientific scholarship. Krailsheimer has no particular thesis to advance; he offers the materials available for a reassessment of the career of Rancé, a man who managed to take in hand a decayed Cistercian community and, against strong opposition, to create a flourishing community of austere monks, whose life of prayer and manual labor, practiced with severe deprivation, endured in health up to the Revolution of 1789 and still endures in many parts of the modern world. While Rancé's belief in extreme austerity and his prohibition of all theological or intellectual study by the monks of La Trappe may elicit little sympathy today, they were based on deep spiritual understanding. In any comparison with the Jansenists, Rancé's community emerges with heightened stature. Port-Royal had been before its reform a Cistercian establishment, and Rancé shared with the Jansenists a firm Augustinian theology, a distrust of Jesuit casuistry, and a desire to withdraw from a sinful world. But he did sign the Formulaire against the five propositions of Jansénius as a matter of Catholic obedience, refusing to place his own conscience above the decision of the Church. Indeed in his attitude toward the Jansenists, with whom he shared so much, he displayed perhaps his most commendable trait-refusal to engage in doctrinal controversies detrimental to individual piety or to the good of the Church. Jansenists never forgave his comment on the death of Antoine Arnauld in 1694, but we may applaud it: "Enfin, voilà M. Arnauld mort.... Quoi qu'on dise, voilà bien des questions finies: son érudition et son autorité étaient d'un grand poids pour le parti [janséniste]. Heureux qui n'en a point d'autre que celui de Jésus-Christ." And on the excesses of the Quietists he remarked, "Dieu nous commande de l'aimer, mais non pas de sentir que nous l'aimons."

Krailsheimer has, then, provided materials for a proper appreciation of the genius of Rancé. We



come to understand Rancé's attraction for numerous religious and laymen in the France of Louis XIV, from obscure monks and nuns to fashionable ladies and gentlemen, including such public figures as the cardinal de Retz, the maréchal de Bellefonds, and the refugee James II. One may perhaps compare him to St.-François de Sales, a man of quite different temperament and genius, in this respect: with de Genève, Rancé shunned unseemly argumentation about grace and predestination and believed it more worthwhile to endeavor to make good use of grace than to argue about it. Seventeenth-century scholars will be very much in Krailsheimer's debt for this piece of scholarship.

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RENÉ MOULINAS. L'imprimerie, la librairie et la presse à Avignon au XVIII^e siècle. Preface by P. GUIRAL. (Collection "Editorial.") [Grenoble:] Presses Universitaires de Grenoble. 1974. Pp. 441. 75 fr.

From 1740 to 1770 Avignon emerged from relative obscurity to become a major source for the European book trade. Denied their livelihood by the monopolistic practices of the Paris publishing syndicate, several printers and sellers from the French provinces settled in the papal enclave. Their ranks were augmented by native artisans and merchants who forsook their customary occupations in order to manufacture and sell pirated editions. A conjunction of fortuitous circumstances determined Avignon's fortune: except for the occupation of 1768-74, the city lay outside French legal and corporate jurisdiction; and unprecedented demand for French-language books swept across Europe; the Paris publishing gild was ill-equipped to supply the needs of the enlarged readership; and the regime of Louis XV tacitly cooperated in the contraband trade. Though the French occupation of Avignon halted the climb to prosperity for the city's bookmen, it was not until 1777 that the publishing industry there slid into decline. In that year Versailles tried to revive the pitiful state of printing in the French provinces by placing a significant number of titles, formerly monopolized by Paris publishers, in the public domain. French police went after Avignon's contraband with vengeance. In Languedoc and Provence printers, turned distributors for Avignon's production, re-activated their own shops, and their onetime suppliers began withdrawing from the newly perilous industry. In 1785 the survivors of the Avignonese book trade obtained an agreement from the French government that placed a reduced number of them on a par with publishers in the provinces. Thereafter

they would be subjected to the same regulations and restrictions as the printers and sellers of Nîmes, Marseilles, and Lyons. Literary piracy became a crime in Avignon, and the city thereby lost its rationale as a publishing center.

Such a bald summary of Moulinas's splendid pioneer study fails to do it justice. The author touches upon nearly all the issues unearthed by livre et société historians in recent years and, without strain, applies them to his work. His chapters on the Courrier d'Avignon are exemplary, the best modern account of a topic in the history of prerevolutionary French-language journalism that I have read. Moulinas has no use for jargon. He skillfully employs notarial records and a few precious stock inventories, and, in refreshing fashion, refrains from connecting too closely his findings on the economic development of Avignon's book trade with E. Labrousse's celebrated hills and valleys. I should like to see Moulinas nuance his remarks on the influence of the French legislation of 1777 on book privileges and would perhaps take him to task for neglecting the economic effects of Vergennes's order of June 12, 1783, to the farmer-general demanding the transport of foreign book imports to the capital prior to reshipment. But these are the quibbles of the specialist. A work of far greater breadth than its title suggests, Moulinas's thèse is a superb study in the social history of ideas.

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KENNEDY F. ROCHE. Rousseau: Stoic & Romantic. London: Methuen and Company; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1974. Pp. xvi, 177. \$11.00.

The title of this book is entirely misleading. Mr. Roche says little about Rousseau's relations to Stoicism and nothing about romanticism. One would, however, have difficulties in finding any suitable title for a book that has no theme at all. It begins with a brief and superficial review of Seneca, but shows no grasp of stoic metaphysics generally. The only point that comes out clearly is that the doctrine of the unreality of evil caused problems. Stoics took human suffering to be due to a perpetual decline from a Golden Age, a fatality for which no adequate cause was given. Rousseau's Second Discourse resembles Stoicism in this respect. That is all we hear about the latter. From there on no discernible principle of selection, analysis, or criticism appears. Rousseau's romanticism is, in passing, identified with a belief in the uniqueness of the individual, with nationalism, and finally, with a belief in a future utopia, but none of these topics is discussed adequately. Instead of a coherent view of Rousseau's theories, we

get a very simple account of some, by no means all, chapters of the Social Contract. This quasi narrative is enlivened by attempts at "comparing and contrasting" Rousseau with various other writers, William Godwin, Thomas Paine, Jeremy Bentham, Machiavelli, and, occasionally, the Christian tradition. The Stoics, however, do not reappear, even in the chapter devoted to natural rights. At no time are any conclusions drawn from these exercises, and it is impossible to guess what end they are meant to serve. The book ends with the wholly unargued conclusion that Rousseau transformed Stoicism, and that this was possible because the latter was a naturalistic system. This is not a serious work of scholarship.

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JOHN CHARVET. The Social Problem in the Philosophy of Rousseau. (Cambridge Studies in the History and Theory of Politics.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. vii, 150. \$8.95.

BRONISZAW BACZKO. Rousseau: Solitude et communauté. Translated from the Polish by CLAIRE BRENDHELLAMHOUT. (École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VIº Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Centre de recherches historiques. Civilisations et sociétés 30.) Paris: Mouton. 1974. Pp. 420. 72 fr.

These two works represent in their respective perspectives and methodologies opposite ends of the interpretive spectrum Rousseau's oeuvre has generated among scholars. John Charvet limits himself to a critical analysis of the "social problem" in Rousseau's philosophy, that is, of the individual's relations to others in society. He concentrates on but three of Rousseau's works-the Discourse on Inequality, Emile, and the Social Contract. They are, Charvet writes, "the major statements of his mature thought on the subject"; and he eschews any reference to other interpretations or analyses. His, then, is a microscopic approach to Rousseau. Bronisław Baczko's approach, in contrast, is macroscopic. It encompasses not only Rousseau's entire corpus but most of the major interpretive works on Rousseau in Polish, German, French, and English. Neither a biography of Rousseau nor a chronological analysis of his works, Baczko's study is "an attempt to extricate Rousseau's themes, to grasp the unity of his vision of the world imbedded in his works not so much as a system of theses and solutions but rather as a structure of tensions and problems." "Solitude" and "community" are for Baczko the key themes in Rousseau's work, reflecting and elaborating the tensions and critical problems Rousseau experienced and sought to resolve. Inasmuch as Baczko's concomitant aim is to "reconstitute the most general problems of the age of Enlightenment" in their dynamic unfolding and as announcing the "crisis" of Enlightenment thought, Baczko necessarily adopts a broad, not to say exhaustive methodological perspective.

Charvet's narrow approach allows for brevity and clarity, both of which adorn his essay. His concern is with the nature and logic of Rousseau's conception of a society and of social relations between men in which the corruption Rousseau associates with society is avoided and human potentialities for virtue are fully developed. He traces the unfolding of Rousseau's argument and exposes the basic philosophical difficulties inherent in it. He analyzes the Discourse on Inequality as "the preliminary presentation and analysis of the social problem," the work in which Rousseau describes how man's fall from nature into society creates a fundamental problem as to individual identities. He then analyzes Emile and the Social Contract, Rousseau's accounts, respectively, of the educational and moral relations and of the political relations that must be realized if a solution to the social problem is to emerge. Charvet persuasively argues that Rousseau's thought is "incoherent." He shows that by his own definitions Rousseau cannot establish a social consciousness "which is both a moral consciousness and also preserves the stance of natural man" (p. 32). Similarly, Charvet argues, in Emile Rousseau abandons the ideaexpressed in the Discourse-of man's natural selfsufficiency, and he arbitrarily redefines "pity" in such a way as to reconcile what in his original definitions are irreconcilable, namely, amour de soi and amour propre or, in other words, nature and culture. Finally, in his analysis of the Social Contract Charvet exposes the "incoherence" of Rousseau's political solution to the social problem. He closes with a harsh judgment of the "fraudulence" of Rousseau's supposed identity of the individual and the common interest: "The absurdity and incoherence of Rousseau's theory lie precisely in the elaboration of a social ideal founded on the rejection of the right of individuals to live and value each other in their particularity" (p. 146).

Rousseau himself was well aware of his ambiguities and apparent contradictions; he also knew that the whole was often greater than the sum of its parts. Baczko shares this view, and in his study he emphasizes the whole—"the structure of the entire work." Such an approach may cancel out or transcend contradictions; it leads in this case to an interpretation of ambiguities and opacity as logical and historical manifestations or reflections of an age in ferment, a transitional age. Baczko's emphasis on "structure" and "dialectics" and on Rousseau's unconscious, as well as his conscious,

intentions and premises flows from his conceptual and methodological perspective, which is strongly influenced by Hegel, Marx, and Lévi-Strauss. Baczko, following other commentators, includes them among the continuators and clarifiers of Rousseau's thought. Thus, Kant thought through Rousseau's ethical ideas; Hegel worked out Rousseau's dialectic of liberty and history ("We cannot comprehend the Phenomenology of Mind," Baczko writes, "without first understanding Emile and the Social Contract, the preferred reading of the Tübingen seminarian"); Marx clarified Rousseau's notion of alienated and alienating man; Freud thought through Rousseau's emotionally charged expressions of sentiment. Baczko writes that this perspective entails viewing Rousseau not only through his own writings and in the context of his time but also through the lens of the various "rousseauismes" that have drawn some at least of their inspiration from Rousseau's works. (Baczko refers to this as the "second life" of those works.) So viewed, Rousseau's oeuvre may be seen as an impressive and unified totality, a structure, in which complex and truly significant themes are treated in more or less greater detail with a prescience and intellectual fecundity that none of Rousseau's contemporaries matched: alienation, the gulf between nature and culture, the inadequacy of a purely rational, analytical study of man, the meaning and role of "solitude," the relations of history, politics, and philosophy, the problematics of democracy and individualism-Rousseau touched upon all of these problems, and more, and if he did not provide acceptable answers to them he clearly asked the pertinent questions. Given such a grand and complex structure—and Rousseau always insisted his thought had to be considered in toto-logical fallacies and semantic lapses such as Charvet has analyzed may be dismissed as venial sins.

For Baczko, Rousseau's work stands as a focal cluster or combination of living ideas that reflect not merely Rousseau's unique encounter with his society but also the central concerns of the collective consciousness of the European mind in an age of a prolonged crisis, one which has continued to this day (see especially pp. 391-93). Baczko notes that Rousseau's political thought manifests "a long term pessimism [derived from] the contradictions inherent in political life which tend always...to degrade it" (p. 374). This pessimism tends to support the "rousseauisme" of Lévi-Strauss rather than that of Marx. Marx's richly historical concepts postulate a dialectical progress that promises an eventual end to man's social and self-alienation; Lévi-Strauss's nonhistorical and undialectical concepts minimize man's role in history and offer scant hope that, having fallen from

the grace of nature into the trap of culture, man may escape degradation or even destruction. Rousseau, who in Lévi-Strauss's view founded the "human sciences," would no doubt have recognized himself more in the anthropologist than in Marx. It is to Baczko's great credit that his scholarly exposition of Rousseau's thought leads the reader not only to ponder more deeply Rousseau's meaning and intentions but also to re-examine the contributions of the various "rousseauismes," from Kant to Lévi-Strauss, to our understanding of the human condition and its prospects.

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LESTER G. CROCKER. Diderot's Chaotic Order: Approach to Synthesis. [Princeton:] Princeton University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 83. \$10.00.

In this suggestive essay, Professor Crocker has attempted a synthesis of every aspect of Diderot's thought by categorizing it into the themes of order and disorder. This synthesis is nothing less than a glimpse at Diderot's way of apprehending reality and, of necessity, includes a discussion of Diderot's view of the cosmos, his moral theory, his esthetics, and his politics. It is a hefty assignment for such a short study. Crocker has long been interested in the way the philosophes dealt with the void left in the European consciousness when the Christian world view came under open attack. He observes that "the effects of the dissolution of the Christian synthesis have not yet been absorbed or remedied" (p. x) and is here particularly fascinated by Diderot, as he has been in his other books on the Enlightenment, because Diderot "saw mankind condemned to re-enact perpetually the struggle for order against unconquerable disorder" (p. 115). According to Crocker, Diderot more than the other philosophes helped usher in the awareness that ours is an age of crisis in ethical thought. Be that as it may, what can Crocker's present synthetical study tell us, in a specific and common-sense manner, about Diderot's thought on such a vast array of subjects?

On the question of cosmic order, Crocker concludes that for Diderot the dialectical opposites of order and disorder "are one, and there is no way to extricate the question from the categories of the mind or to separate it from the subjectivity of the perceiving individual" (p. 51). Crocker's portrayal of Diderot's moral theory is similar. There is a constant struggle between the need for social order and the individual wish to be as disorderly as possible. Unlike his version of an authoritarian Rousseau, Crocker sees Diderot as ultimately ambiguous on this question. Again in politics, Crocker's Diderot can only offer some suggestions for

piecemeal reform. He had no totalitarian structures to set up as Crocker's Rousseau did. Only in the realm of esthetics can Crocker see Diderot as decidedly favoring order. Esthetic order "is grasped by a well ordered and orderly mind, which goes beyond the order (or the disorder) of phenomena to the higher level of truth, that is, to a higher or more fundamental order of the universal and permanent to which access is gained through the ideal model" (p. 57).

Except in the area of esthetic principles, then, Diderot remains for Crocker a brilliant but ambivalent thinker. No one can quarrel with the fact that Diderot saw many sides to a multitude of problems and that he eschewed simple answers. But I rather suspect that Crocker has made Diderot a bit more confusing than he really was. The reason, I surmise, is that this confusion is appealing to Crocker, who quotes Sartre with great affection, when the latter maintains that the ordered world hides intolerable disorders (p. 168). Again, this may be so, but students of Diderot and the Enlightenment are better served by the many books and articles that examine this philosophe in less hyperbolic language, and with more modest ambitions.

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EDWARD SHORTER and CHARLES TILLY. Strikes in France, 1830–1968. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. xxi, 428. \$27.50.

To develop a general explanation of strike activity in France, the authors statistically examined nearly one hundred thousand strikes. Their analysis of the quantitative data relies upon sociological approaches. This volume shows why such material and method should be part of the effective historian's craft. Shorter's and Tilly's work is of major importance for research on strikes particularly, and the working class generally, in France and elsewhere. Their book is fundamental to the debate over the whys and ways of historical research.

The authors demonstrate that workers belonging to a professional community—for example, the craftsmen of the July Monarchy and the technicians of the Fifth Republic—strike for shop-floor issues. Toilers in the great industrial bagnes, located in traditional centers of working-class protest, drawing inspiration from a tradition of conflict, and replacing the magnet of occupational solidarity with the bond of urban association, strike for other reasons. Beginning with the "mobilization of the working class" in 1880–1914, accelerating during the Popular Front and after World War II, these segments of the industrial proletariat

created their own type of organizations. Their large, bureaucratic, centralized trade-unions act "not [to] settle and negotiate" with employers (p. 28), but to pressure the centers of political power. For them the strike is "explicitly political" (p. 235), "an instrument of working-class political action" (p. 343), designed to influence the French political economy. Shorter and Tilly examine other strike theories-strikes are dysfunctional, caused by national character, or acts of marginal workers afflicted by alienation-and find them without an empirical basis. Psychology is put aside. Statistical and sociological analyses demonstrate that strikes are structurally inevitable, conducted by organizations created as a consequence of French society, and manned by those integrated within that society. This work is an example of how an examination of individual events can produce a satisfactory general explanation of the data.

One virtue of the authors' approach is their ability to see beyond the obvious and focus on the critical. They analyze occupations and uncover the consequent organizational results that determine differences in the form and function of strikes. "Industrialization transforms the nature of strike activity by creating a new organizational base" (p. 234). Occupation forms organization, which in turn shapes strike activity. But methodology that brings the authors results in some areas is less productive elsewhere. To study the effect of economic conditions on strike activity, they create an abstract quantitative model-unemployment, cost of living, prices, wages, and production. This neglects the vital question of what workers concretely perceive to be their economic condition. Although the authors mention "popular mentalities," it is missing in their model. It is, however, of crucial historical importance in this area, and for understanding the political consciousness that the authors state is central to working-class action. Their pursuit of the political causes of strikes leads them into a too narrow definition of both economics and politics. Setting up two models of strike motivation, economic and political, is more a reflection of the needs of the measuring social scientist, anxious to isolate the independent variable, than of historical reality. Why the dichotomy and assumption that economic and political variables are separable? By seeking one or the other they miss the point of their connection. Ten million strikers went back to work in 1968 and received higher wages. But did they not strike for political changes? In 1974 the working-class assault on the Elysée was stopped. The winter of 1974-75 saw rolling barrages of coordinated strike activity. It is upon this terrain, for the moment, that the French working class is fighting to capture the heights of political and economic power. Intent on demonstrating the political purpose of strikes, the authors unnecessarily separate it from the economic component in political action. The politicized French working class does not make such distinctions. It acts in each area for purposes in both.

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JAN KARL TANENBAUM. General Maurice Sarrail, 1856–1929: The French Army and Left-Wing Politics. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 300. \$12.95.

Between 1900 and 1918 General Maurice Sarrail was the ardent spokesman for the liberal, anticlerical ideals of the French radicals in an officer corps reputedly dominated by conservatives and Catholics. As such he was the darling of the Left, an object of scorn for many of his fellow officers, and the cause of periodic controversy. Professor Jan Karl Tanenbaum, in this book on Sarrail, deals at length with the various phases of his career, focusing primarily on how it was affected by his association with the Left. In the process, he also provides much pertinent information on Sarrail's role in the origins and development of the Allied campaign in the Balkans and on his postwar tenure as high commissioner in Syria and Lebanon.

For all the solid qualities of Tanenbaum's study, in particular his admirably thorough research, he leaves the reader uncertain as to how seriously the vicissitudes of Sarrail's career should be taken, and how significant the controversies he inspired were. Are they to be understood simply as the consequence of the confrontation between an able, but intransigent, self-righteous individual and an unsympathetic professional milieu? Or do they touch upon some of the real, fundamental issues concerning civil-military relations under the Third Republic? The answer may depend on whether one believes that the incompatibility between the opposing ideals animating the army and the republic constituted a serious military or political problem. Sarrail and his political defenders thought they did. They wanted the officer corps to be not only competent and patriotic but also "devoted to the ideals of the Republic." Ultimately, however, most politicians concluded that desirable as this republicanization may have been for domestic political reasons, it could not be accomplished without impairing the effectiveness of the army. There is little reason to think that they were mistaken or that the government would have experienced any fewer problems in World War I if the officer corps and the high command had been more "republican."

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GERALD H. MEAKER. The Revolutionary Left in Spain, 1914–1923. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 562. \$18.95.

This is a fine piece of historical craftsmanship and a major contribution to Spanish historiography. It is an exhaustive study of the impact on Spain's anarchists and Marxists of World War I, the Russian Revolution, the postwar international workers' organizations, and finally-perhaps most decisively—the postwar depression in Spain with the time-honored attempt to reduce labor costs by breaking the unions. Far from unifying the Revolutionary Left, these momentous events deepened the hostilities among its member groups and retarded an already untried movement by denying it any responsible public role. Meaker's viewpoint is distinguishable but controlled: affirming the need for radical change in Spain, he probes to learn why it did not occur in this, the country that responded most enthusiastically to the Russian Revolution. He follows in detail the activities of anarchists, socialists, and communists up to the euphoria of the years 1919-21, when revolution seemed possible, then through 1921-22 as those movements marked time, and down to the tragedy of 1923. Not only does he delineate with fine impartiality the three main currents, but he differentiates the many factions within each. Although he dignifies each faction by describing the ideological basis for its action, he is forced to conclude at times that personalismo was the overriding factor.

But this is a long and enormously complex era, a turning point in European civilization no less than for the labor movement; Professor Meaker himself acknowledges the probability that future monographs may modify his classifications of factions undergoing intensive change. One such may be the description of the Escuela Nueva as Fabian, vulnerable if for no other reason than that its members were so determinedly orthodox in their Marxism. Probably he should have treated some sources more gingerly—for example, the memoirs of Pérez Solís. More credence should have been given to the charge of agent provocateur (so often leveled against him) to explain his brusque swings from left to right.

These are small caveats on a major analysis of revolutionary politics in Spain. Eschewing shibboleths, avoiding partisanship, Meaker ties "tendencies" to specific groups of militants reacting to specific events, both within Spain and abroad. The development of Marxism and anarchism in Spain is contrasted with that of Western Europe at large; analogy helps to classify and show coherence in factions. One important result, convincing to all who have studied in depth the Partido Socialista OBREAO de España prior to World War I, is that its model was not Guesde's French party but the

German Social Democratic party. Not least of Meaker's achievements is his ability to create a milieu (undoubtedly more rational than the one that actually prevailed) through his skill as a writer, the breadth of his sources, and the extensive, variegated new facts he presents. This is the first comprehensive chronology of the Revolutionary Left for this era. But Meaker's greater achievement has been to ply, adroitly and with somber judgment, the historian's craft: to analyze, synthesize, and refine the material until it achieves an identity of its own.

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R. A. B. MYNORS and D. F. S. THOMSON, translated by. *The Correspondence of Erasmus*. Volume 1, *Letters 1 to 141*, 1484 to 1500. Annotated by WALLACE K. FERGUSON. [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1974. Pp. xxvi, 368. \$25.00.

Since this admirable volume, first fruit of the Toronto Erasmus translation project, will doubtless command a wide audience, it will be useful to record here the very few instances where the original seems incorrectly rendered (references are to P. S. Allen's Latin text): 20.76, 21.42: the conversus is more unambiguously called a "lay-brother"; 45.31: for senatus Christianus, both common usage and the context here (Erasmus quotes a letter of Filelfo to Charles VII occasioned by a French embassy to Rome) would suggest that this phrase refers to the college of cardinals, not to a "Christian council" of France; 78.8: nostro secessu refers more plausibly not to "my" but to "our" withdrawal from Paris, that is, by Dutch monks of the order to which Erasmus and his correspondent belonged; 83.68: the point is not that Cornelis was "less than honest in his dealings with Englishmen" but, more precisely, that he did not speak well of Erasmus in their presence; 131.3: ut cum intelligere nequeam is not contrary to fact; it indicates rather, as Allen notes, that Erasmus's Greek (a text of Homer is meant) was at this time not very good; 139.12: apparet pari arte scriptas videri means not that the letter in question "appears to have been composed with the same degree of artificiality" but that it "appears to seem" (to his correspondent) to have been so composed; finally, 3.24: where Allen retains in brackets a "not" added by Erasmus's eighteenth-century editor but considers it forced, readers ought to have been alerted in a footnote to the emendation, however plausible it may be.

But these and lesser cavils one might raise are far outweighed by the estimable success of Professors Mynors and Thomson. Their translation is clear and faithful to the text, their style is fresh and vigorous, neither stilted nor burdened with colloquialisms that will seem hackneyed a few years hence. Particular phrases—even some of Erasmus's Latin puns—are rendered not word for word but with English phrases that often seem to catch the meaning about as neatly as can be done (for example, "a man who lives in state" for vir magnificus, "coyness" for pudenti animo). In sum, it is a pleasure to commend to the general reader a new translation—that by F. M. Nichols did not have the benefit of Allen's critical edition—which may fairly be called worthy of Erasmus's Latin.

It should further be noted that the volume has value also for specialists. Those who have devoted some time to the works of Erasmus's youth can best appreciate how useful it will be to have at hand a translation that clarifies a number of difficult or obscure passages. Professor Ferguson's notes list many classical allusions not recorded by Allen, perhaps, as the editors suggest, because the latter assumed his readers would know their Terence and Plautus. Finally, Professor John H. Munro's appendix, listing the weights and values of some forty-five contemporary coins, will in itself commend the volume to those of us struggling sixteenth-century scholars who cannot tell a genuine Rhenish gulden from a postulaat.

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C. H. E. DE WIT. De nederlandse revolutie van de achttiende eeuw, 1780-1787: Oligarchie en proletariaat [The Revolution in the Netherlands in the Eighteenth Century, 1780-1787: Oligarchy and Proletariat]. Oirsbeek: H. J. J. Lindelauf. 1974. Pp. 308. 51.50 gls.

If there woefully have been few studies of the Batavian revolution, the period that went before has received even less attention. Yet this study of the events of 1787, which Dr. De Wit boldly calls a "revolution" although it was directed against the democratic forces, is noteworthy not just because it opens up new territory but also because of the author's freshness of vision and vigor of new interpretation. He frankly puts himself under the aegis of the Palmer-Godechot "Revolution of the West" thesis, and he sees the overthrow of the Patriot movement, which had taken the leadership of the United Netherlands in the wake of the disastrous war with England from 1780 to 1784, as a Dutch version of "pre-revolution"-to use Jean Égret's term. De Wit does not drive the analogy too far, however. The aim of the revolution was not to hamstring the stadholdership-the United Provinces' equivalent of monarchy—but to restore its authority and powers; and the forces upon which it rested were primarily the "aristocracy"—the Dutch "regent" class that had no clear equivalent

in French politics-and the "proletariat" (as De Wit, hearkening back to Roman antiquity rather than to the nineteenth century, calls a congeries of damnés de la terre, mostly social detritus, with only the Amsterdam bijltjes-shipyard workers-gainfully employed among them). Most important, the triumph of the revolution was not at all the achievement of internal forces acting on their own but came upon the initiative and under the guidance of the English ambassador, Sir James Harris (later raised to the peerage as first earl of Malmesbury for his good work), who not only directed, encouraged, and paid the Orangeists, but also planned and oversaw the riots that became the primary instrument in cowing the Patriots, who feared suffering the fate of the De Wit brothers in 1672. The author notes that the fearful instrument of popular rioting had to be protected by the Prussian invasion forces, which found themselves playing a novel and not altogether pleasant role, and that Frederick William II, despite his concern for his sister, the wife of the stadholder, had to be virtually tricked into the invasion. Not content with this much revision, De Wit goes on to put one of the customary heroes of Dutch historiography, Gijsbert Karel van Hogendorp (noted for his initiative in the restoration of the Orange house in 1813), in the role of villain, Harris's accomplice in the treacherous, traitorous work of overthrowing the legitimate, established government of the Patriots. (The book is privately published; it is hard to believe that its iconoclasm kept it from finding an established publisher, but one wonders.)

This is obviously an important study. Yet it has some significant gaps and flaws. Key terms are used idiosyncratically, in a loose and arbitrary way; the social underpinnings of political structures and movements are given scant attention; narrative and analysis are not always woven together in a fully satisfactory way. For all that, it is a work that will make historians of the Dutch think over some of their pet assumptions and beliefs, because it does not simply turn the customary picture upside down but shatters it and attempts to reassemble it. It would have been good if the pieces had been put together in a fully persuasive way, but iconoclasm and iconography seldom go well together.

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H. F. COHEN. Om de vernieuwing van het socialisme: De politieke oriëntatie van de Nederlandse sociaal-democratie 1919–1930 [Toward the Renewal of Socialism: The Political Orientation of the Dutch Social-Democratic Party 1919–1930]. (Leidse Historische Reeks, number 18.) Leiden: Universitaire Pers. 1974. Pp. x, 279. 42 gls.

The growing volume of monographs on the history of European political parties has been enlarged and enhanced by this compact study of the evolution of the Dutch Socialist party (SDAP) in the decade after World War I. Unfortunately, monographs of this type add little to the general knowledge of the evolution of political parties in Western Europe. On reading this meticulously researched and concisely written book, one cannot help thinking of Carl L. Becker's famous dictum that we all will "know more and more about less and less."

Indeed, the author restricts his investigation to a very narrow time frame, and one wonders whether it would not have been more logical to carry it through to 1939. Within this time frame he carefully and objectively examines the gradual transition from a brief revolutionary phase in 1918–19 to the long-range evolutionary development—similar to that of other European socialist parties. Apart from a few references, however, he fails to set this development in relation to the evolution of these other parties.

A comparative overview of this historic process, at least in the decade under review, would have helped the reader to understand the struggle between the reformist and the revolutionary Marxian socialists within the wider context of the genesis of Western socialist parties. The SDAP, after all, was not very different from such fraternal parties as the German SPD, the French SFIO, or the Swedish SAP.

The changes among the leadership of the SDAP symbolize the transformation of the SDAP from orthodox Marxism to pragmatic gradualism. The author offers a great deal of useful and new information on the successive leaders of the party from P. J. Troelstra, the militant activist, to his successors W. H. Vliegen and J. W. Albarda and the trade-union chief, Roel Stenhuis. The latter's abortive attempt to reorient and revitalize the SDAP largely failed, in Cohen's opinion, because of the bureaucratic inertia that had overtaken—if not taken over—the party.

After dealing with the left-wing opposition, again a problem common to many European socialist parties in the interbellum period, the author turns to a discussion of the evolution of socialist theory and ideology in the twenties. In this connection he traces the views and influence of the religiously inclined group within the SDAP. In particular, he analyzes the role of the Belgian socialist thinker Henri de Man, who in later years tended to collaboration with fascism. Christian concepts and motivations within the Dutch Socialist party, however, were neither a new nor a unique feature of the SDAP, the party having gone on record even before World War I as being tolerant and pragmatic in religious matters.

In his well-reasoned conclusion the author as-

serts that the political leadership kept the SDAP from a needed conceptual and activist renewal. This, of course, could be said of many of the fraternal parties in the two decades between the world wars. The leadership, however, did not differ much in its disposition from the material and practical concerns of much of the membership of the party and its electorate as a whole. As Cohen rightly points out, it took the crises of the depression and the coming of World War II to shake the SDAP, and many other European socialist parties, into a reformism and revitalization that only in the postwar era made them parties with a national rather than a class appeal. It also led them into positions of power and governmental responsibility that, in the case of the SDAP, had been denied before 1939.

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TAGE KAARSTED. Konseilspraesident C. Th. Zahles dagbøger 1914–1917 [President of the Council C. Th. Zahle's Diary 1914–1917]. (Jysk Selskab for Historie.) Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget. 1974. Pp. xii, 148.

Carl Theodor Zahle (1866–1946) was a Danish lawyer, editor, political party leader, and statesman, whose career spanned about forty-five years of his country's history. A liberal who fought to alleviate the conditions of the tenant farmers and also sponsored much progressive legislation, he served as prime minister on two occasions, 1909–10 and 1913–20. His second term as head of the government coincided not only with the First World War but also with a time of great change as far as Danish domestic policies and practices were concerned.

Some of the best-known members of the second Zahle cabinet, like Ove Rode and Peter Munch, left behind them huge archives, but Zahle's extant writings are limited to a great number of letters and other papers as well as his diary, which has now been made available.

Like most political diaries, the present one throws at least some light on the history of the period. Actually a collection of fragments, it will enlighten the reader about some of the matters then being discussed or acted upon by the Danish cabinet, whose main task during most of that time was to try to steer a middle course between the Allied and the Central powers.

The reader will get to know Zahle better as a person and will get more than an inkling of his relationship with King Christian X and such personages as Edvard Brandes and Erik Scavenius. The inside view provided here of conferences and negotiations, many of them carried out under

great stress, is perhaps of no more than limited interest to readers concerned with the history of Denmark in a general way but will no doubt be warmly welcomed by professional historians, who, incidentally, will be spared the chore of trying to decipher Zahle's handwriting.

ERIK J. FRIIS
Scandinavian-American Bulletin

ERIK BEUKEL. Socialdemokratiet og stationeringsproblemet 1952-53: En sikkerhedspolitisk beslutning [The Social Democrats and the Problem of the Stationing of Foreign Troops 1952-53: A Political Decision on Security]. (Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences, volume 15.) [Odense:] Odense University Press. 1974. Pp. 72. 20 D. kr.

Seven years after World War II ended for Northern Europe, one of the lesser problems that it brought in its aftereffect had to be faced by the Social Democratic party of Denmark. Should it acquiesce in the request made by the Western powers to be allowed to station troops in Denmark so that air bases and other such necessary installations would be better defended against sudden attack, coming, as everyone knew and no one said, from the East? This little volume details how the party decided that it should oppose such occupation.

The author finds little evidence that the Russian occupation of Bornholm in 1945 or the Russian occupation of the Norwegian Finmark in the same year had any influence on the decision. Nor do the party leaders and members seem to have harked back to their experiences with the Allied forces during the perilous times just after the German surrender. Two things seem to have had the really important effects; visits by Social Democrats to the United States and the emergence of a Danish feeling that the country would be better off without any organized force of strangers, foreigners, and outlanders within its boundaries.

Viewing the United States in the fall of 1952 and the spring of 1953, Social Democrats preferred to work with a Democratic regime rather than with the Republican one voted into power in 1952. The United States, involved since 1950 in Korea, had little interest in European adventures. But early in 1953 Eisenhower began the long series of moves that at last led to an end to the Korean War, while the death of Stalin in 1953 opened new vistas for possible action to lessen Russian dominance in central Eastern Europe.

Denmark had been a small country used as a pawn on the chessboard by greater powers. With Stalin dead the Social Democrats saw less chance of Russian aggression; with the United States seeking peace in Korea, it too might not move to create new international tensions. Most of these things

are hinted at, not clearly expressed, yet the author cannot but find that they nourished a Danish idea that perhaps for the next few years Denmark might be better off the fewer possibilities it gave for any incidents of any kind. So the Social Democrats decided on no outside force on Danish soil, and time supported their decision.

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PAUL M. HAYES. Quisling: The Career and Political Ideas of Vidkun Quisling, 1887–1945. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1972. Pp. 368. \$12.95.

The message of this biography is that Quisling was promising in his early years, dedicated, diligent but somewhat deluded most of his life, usually dull, and finally a failure. Unfortunately, in this case the medium is very much like the message. The book opens promisingly enough with an exploration of Quisling's childhood, youth, and developing character traits. It reports briefly but fairly effectively on his military career and on his diplomatic, administrative, and business activity in Russia after the revolution and throughout the 1920s. In dealing with the political career of Quisling, however, beginning in 1930, the book, like Quisling, begins to go awry. From that point on Hayes concentrates upon politics, increasingly to the exclusion of all else. And that is fatal. Haves tells us that Quisling was no politician, that his "enigmatic character" can be understood only "in the context of his life." But it is precisely this context that is missing from the bulk of the book: Quisling's Ukrainian-born wife, with whom he lived-and presumably communicated-for twenty-two years, is not even mentioned from 1930 until August 1945 when it is suggested that Quisling, awaiting trial, may have been worried about her. All the rest of his private life, his family, friends, finances, hobbies, tastes in clothing, food, music, art-all the things that give dimension to a man—are missing as the author concentrates in a narrowing fashion upon political events.

We learn, without surprise, that Quisling's efforts to launch a political movement, Nasjonal Samling, were pathetic failures. He and his party were repeatedly rejected by the Norwegian electorate. We also learn that Quisling did, indeed, become a traitor both before and after April 9, 1940. But Hayes is captured by his materials—this is often the case with dissertations—and as the war approaches, the book reads more and more like not only Quisling's but everybody's appointment calendar. The diligent recitation of who went where and who met with whom becomes a maelstrom sucking in ever more people. And Quisling is not in the vortex, neither do we see the devel-

opment through his eyes, in fact he virtually disappears in the froth. This may be the author's artistic way of indicating that Quisling was in over his head. In a biography, however, one should not let the principal get out of focus even if he is peripheral and the events are more interesting.

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ERICH KAHLER. The Germans. Edited by ROBERT and RITA KIMBER. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1974. Pp. ix, 305. \$13.50.

Nietzsche found it characteristic of the Germans that the question "what is German?" never died out among them. It is equally characteristic that the German question is conventionally posed in terms of "characterology" and "folk psychology." The form of the question is perhaps more revealing than the many possible answers. In his brilliant study, Society and Democracy in Germany (1967), Ralf Dahrendorf observed that such approaches were symptoms of the problem of which they purported to be the cure.

Erich Kahler's study, although it claims to be somewhat heretical, is orthodox to the point of trotting out all the faithful old hacks of cultural history. The present work (published posthumously from a set of lectures and based in part on Kahler's giant but unfinished earlier study, Der deutsche Charakter in der Geschichte Europas [1937]) postulates that "the history of a people is that people's character—their characteristic being—as revealed in time." Using concepts and images drawn from psychology, literature, myth, and philosophy (inferiority complex, ambivalence, protracted puberty, and a host of hoary dualisms), Kahler evolves the characterological perspective that he finds particularly relevant to German history. He finds that German "being" consists of "becoming"-to have their identity called into constant question, resulting in unmediated swings between extreme impulses. Lacking a stable ethnic, geographic, or political base, German evolution was of the anomalous "centripetal" type, which in contrast to centrifugal, transformative, and divisional types, is in fact no type at allhence the exaggerated German drive to national identity. (A normal or natural pattern is presupposed but not articulated.)

Characterological history must be genetic in a special, personified sense: the child is father to the man. German "destiny" was set early in the preconscious stage by the Germans' ambivalent attitude toward Roman-Christian civic culture and molded by the hollow, atavistic forms of the Holy Roman Empire. To overcome their handicaps, the Germans resorted to either slavish imitation or

imperious bluster. Like their territories, their myth, religion, philosophy, and language lacked objective form, clear boundaries, and a stable sense of values. Kahler uses etymology as explanation and Wortweisheit to show this pattern. From the plethora of principalities, Prussia emerged as "power without community"—"a social and political homunculus" and archetype of the total state. Luther likewise figures as the "prototype of the modern German": an unstable composite of conflicting roles and tendencies, who achieved grace only at the cost of partitioning life into an external world of sheer obedience and an internal world of purely spiritual freedom. German unification was forced from above, reinforcing and yet disappointing the desire for inner community. After 1890 the Germans emerged "as the upstarts they were" and tried to find their identity in limitless aggrandizement. "National Socialism was nothing new; it was simply the old carried to extremes." The child is not only father to the man-but mother, sister, brother, and everything else.

Kahler's study is the best of its type; he is certainly more convincing than a Hellpach or a Jaspers. He succeeds in illuminating what he called in his earlier work "the repeated mutual failing of Germany and Europe." But the déformations professionelles only confirm the self-images and tendencies of traditional German historiography: long on dualistic metaphors and pleonasms, short on concrete analysis. We are told that poets and philosophers do not make revolutions and yet we get more on Hans Sachs than on Hitler, a page on St. Simon and next to nothing on German Social Democracy. One cannot avoid observing that Kahler's method makes use of practically every premise of the tradition he sets out to criticize. Although there is a respected place for Kulturgeschichte and its variants, it cannot bear the load of the German question as we ask it in the twentieth century.

MICHAEL ERMARTH

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Biographisches Wörterbuch zur deutschen Geschichte. Founded by HELLMUTH RÖSSLER and GÜNTHER FRANZ. Second revised edition by KARL BOSL et al. Volume 2, I–R. Munich: Francke Verlag. 1974. Pp. x, 1268–2416. 180 fr. S.

The second volume of the Bosl-Franz-Hofmann biographical dictionary for German history follows the format of the first. There are fewer Nazi biographies, and those listed deal with lesser figures. More space is devoted to important dynasties and medieval emperors. The excellent modern German scholarship in this area shines throughout. Maria Theresa is considered an important ruler, but the literature on her domestic reforms has not been

assimilated. Joseph II tends to be glorified for his great power aspirations, and some of his mother's. reforms are erroneously attributed to him. Although contemporary American scholarship is often included in the excellent short bibliographies, some of the more standard works tend to be omitted, for example, my own work on Karl Friedrich of Baden's physiocratic reforms. Important political theorists of the earlier period are given their due, especially those who specialized in constitutional law: Limnaeus, J. J. Moser, and Pütter. Kant's revolutionary sympathies are understated, however, while Gottfried von Leibniz is justified by Einstein's theory of relativity. Leopold von Ranke's universalism is sacrificed to a summary of his national histories, and although important figures of the Enlightenment like Hermann Samuel Reimarus are given proper attention, his son Johann Albrecht is more important than he appears here, particularly for his economics. The excellence of recent scholarship on the Catholic Enlightenment in Austria and Bavaria, however, is evident in the entries on Ickstatt, Lori, Martini, and Montgelas. It is interesting to observe that Franz concludes, "Marx's socialism is not actually revolutionary, he rejects anarchism."

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T. C. W. BLANNING. Reform and Revolution in Mainz, 1743–1803. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 354. \$21.00.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the electorate of Mainz superficially was as ripe for reform or revolution as any European state. But when the electorate confronted its problems, reforms were limited in scope and content, while a local revolutionary tradition proved virtually non-existent. The story of how and why this happened is the subject of T. C. W. Blanning's fine example of local history.

Blanning's interpretation recalls to mind the verses of the Fable of the Bees, "Luxury employed a million of the poor, / And odious pride a million more." For, like Bernard Mandeville, Blanning argues that private vices became public benefits with the result that in Mainz political conservatism left the community continually at odds with the values and attitudes of its policy makers. Thus Blanning portrays a drama of change and continuity as one of irony and paradox. Conspicuous consumption by the imperial nobility promoted the development of a prosperous economy and strengthened ties of loyalty among nobles, peasants, clergy, craftsmen, and merchant gildsmen. Exploiting popular piety, Catholic clergy

sabotaged efforts to create a soundly financed and secular public school system. Mainz businessmen petitioned French Revolutionaries to spare the nobility from expropriation, while a xenophobic citizenry resisted the prospect of self-government and equality before the law. When the electorate disappeared, conservative values and attitudes survived intact.

Blanning's interpretation is designed to fuel the flames of historiographical controversy. He takes sharp issue with Atlanticists and Marxists by playing down the opposition of bourgeoisie and nobility and by dismissing riotous craftsmen and peasants as reactionaries whose demands were "socially discriminatory, economically restrictive, and politically conservative" (p. 266). The company he keeps is generally that of a Holborn, a Krieger, or a Meinecke, who insisted upon German differences. But Blanning is not completely at ease with these either, for he contends that German uniqueness dated from the eighteenth century and originated in the constitutional situation of Mainz as an independent prince bishopric of the empire. Factual and thoroughly researched, Blanning's book is superbly equipped to wage its battles and is highly recommended.

JOHN F. FLYNN
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RICHARD S. CROMWELL. David Friedrich Strauss and His Place in Modern Thought. Foreword by WILHELM PAUCK. Fair Lawn, N.J.: R. E. Burdick. 1974. Pp. 232. \$12.50.

There are few studies in English of David Friedrich Strauss, and Richard Cromwell has attempted to correct the omission with this short, well-written biography. Cromwell states in the opening chapter that his purpose is to characterize Strauss's personality, to trace his development as a thinker, and, according to the title, to establish his place in modern thought. In terms of these objectives, the author has the greatest measure of success with the first—that is, in portraying the man.

Strauss wrote a number of scholarly works, including biographies of Voltaire and Ulrich von Hutten, but it is for his theological writings that he is best known. His first book, *The Life of Jesus*, was published in 1835 and became an immediate sensation because of his claim that the Biblical account of Christ was not historically valid. In retrospect, the year 1835 has been acknowledged by theologians as "the year of the revolution in modern theology" (p. 51). Yet despite his theological radicalism, Strauss was politically conservative. Understandably, it was not long before he broke with the Young Hegelians with whom he had initially been identified.

One major weakness of the book, at least in terms of the author's attempt to identify Strauss's place in modern thought, is the treatment of Left Hegelianism. Cromwell has dealt with Strauss's use of Hegelian philosophy to investigate the life of Jesus, but he has sketched in only the barest outlines of Strauss's connection with and influence on the Young Hegelians. Since Cromwell states at the beginning that Strauss "helped to inspire Left Hegelianism," one would expect him to explain Strauss's role in a movement that affected "the whole course . . . of world history." William Brazill's *The Young Hegelians* (1970) is conspicuously absent from the bibliography.

What mainly concerns the author is Strauss's role in modern Biblical scholarship, and it is here that the chief merit of the book is found. Cromwell investigates the response of such scholars as Albert Schweitzer and Rudolf Bultmann to *The Life of Jesus*. He concludes that not only has Strauss's critique stood the test of time, but also that present-day historical research on the New Testament "stands to a considerable degree on the shoulders of Strauss."

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HELGA KROHN. Die Juden in Hamburg: Die politische, soziale und kulturelle Entwicklung einer jüdischen Grossstadtgemeinde nach der Emanzipation, 1848–1918. (Hamburger Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Juden, number 4.) Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag. 1974. Pp. 247. DM 34.

Prior to the First World War, Hamburg contained among its one million people fewer than twenty thousand Jews, roughly three per cent of the Jews in Germany. This solid study of that community, based on manuscript sources in Hamburg and in Jerusalem as well on a full range of statistical and other secondary sources, originally appeared as a doctoral dissertation in 1970.

The Jews of Hamburg, like those elsewhere in Germany, were seeking an identity within which they could be both good Jews and good Germans. Thus their history is not only the story of relations between Jew and gentile, but also a story of tensions within the Jewish community itself. On both these levels the story is, by and large, one of moderate and sober men seeking just compromises. Legal equality came by stages between 1848 and 1860. Jews were active in politics, economic life, and certain professions. Mixed marriages became even more frequent than in Berlin. Political anti-Semitism remained relatively weak.

Intra-Jewish affairs manifested a somewhat typical split in which the orthodox retained their strict synagogue and Talmud-Tora school, while the lib-

erals built a temple and sent their children to interreligious schools. But the leaders were content pragmatically to agree to disagree on certain points and thus retain their congregation (*Gemeinde*) as a single legal entity.

The question arises, then, whether Hamburg could have been a prototype for that "other Germany," relatively tolerant and immune to the appeals of Hitler and his like. By choosing 1918 for the terminal date of her study, Dr. Krohn avoids confronting that question. Indeed one must regret that she chooses to tell only the "middle half" of the story of Hamburg's Jews. For the complexities of the emancipation question prior to 1848, she is content to refer one to her *Magister* thesis (1967) on that subject. It is difficult to avoid the feeling that though the 1848–1918 limitation may have been defensible for a doctoral dissertation, it severely weakens the book under review.

Still, what Krohn selected to do, she did very well. By analyzing a significant segment of German Jewry in a dispassionate and scholarly manner, she has provided another useful addition to the growing literature on the problems of minority groups in modern society.

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FRITZ FISCHER. World Power or Decline: The Controversy over Germany's Aims in the First World War. Translated by Lancelot L. Farrar et al. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1974. Pp. xxiii, 131. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$1.95.

Even historians outside the German field must by now have heard of the heated controversy among German historians in the 1960s caused by the works of the Hamburg historian Fritz Fischer. His two main books-Griff nach der Weltmacht (1961; English ed., Germany's Aims in the First World War [1967]), and Krieg der Illusionen (1969; English ed., War of Illusions [1973])—dealt with Germany's major responsibility for, and far-reaching aims in, World War I. To scholars abroad they did not present anything startlingly new, except perhaps a revised image of Germany's chancellor Bethmann Hollweg. But in Germany they touched a raw nerve. Much of the agitation was due to the obvious parallels between Germany's aims in both world wars, a fact which contradicted the assertion by many of Fischer's older colleagues that nazism was a mere "accident" or "detour" on the long road of German history.

The small volume reviewed here is an offshoot of Fischer's major works. It was first published in 1965 as Weltmacht oder Niedergang: Deutschland im ersten Weltkrieg. Because it was written at the height of the "Fischer controversy," it is under-

standably partisan. Besides stating Fischer's main theses, the book presents his rejoinders to his most persistent critics, Gerhard Ritter and Egmont Zechlin. Its value is enhanced by a brief introduction, in which Fischer reviews the controversy caused by his writings. The translation is smooth and, on the whole, faithful, except for some of Fischer's criticisms of Ritter, which have been toned down considerably. These departures from the original make one wonder if the translation is perhaps based on the reputedly "milder" second German edition of 1968. If this is the case, it should have been pointed out. As things stand, the second edition is not even mentioned.

The Fischer controversy, meanwhile, has itself become history, as some of his most ardent opponents have either died (Ritter) or virtually come around to Fischer's views (Zechlin). At the same time, a generation of younger German historians, many of them Fischer's students, have been encouraged to approach their country's past with open and critical minds, producing scholarly works of considerable originality and merit. This "historiographical revolution" is perhaps the most positive long-range effect of Fischer's courageous stand on controversial issues.

HANS W. GATZKE
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DANKWART GURATZSCH. Macht durch Organisation: Die Grundlegung des Hugenbergschen Presseimperiums. (Studien zur modernen Geschichte, number 7.) [Gütersloh:] Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag. 1974. Pp. 486. DM 42.

Of all the gravediggers of the Weimar Republic who helped prepare the way for Hitler, none played a more important role than Alfred Hugenberg. Though never a Nazi, he was ready to use fascism as a weapon against democracy and radicalism. There were others who adopted the same strategy, confident that they could manipulate the National Socialist movement to serve their own purposes. But Hugenberg's position was particularly significant, not only because he was leader of the Nationalist party, but also because he exer-. cised far-reaching control over the mass media of Germany. He discovered after it was too late that he could not control the whirlwind. The man who had been so influential for more than thirty years was forced into retirement and obscurity within six months after the establishment of the Third Reich. In the end the gray eminence proved to be only a paper tiger.

In his scholarly and judicious monograph, Dankwart Guratzsch examines the early career of Hugenberg up to the end of the First World War. He sees in him a "technocrat of power," a different

kind of conservative whose influence derived not from noble birth, or party leadership, or vast wealth, but from close ties to the bureaucratic apparatus of state and economy. On the basis of voluminous research, the author describes the successive stages in the rise of his protagonist: government official in the eastern borderlands of Prussia, determined to perpetuate German domination over the Poles; chairman of the board of directors of the firm of Krupp; champion of expansionist war aims after 1914; and most important, founder of a press empire that was not to reach its full dimensions until the Weimar Republic. Throughout this steady ascent to power Hugenberg displayed a remarkable talent for organization combined with a passion for secrecy. To Guratzsch, he is the embodiment of a new type in rightist politics, applying the techniques of managerial efficiency to the shaping of public policy. Too narrow in outlook to become a popular leader, he could only engage in schemes and intrigues designed to maintain an authoritarian form of government in Central Europe.

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INGRID SCHULZE-BIDLINGMAIER, editor. Die Kabinette Wirth I und II: 10. Mai 1921 bis 26. Oktober 1921; 26. Oktober 1921 bis 22. November 1922. Volume 1, Mai 1921 bis März 1922; Dokumente Nr. 1 bis 236; volume 2, April 1922 bis November 1922; Dokumente Nr. 237 bis 409. (Akten der Reichskanzlei Weimarer Republik.) Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag. 1973. Pp. lxxxvi, 658; v, 659-1231.

GÜNTER ABRAMOWSKI, editor. Die Kabinette Marx I und II: 30. November 1923 bis 3. Juni 1924; 3. Juni 1924 bis 15. Januar 1925. Volume 1, November 1923 bis Juni 1924; Dokumente Nr. 1 bis 213; volume 2, Juni 1924 bis Januar 1925; Dokumente Nr. 214 bis 388; Anhang Nr. 1 bis 11. (Akten der Reichskanzlei Weimarer Republik.) Boppard am Rhein: Harald Boldt Verlag. 1973. Pp. lxiv, 676; v, 677–1406. DM 160 the set.

With the appearance of these volumes, the project to publish documents from the Reich chancellery for the period of the Weimar Republic, which produced its initial volume in 1968, nears the half-way point. Nine of the twenty-one cabinets of the Republic have now been covered (for reviews of the previously published volumes, see AHR, 75 [1970]: 1150; 78 [1973]: 1489-91).

Like the earlier volumes, these consist primarily of documents from the highest levels of the chancellery's operations: minutes of full cabinet meetings and conferences of smaller groups of ministers with subcabinet officials, representatives of the federal states, and spokesmen of various insti-

tutions and interest groups; memorandums by and for the chancellors and their staffs; legislative drafts; and important correspondence of the chancellery. These official documents have been supplemented by excerpts from, or references to, unpublished papers, as well as published diaries and memoirs, of significant contemporaries.

The documents are arranged in chronological fashion throughout the term of each cabinet. This conveys to the reader a sense of the interplay of the array of disparate problems and events that, at any given time, simultaneously confronted the chancellors and their ministers, something easily overlooked in research on an isolated topic. In the absence of any topical grouping of documents, a researcher who seeks to pursue a single theme or several limited themes will find that task facilitated by the exhaustive indexes of names and topics provided for each cabinet. Anyone wishing to pursue a topic in depth must, however, have recourse to additional sources. The high-level records that make up the bulk of these volumes usually indicate only what matters were dealt with and what decisions were reached, often revealing little about how the decision-making process took place or about the thinking and motives of the participants. In addition it is important to recognize that the documents printed in these volumes represent merely a small segment skimmed from the top of one of the many surviving archival collections of government documents from the Weimar period. The cabinet minutes, which make up the bulk of these volumes, constitute, by way of illustration, only 129 files of a total of approximately 2,780 in the full collection of chancellery documents, which is housed in the West German Bundesarchiv in Koblenz.

Since the chancellery collection has been open to researchers for more than a decade, the volumes under review here contain no startling disclosures. Indeed, their most surprising feature is the number of important topics on which the chancellery files, according to the volume editors, contain little or no information. In the case of the second cabinet of Josef Wirth, for example, the major foreign policy development—the negotiation and signing of the Rapallo Treaty with Bolshevik Russia in April 1922—left only the most superficial of traces in the files of the chancellery. This and other similar gaps could have been remedied by recourse to secondary literature, which in the case of the Wirth cabinets includes not only numerous studies of Rapallo but also a detailed monograph on all the major policies and actions of the government (Ernst Laubach, Die Politik der Kabinette Wirth 1921/22 [1968]; cf. AHR, 74 [1969]: 1316). Secondary works have, however, been rigidly excluded from consideration on the grounds that to include references to such studies would involve the project in historiographical controversies and in the interpretation of documents. According to the statement of editorial policy by Karl Dietrich Erdmann-who, with Hans Booms, has supervised the preparation of these volumes—the task of interpretation should be left to the individual researcher. Yet despite this stated policy, the introductions by the volume editors, which provide capsule chronicles of the history of each cabinet and a summary of the major issues faced, occasionally contain highly interpretive passages. In the introduction to the volume on the Wirth cabinets, for example, the editor writes, "Wirth not only spoke of fulfillment but also employed the finances of the Reich with idealism and vigor, within the limits of what was possible in the parliamentary system, in order to pursue a policy of fulfillment. Approximately a third of the documents presented in this edition attest to this" (vol. 1, p. lxxi). Those who are familiar with the historiography of the Weimar Republic are well aware how problematical such sweeping assessments are, especially when based upon incomplete evidence, as is admittedly the case here. Moreover, if the volume editors are permitted such editorializing, one is led to wonder why all other interpretive viewpoints should be excluded, along with the often informative additional evidence presented in support thereof.

In technical respects these volumes are, on the whole, models of documentary editing and are handsomely printed in an easy-to-read format. Still, there are a few deficiencies. For example, the foreword by Erdmann, containing the statement of editorial policy and providing valuable information about the history of the chancellery documents and the structure and procedures of the republican chancellery, is inexplicably omitted from the volumes on the Marx cabinet. Missing from both sets under review here is a listing of the previously published volumes in the collection. A researcher who comes across an isolated volume is thus left uninformed about the others already in existence. These technical faults, however, are minor. All scholars interested in the Weimar Republic owe a debt of gratitude to the editors and to the sponsoring institutions, the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and the Bundesarchiv, for what will quickly become a standard and indispensable tool for research on that period of German history.

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Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik, 1918–1945, aus dem Archiv des Auswärtigen Amts. Series B: 1925–1933. Volume 4, 1. Januar bis 16. März 1927; volume 5, 17.

März bis 30. Juni 1927; volume 6, 1. Juli bis 30. September 1927. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1970; 1972; 1974. Pp. l, 656; l, 670; xlix, 567.

The significance of Series B for serious students of German foreign policy in the Weimar era has been stated by Thomas T. Helde in his reviews of volumes 1-3 (see AHR, 73 [1967-68]: 523; 74 [1968-69]: 647; 75 [1969-70]: 530-31, 875) so eloquently that it hardly needs underscoring. The same editorial excellence that he observed characterizes also volumes 4-6. The historian dealing with the 1920s will have to supplement them, however, by frequent references to the Akten der Reichskanzlei for those years, which are published gradually, and to the microfilms of the Stresemann Papers. Unfortunately, publication projects of this magnitude and complexity progress but slowly.

Volumes 4, 5, and 6, for which Hans Rothfels, Maurice Baumont, Ronald Wheatley, and Hans W. Gatzke serve as *Hauptherausgeber*, represent a major change from its predecessors. The first three had been arranged broadly by subject. The editors decided that henceforth they will print all documents in their chronological sequence. This step has much to commend itself, especially since about thirty-five pages of an annotated subject index in front of each volume make it easy for the reader to follow the development of major topics and areas during the period covered.

The year 1927 was not a particularly happy time for promoting a better understanding between the European powers. Locarno and Thoiry had raised unduly high expectations in the German public for the quick correction of many controversial clauses of the Versailles Treaty. Now people began to realize that Stresemann's French and English colleagues could not deliver these improvements with the desired speed. The position of his opponents at home had been strengthened in late January 1927, when four German Nationalists under Oskar Hergt's leadership joined the fourth cabinet of Chancellor Wilhelm Marx. They were among the politicians who blamed Stresemann for Erfolgsarmut when he returned without big successes from his quarterly "summit" conferences with his Locarno partners in Geneva. Several documents show that Stresemann himself was irritated by Briand's evasiveness when the reduction of the occupation forces in the Rhineland was under discussion. But Stresemann was gratified when Sir Austen Chamberlain at the June session of the League of Nations Council praised the good relations between Berlin and Moscow and appealed to his German colleague to serve as an intermediary in a serious Russo-Polish conflict. At the September meeting, Chamberlain and Stresemann saw

eye to eye also concerning Polish wishes for some kind of an "Ost-Locarno."

As one reads through the more than seven hundred documents printed in these three volumes, he must be impressed by Stresemann's astute dealings with such different personalities as Briand, Chamberlain, and Chicherin. It also becomes quickly evident that he was supported by a highly competent team of diplomats, among them the state secretary Carl von Schubert, the ambassadors von Hoesch (Paris), von Maltzan (Washington), and the irascible but brilliant Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau (Moscow), and the legal adviser Friedrich Gaus.

An appendix to volume 4 offers a bonus to students of Stresemann's foreign policy: the full text of an address he delivered at a conference of the Reichszentrale für Heimatdienst on January 28, 1927, about Germany's place among the nations of the world. This is a fine example of his forceful oratory; it supplements and enriches this collection of diplomatic documents. It is a cause for regret, however, that the sixth volume does not include Stresemann's moving address before the League Assembly on September 9, 1927 (see Stresemann, Vermächtnis [1933], 3: 180-87). I was present when it was delivered and can testify to the deep impression it created on his audience. As a masterpiece of eloquence it was surpassed only by Aristide Briand's fiery appeal for peace from the same forum the next day.

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DONALD M. MCKALE. The Nazi Party Courts: Hitler's Management of Conflict in His Movement, 1921–1945. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1974. Pp. xvi, 252. \$10.00.

This well-researched study is the first to describe the activity of the Parteigerichte, the Nazi party's official mechanism for controlling internal discord. Created in July 1921, the Uschlas (Untersuchungs- und Schlichtungsausschüsse), or investigation and conciliation committees, were reorganized in 1926 as part of Hitler's effort to create a tightly knit, centralized, bureaucratic party. Established at every administrative level of the movement, the network of Uschlas had its powers defined before Hitler became chancellor and underwent little change in subsequent years. From 1927 until the fall of the Third Reich, Walter Buch, a former battalion commander and a fanatical racist, acted as the party's chief justice, although from 1941 his personal power was systematically undermined and reduced to almost nothing by his son-in-law and bitter enemy, Martin Bormann.

The *Uschlas* had several functions. In addition to mediating quarrels within the party and enforcing

discipline, the committees checked all membership applications to prevent infiltration by such racially or politically undesirable elements as Jews, Freemasons, or Communists—a task that assumed mammoth proportions in 1932-33 with the mass influx of membership petitions. While assuring loyalty to Hitler, the courts also provided him with a tool he could dominate and one that would take responsibility for any unpopular or potentially divisive decisions. Rather than take sides between powerful rivals the Führer could remain aloof. Thus, in the case of the Berlin struggle between Goebbels and the Strasser brothers, Hitler avoided action by placing matters in the hands of Buch until he had consolidated his power against the Strassers in the north.

Behind their façade of legality, the courts remained strictly subordinate to Hitler and the party leadership. They were prevented from taking action against party dignitaries like Streicher, Ley, Frank, or Amaan, even when there was incontrovertible evidence of embezzlement or other misuses of power. For the average German, however, the courts played an important role in the Nazi regime's arsenal of intimidation. Increasing numbers of party members were hauled before them, especially as the war situation and conditions within the Reich deteriorated. If their power of expulsion from the party had been a limited punishment before 1933, subsequently it could easily mean loss of employment, conscription for the front, or arrest by the police and confinement in a concentration camp. The Parteigerichte acted as a powerful instrument in destroying opposition to the regime both before and during the war.

McKale's careful and important book rests on a variety of source materials and offers valuable insights into the inner workings of nazism. Greater use could have been made of the records to show in detail the incidence of certain types of offenses, the social backgrounds of those tried, and the punishments meted out to them. This book tends to concentrate on the more notorious cases such as the acquittals of confessed murderers after the Reichskristallnacht in 1938. I hope that later studies will elaborate further on the Nazi machinery of judicial control and terror from the perspective of its victims.

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ILSE MAURER. Reichsfinanzen und Grosse Koalition: Zur Geschichte des Reichskabinetts Müller (1928–1930). (Moderne Geschichte und Politik, number 1.) Bern: Herbert Lang. 1973. Pp. 269. 37 fr. S.

The thrust of this study, which illuminates the collapse of the last democratically established cabinet of Germany in March 1930, relies heavily on

the standard political works of Bracher, Conze, Morsey, and others. Maurer's contribution lies in her meticulous research and explanation of the crucial role that financial policies played in the work of the Weimar cabinets from 1924 to 1930. Her study demonstrates how the cumulative dilemmas of these cabinets in facing the growing financial problems of those years became the lever by which the Center and right-wing parties forced the Social Democrats out of power in order to install Brüning's minority cabinet backed by Hindenburg's emergency powers.

The author systematically interrelates international financial factors with internal German fiscal problems. Economically restored between 1924 and 1927, the republic thereafter waged a losing campaign to consolidate internal fiscal reform while there was still "prosperity" in the Western world. Indeed, Germany was already in a stubborn recession by the autumn of 1928. When the Müller cabinet was formed as a "Grosse Koalition," its basic element of cohesion lay in pursuing foreign economic and political policies. From the outset the coalition was not agreed on policies of financial reform. Its leaders hoped against hope that easier reparations payments to be negotiated under the Young Plan of 1929 would cover the emerging internal deficits so that reform measures could be negotiated among the parties more slowly and steadily. Of course, all this backfired with the antireparations propaganda of 1929-30, the coming of the depression, and the accompanying devious maneuvers of the Reichsbank president, Schacht. The rapidly deteriorating financial situation of the republic was the crucial area of jockeying for power that produced Chancellor Brüning, an apparently lackluster economic administrator who nonetheless worked vigorously to convert the republic into a constitutional monarchy.

Maurer's detailed analysis of these financial and political affairs does not make for inspired prose. Yet, a careful reading of the book alerts us to the escalated financial problems and political byplay that no doubt currently preoccupy Schmidt, Giscard d'Estaing, and Kissinger.

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GÜNTER PLUM. Gesellschaftsstruktur und politisches Bewusstsein in einer katholischen Region, 1928–1933: Untersuchung am Beispiel des Regierungsbezirks Aachen. (Studien zur Zeitgeschichte.) Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1972. Pp. 318. DM 26.

Günter Plum's study of political attitudes in the region of Aachen during the final years of the

Weimar Republic is full of detailed analysis and percipient comments. The first half of the book traces the rapid social and economic changes that swept over this border area following Germany's defeat in 1918—the occupation, inflation, and subsequent depression years. Dislocation, unemployment, trade barriers, and lack of investment played havoc with both the industrial and agricultural sectors. Rhenish combated with national feeling, democratic sympathies competed with the desire to return to the familiar authoritarianism of the past, and economic conflicts were reflected in the political struggles of Left and Right. Plum's analysis of the political consciousness of this region, and especially of the impact of the Catholic Church and its organizations, is derived from a meticulously close study of local sources, tracing the waning but still powerful hold the Church retained.

The second part describes more generally the relations between the Catholic Church and the Weimar Republic and demonstrates the readiness of the Catholic leaders to move to the right in opposition to the splintering effects of party politics, the growth of pluralistic social patterns, and the scare of Bolshevism. Plum rightly points out that the Catholic rhetoric, which branded all Socialists and Communists as "godless," attacked all liberalizing tendencies as "immoral," and tried to prove its national loyalty by wholehearted opposition to the Treaty of Versailles, prepared the ground for the capitulation of the bishops in early 1933.

The illusions about National Socialism shared by so many Catholics, and the disillusionment with the Center party that was abandoned so recklessly, are here excellently depicted. On the other hand, Plum seeks to show that the basic discontents of the Aachen region were not removed by Hitler's seizure of power. In fact, as Bernhard Vollmer has shown in an earlier study published by the same Institut für Zeitgeschichte, opposition to the Nazi state grew in the Aachen region steadily from 1933 onward, and the Catholic Church became the focus point of disaffection. Plum's analysis of the pre-Nazi years shows that political consciousness was as much influenced by economic circumstance as by ideological indoctrination. In contrast to more favored areas of the Reich, the Aachen region suffered from neglect. Catholic opposition both to the Republic and to the Third Reich can be ascribed to the Church's acting as a vehicle for this continuing discontent. But the teaching of the Church in favor of obedience to the state kept this opposition from becoming a more powerful force and was duly exploited by the Nazis for their own ends.

JOHN S. CONWAY
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NORMAN RICH. Hitler's War Aims. Volume 1, Ideology, the Nazi State, and the Course of Expansion; volume 2, The Establishment of the New Order. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1973; 1974. Pp. xliii, 352; xv, 548. \$10.00; \$14.95.

These two handsomely produced volumes succeed notably in the effort "to describe the interaction of Hitler's words and deeds and record the development of his war aims on the basis of the policies he actually pursued in Germany and the German occupied countries." The initial nine chapters give a skillful, pointed, but perhaps meager, background sketch of Hitler's outlook, or ideology, and instruments of power and conquest. The author does not describe the dominating association of SS and police with concentration camps and other measures of terror, passionately driven by Hitler's dogmas, which S. Aronson impressively showed characteristic of the German dictatorship from the beginning. Twelve chapters survey the largely triumphant course from the initial speed-up of the renewal of German military force, accompanied by public professions of peaceful intentions and claims for "equality of rights" and national selfdetermination, through the attack to destroy the Soviet Union and the declaration of war on the United States. For a compact work of some 170 pages, it is hard to surpass this carefully documented account that rests firmly on contemporary materials available through Nuremberg tribunals, other war crimes trials, and published diplomatic documents. Rich also used extensive scholarship effectively and details evidence in some twentynine of forty-seven pages of notes, inconveniently located at the end of the volume but helpfully numbered to the page of the text.

With many nuances and indications of points of inconclusive evidence, he convincingly demonstrates that conquest of land from Russia, Lebensraum, dominated purposes: "Hitler did indeed have a definite expansionist program which derived from his ideological conceptions." His sense of mission and passion for speedy results dominated timing.

The second, longer volume provides an authoritative, comprehensive survey of Nazi occupation policies and should be a standard reference work. Through records of German administrations, many microfilms of captured German documents, and published and unpublished materials, as well as scholarship (all cited in fifty-five pages of notes), Rich examines policies for conquered peoples and plans for their future, rightly seeking "perhaps the most authoritative evidence about the ultimate nature of Hitler's war aims." The results delineate "Hitler's insistence on implementing his ideological program while the war was still in progress and before a final German victory had been achieved."

Mentioning Hitler's governmental attacks on Jews in Germany from early 1933, Rich briefly recalls the victimization of the dogmatically defined enemy of the "master race." Then eleven chapters survey the treatment of each conquered country, following almost exactly the order in which they fell to German power. He relates special circumstances, balanced accounts of persons, and the many overlapping and competing German administrations that controlled, confiscated, exploited, and uprooted peoples, and in general "Germanized," while incorporating or planning to incorporate the chosen into the Greater German Empire.

References to activities of private business groups in occupied countries pique curiosity for searching inquiry. Presumably, concentration on Hitler's war aims turns study away from developed assessment of changes in German policies and practices as failure in Russia opened up possibilities of defeat or as exploitation to overcome German deficiencies in the long war became ever more ruthless. The careful surveys of attacks on Jews in each country add information to scholarship used—most frequently, works by Raul Hilberg and Gerald Reitlinger.

Rich convincingly demonstrates that only insistence on bringing the apocalypse of Mein Kampf to conquered Europe during the war explains the vast destruction of Jews and Slavs by governmental policy, which continued to the eve of defeat. It also drained German strength from the war of conquest. Even without the useful accounts of Hitler's plans and the author's speculations, no attentive reader should fail to note what devastation the defeat of Germany saved the world from.

The text displays, as the title does not, that many Germans shared Hitler's war aims, but the author did not seek to investigate those relations-Delineation of the size, operations, changing conditions, and developments of the administration in each country also remains to be worked out, as comparison simply of the Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, and France shows. Recognizing many ramifications of his subject, Rich sticks to his purposes, as is his right, especially when accomplishing so much, without asking how Hitler's war aims related to the goals of German political and military leaders in the War of 1914-18-similarities stand out-or to ambitions of Germans in the twentieth century, or other problems arising from broader perspectives. He limits himself to observations on the cult of racial nationalism.

Each volume has a splendidly extensive bibliography, eight convenient and informative maps, and, respectively, twenty-four and sixteen pages of photographs, well chosen from different collections, often with revealing glimpses of the perpetrators. Each volume has an appendix of brief

"biographical sketches," the second of which provides a convenient list of main participants in the German domination of Europe.

D. E. EMERSON
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ADOLF BEER. Die Finanzen Österreichs im XIX. Jahrhundert, nach archivalischen Quellen. Reprint; Vienna: H. Geyer. 1973. Pp. xi, 458. Sch. 493.

One of the more prolific writers of the nineteenth century on Habsburg economic history, Adolf Beer was a teacher and politician, whose moderately liberal learnings are evident in this volume. His style is based to a large extent on a paraphrasing of the primary sources that he selected judiciously in the archives. While not exciting history, Beer's works have the merit of accuracy. They cannot be omitted from the bibliography of any serious student concerned with Habsburg industry and commerce and the government's finances. The publisher of this reprint and of a number of other classics in Austrian history, H. Geyer in Vienna, has also brought out Beer's monographs on public finance under Maria Theresa and on Austrian commercial policy in the nineteenth century.

The present volume, published originally in 1877, deals with public finance of the Austrian government in the nineteenth century. Its first part concerns the history and the collapse of the government's financial system, especially the so-called state bankruptcy of 1811. The author is sharply critical of the finance ministers of the time, Counts O'Donnel and Wallis, as well as of Emperor Francis. Among Beer's heroes are Count Stadion, Wallis's successor as finance minister and a person who brought some order into this government department. Other heroes include a subsequent finance minister, Freiherr von Kübeck, whose famous diaries are one of the best sources for the political history of the so-called Vormärz era, the period preceding the revolution of 1848, and Freiherr von Bruck, the minister of economic affairs in the 1850s, who was a major stimulator of the monarchy's drive toward industrialization.

One surprising hero also slips in. Prince Metternich, for whose opinions on internal finance Beer has few plaudits, comes off well indeed in a chapter on the tariff system in which the minister proves to be an early advocate of Austria's joining in some sort of tariff union with Germany.

Beer's primary criticisms throughout concern the chaotic organization of the central government and the exorbitant demands of the military establishment, both subjects having a somewhat present-day ring to them.

HERMAN FREUDENBERGER
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WILLIAM J. MCGRATH. Dionysian Art and Populist Politics in Austria. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. 269. \$12.50.

This is an analysis of a remarkable group of Viennese intellectuals whose careers spanned the last generation of the Austrian Empire. Emphasis is on the way in which the individuals of the group expressed in their careers, in a wide spectrum of political, artistic, and professional activity, the particular philosophy of life that the group as a whole had created. The principal members were Victor Adler, Engelbert Pernerstorfer, Gustav Mahler, Siegfried Lepiner, Heinrich Friedjung, and Max von Gruber. At one time or another Georg von Schönerer, Richard von Kralik, and other prominent politicians and esthetes of fin-desiècle Vienna were in or around the group and influenced by it.

Professor McGrath traces the origins of this group to the famous Schottengymnasium in Vienna in the late 1860s, when the Benedictine teachers began to shape their students' life-long "search for the poet-priest." Other influences on the group were the prevailing contemporary adolescent mood of rebellion against classical liberalism and the Habsburg tradition, despair at Bismarck's exclusion of Austria from Germany, the radical nationalist cult in Austria of bizarre Prussophilia, and the natural sympathy of idealists with the victims of advancing industrialism. But the most important intellectual inspiration came from the writings-and the vulgar popular vogue of the day-of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, and above all, Richard Wagner. "Wagnerism," as McGrath calls this vague and murky amalgam of intellect and emotion that emanated from Bayreuth, emphasized the unity of all forms of culture and what it thought of as its "Dionysian abandon" over the "Apollonian restraint" of liberalism and scientific rationalism. It rooted the true bonds of brotherhood and social order in emotional feeling and indulged in fantasies of "spiritual experience as truth," as opposed to the experience of reality. Art, for the Wagnerians, would provide the inspiration for a complete regeneration of society. These Wagnerians thought of their activities as a "higher form" of the disciplines to which they were attached, a form mysterious and difficult to grasp, to be experienced rather than understoodhence their self-conscious notion of a "metapolitics" and a "metamusic" along with metaphysics. The author shows how activists like Adler used theatrical symbolism to activate mass feeling; how Pernerstorfer aimed at a combination of art, politics, and culture; and how the esthete Mahler tried to use artistic symbolism to create a metaphysical social community that transcended reality. Social regeneration through the mystic

community of the Dionysian theater was the theme that united the politics, scholarship, literature, and music of these members of the so-called Pernerstorfer circle. McGrath argues convincingly that long after the circle broke up, its members remained united by the invisible bond of the Wagnerian outlook of their youth.

The attractive originality and value of this work lies in its exploration of a wide range of political, cultural, and social phenomena, in its breaking down the academic barriers between such disciplines as music and politics, and in its basis in a deep knowledge of the political, economic, and esthetic literature of fin-de-siècle Vienna. It is as valuable for the questions it raises as for those to which it offers answers.

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DIETHILD HARRINGTON-MÜLLER. Der Fortschrittsklub im Abgeordnetenhaus des Österreichischen Reichsrats, 1873–1910. (Studien zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, number 11.) Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1972. Pp. 195. DM 40.

The Progressives—or Progressivists, as they were sometimes called-formed a part of the liberal Left in the lower house of the Austrian parliament. They were never a party in any strict sense of the word: there were no whips or caucuses, but they formed a "club" that was not without influence in the penultimate critical period of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, when the German and centralist elements were increasingly on the defensive against the centrifugal nationalist elements in that multination state, and often found little sympathy for their position from the emperor. Dr. Harrington-Müller's book is largely a revision of her doctoral dissertation, undertaken in recognition of the importance of the study of Austrian parliamentary activities of a period that has left few official records. She has had to rely extensively on newspaper accounts, especially the Neue Freie Presse and the Deutsche Zeitung, which gave them extensive coverage, and, of course, the records of the debates of the lower house of the Austrian Reichsrat. Inevitably the reader will be tempted to comparisons with party life in eighteenth-century England-did Namier's own background in the lands of the monarchy inspire his studies?—and with the challenges to European liberalism in the other nationstates and empires of Europe at the time. Harrington-Müller recognizes two important periods for the Austrian Progressives: the first immediately after the first direct elections to the Reichsrat, in 1873, and the second after 1897, when the enlargement of the franchise had separated the Ger-

mans-now clearly a minority in the Austrian Empire-more sharply into a conservative Right, a liberal Left, and even a small socialist contingent. The earlier period made the Progressives part of a more general "liberal wave," the second left them the sole remnant of German political liberalism at a time when nationalistic concerns had become the dominant issue. They were a group of men of deep convictions and differing opinions, some Jewish, some almost anti-Semitic, many from parts of the monarchy in which Polish or Czech concerns had become predominant. It was not in their power or interest to form a structured party. Dr. Harrington-Müller serves them well, and helps the reader greatly by adding short biographies of the most important members of the "club" and by an excellent bibliography.

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M. A. POLTAVSKII. Austriiskii narod i anshlius, 1938 g. [The Austrian People and the Anschluss, 1938]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Vseobshchei Istorii.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1971. Pp. 200.

GERHARD BOTZ. Die Eingliederung Österreichs in das Deutsche Reich: Planung und Verwirklichung des politisch-administrativen Anschlusses (1938–1940). (Schriftenreihe des Ludwig-Boltzmann-Instituts für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, 1.) [Vienna:] Europaverlag. 1972. Pp. 192.

Recent works on the Anschluss by Jürgen Gehl, Ludwig Jedlicka, Ulrich Eichstädt, and others have raised controversial or unanswered questions. Was the Nazi stroke of March 1938 carefully premeditated or an improvised response to last-minute circumstances? Were the Austrian masses favorable toward Anschluss, hostile, or apathetic? Did Austria need integration with some larger unit to survive economically? How did the process of Gleichschaltung operate to strip Austria of sovereignty?

Writing in a vein common to Soviet historiography, M. A. Poltavskii sees the Anschluss as fulfilling imperialist goals espoused by Reich- and Austrian-German believers in "a community of destiny and blood" that were specifically formulated in September 1914 by the German chancellor, Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg. Yet at no time during Austria's twenty-year independence did a majority of her people favor merger with Germany, nor even in the post-Anschluss plebescite held under Nazi jurisdiction, when 99.7 per cent voted yes. Closer links with Germany that might have helped Austria's truncated economy after World War I were blocked by the Allies; in the 1930s, when she was economically viable, the

Western powers abandoned her to Hitler, whom they tempted with concessions so as to nudge Germany eastward against the Soviet Union. In support of these somewhat familiar propositions, Poltavskii cites from published documents and a wide range of secondary works. His final and most original chapter, based on materials in the archives of the Austrian resistance in Vienna, describes the Nazi purges of political and labor leaders and Jews and the beginnings of an opposition movement until August 1939. Poltavskii pleads repeatedly for Austrian scholars to abandon what he alleges to be their fact mongering and to concentrate on the role of the working class and the "treason" of the national bourgeoisie in the face of Nazi aggression. Despite some rigidity on questions that still require investigation. Poltavskii has produced a useful synthesis that places the Anschluss in a wide European and even global context.

Gerhard Botz adopts a more limited frame of reference than Poltavskii and concentrates upon the stages by which Austria was administratively and juridically reorganized after the Nazi takeover. Botz uses documents in the National Archives in Washington, the Deutsches Zentralarchiv in Potsdam and other repositories, Viennese newspapers, unpublished Austrian doctoral dissertations, and numerous specialized studies. His volume includes the texts of sixteen hitherto unpublished administrative memorandums written in 1938 by top Nazis. Botz believes the Nazis always strived for Anschluss but had no clearcut plan for amalgamation when Austria fell to them. The reorganizational pattern they embodied in the so-called Ostmarkgesetz of April 14, 1938, "marked the pinnacle of centralizing tendencies in Germany and simultaneously a shift toward trends in an opposite direction." According to Botz, Nazi administrative measures were usually decided not upon any principled basis but through power struggles among Austrian and German Nazi leaders that were tolerated by Hitler. Botz concludes that the coming of World War II halted the further assimilation of Austria completely into the "Altreich." His book is slim but compresses much research and reflection. It will be indispensable for future microlevel studies of the Nazi occupation of Austria.

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JEAN-FRANÇOIS BERGIER. Naissance et croissance de la Suisse industrielle. (Monographies d'histoire suisse, volume 8.) Bern: Francke Éditions. 1974. Pp. 170. 18 fr. S.

Bergier, holder of the chair of history at the Swiss Institute of Technology in Zurich and secretary general of the International Society of Economic History, presents a chronological overview of the industrial development of Switzerland. The first half of his booklet deals with the origins of industries in the Middle Ages and their evolution to the end of the eighteenth century. The second half is concerned with the industrial revolution of the early nineteenth century and the Swiss participation in and contribution to the industrialization of the world since then. A five-page "bibliographical orientation" concludes the work.

The growth of industry in Switzerland has always been determined by a lack of industrial raw materials, difficulty of access to cheap ocean transportation, and the necessity of transforming imported materials into goods of high value through specialized labor, streamlined organization, and inventive imagination.

From the Middle Ages to the early twentieth century various branches of the textile industry dominated the scene. The need for textile machinery gave birth to the machine industry in Switzerland in the first half of the nineteenth century. Switzerland followed its own course in the Industrial Revolution, directly behind England but ahead of the other European nations.

Bergier notes that the centers of industrial revolution in Switzerland were all Protestant. Practically everybody in those regions knew how to read and write. The working class was never an exploited illiterate mass. Swiss industries broke out of the narrow confines of their small country by opening branch establishments in other parts of the world on a scale unequaled by other countries except perhaps by the United States.

The structure of Swiss industry has always been fragile. It rests on a very narrow basis. Nevertheless it has steadily progressed through the centuries. Bergier thinks that this remarkable achievement is due to the fact that Swiss industry has constantly and vigorously been supported by a number of human values, namely dynamism, know-how, and integrity. His readable little book, though clearly designed for the general reader (whoever that may be), provides enough insights and observations to make it attractive to the economic history expert.

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CLEMENTE FUSERO. The Borgias. Translated from the Italian by PETER GREEN. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1972. Pp. 352. \$12.50.

E. R. CHAMBERLIN. The Fall of the House of Borgia. New York: Dial Press. 1974. Pp. xxx, 347. \$10.00.

The first of these two latest studies of the muchstudied Borgia family can justly be classified as biographical history. It belongs, that is, to the same genre of biographical writing as Giovannantonio Campano's life of Braccio da Montone in the fifteenth century and Pasquale Villari's life of Machiavelli in the nineteenth. It seeks not only to re-create the character and actions of its heroes, but also to elucidate a historical problem. It is concerned not only with individual men, but also with the times they lived in. And the principal Italian as well as English-language historical reviews erred in barring it from their review columns when if first appeared in 1966.

To be sure, the author's bibliography is not always up-to-date. Fusero relies on Henri Daniel-Rops rather than Hubert Jedin for church history. and on Giovanni Soranzo rather than Garrett Mattingly for diplomatic history; and he seems never to have heard of Eugenio Garin or Felix Gilbert. Moreover he knows nothing of such new historical subdisciplines as psychohistory, institutional history, and family history. Consequently, he often attributes the actions of his heroes to such now antiquated "causes" as "the burden of passion . . . accumulated in Rodrigo's breast" (p. 111) and Pedro Luís's "Borgia blood" (p. 139); and he fails to find any other bond among the members of the family-or among those of the other great clans of their age-than natural affection. Still, he knows the age fairly well, thanks in part to the careful preparation required for his two previous biographies of Leonardo da Vinci and Cesare Borgia, and he takes great pains to integrate his particular subject into the general context of Renaissance Italy. Thus the Borgia popes appear as the continuers of the policies of their predecessors since the Great Schism. Calixtus III's conflict with Alfonso I is shown to be a consequence of the complicated Aragonese succession in Naples. Alexander VI's patronage of the arts is attributed to the new position of Rome as one of the capitals of Renaissance culture. Moreover Fusero draws his information from all the major and many of the less well known contemporary sources: chronicles, diaries, diplomatic correspondence, medallions, paintings, papal bulls, private contracts, and at least some of the forty-eight volumes of the unpublished acts of Calixtus III. He also evaluates his sources as he uses them: he realizes that Burchard'is a "crusty pedant" (p. 203) whose testimony is less reliable than that of the Florentine ambassador (p. 235), that the Este ambassador gives a more accurate description of Lucrezia's wedding than does the "libellous Infessura," and that Machiavelli's Descrizione del modo often contradicts what Machiavelli himself had written about the murder of Cesare's enemies in his reports to his superiors in Florence. True, Fusero has a few personal prejudices. He is

resentful of the pushy Spanish conversos. He hates the House of Aragon. And he is convinced that Conciliarists are fundamentally anti-Catholic. But he draws from his account a number of significant historical theses. Calixtus, he points out, inaugurated the pattern of papal nepotism that was to last well into the following century. Cesare's later conquests were greatly facilitated by the reputation he built up for just and efficient government in the lands he had previously conquered. Alexander finally made the Roman Church independent of the Roman barons, initiated a number of progressive reforms into the administration of the Papal State, and inaugurated the rebuilding of Rome that was soon to make it a monument of urban planning (pp. 267-68). Some of these theses can stand further testing—for example, that the duchy of the Romagna was a "model state." But all of them have the merit of obliterating most of the remaining traces of the centuries-old "Borgia legend."

Chamberlin's book, on the other hand, can best be characterized as biography tout-court, or, to use the Renaissance term, de viris illustribus. It seeks not to answer a historical question or to correct a historiographical error, but to present its heroes for the entertainment and moral edification of its readers. The title notwithstanding, it gives no more than a page to the history of the family after the death of Lucrezia, and it says nothing about the Spanish branch that lasted until the eighteenth century. It disposes of the whole subject of the growth of the papal bureaucracy—as if Peter Partner and Jean Delumeau had never written a linewith a few vague metaphors: "so enormous that its functioning was a daily miracle," "a species of dinosaur lumbering along" (p. 59). It overlooks entirely such related historical problems as the recrudescence of millenarianism, the structure of the Renaissance state, and the effect of the foreign invasions. It appeals to metahistorical causes to explain historical events, for example, to "that curious irony which was to attend all Borgia affairs" (p. 80) and the "quality of refined evil" and "alien ancestry" of that villain of villains, Ferrante of Aragon (p. 113). It dismisses the confrontation of Alexander and Savonarola, pace Donald Weinstein, in a few lines (p. 72), and it outdoes Machiavelli in reducing the Church to a purely secular institution: "The Cardinals," it maintains, "entirely abandoned the last pretense of exercising a spiritual office" (p. 126).

But even as biography, this book is not entirely successful. It portrays Rodrigo at one point as a skilled and calculating politician and at another as "essentially a man of moods and emotions, ever swinging from one extreme to another" (p. 93). It reduces Alfonso d'Este to a simple combination of

two passions, one for whores and one for guns, and it ascribes his friendship with Cesare solely to their common interest in artillery. And what little space it gives to the analysis of its heroes' character is buried in page after page of narrative about their gesta. It thus adds nothing and omits much from what is already in Fusero's book, which is not mentioned. It probably should be read not as a work of biography, but as "a story of murder, lies, hatred, and passion for power"—which is what the jacket cover claims it to be.

ERIC COCHRANE
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ANDRÉ ROCHON et al. Les écrivains et le pouvoir en Italie à l'époque de la Renaissance: L'Arioste, Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, Machiavel, l'Académie Florentine, Giambattista Giraldi Cinthio. (Centre de Recherche sur la Renaissance Italienne, 3.) Paris: Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle. 1974. Pp. 325. 50 fr.

The five studies here continue Rochon's 1973 volume in this series and deal with various aspects of literary expression between 1508 and 1561 at Florence, Ferrara, and Urbino and with the increasing control that the princes of the time were gaining over cultural matters. All are useful and have much merit.

Dominique Clouet, "Empirisme ou égotisme: la politique dans la 'Cassaria' et les 'Suppositi' de l'Arioste," shows Ariosto obligated to celebrate the regime of Alfonso I d'Este during its difficult early years while at the same time determined to give a candid and for that reason cheerless picture of contemporary Ferrarese life. A close analysis of Ariosto's texts and of their antecedents in Roman comedy and elsewhere, along with an adequate though sparsely documented discussion of the times, demonstrates how he walks his tightrope. Anna Fontes-Baratto, "Les fêtes à Urbin en 1513 et la 'Calandria' de Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena," uses a much greater variety of materials to show how Dovizi went about producing a play that served both as the capstone of a celebration of Rovere power and, in its promotion of the Florentine as the national literary language, as an episode in Dovizi's lifelong service to the Medici. These two essays are sound interdisciplinary work with a reasonable purchase on the secondary historical literature and real contributions through the method of literary critique.

Marina Marietti, "Machiavel historiographe des Médicis," is a thoughtful study of Machiavelli's efforts, in particular those in the *Histories*, to admonish the family that he had to accept as his patrons, but it suffers from the imposition on the material of a modern conceptual frame. I find it much less likely that Machiavelli was

concerned about "the writer" and "authority" than about his own working self and Pope Leo X, or about the abstraction "power" so much as about the Principate of Augustus as he had abstracted it from Roman literature. Marietti works entirely from the secondary literature and documents published therein. Michel Plaisance, "Culture et politique à Florence de 1542 à 1551: Lasca et les Humidi aux prises avec l'Académie Florentine," continuing a study that appeared in the 1973 volume, is based on manuscript material-alone among the studies in this collection-that shows the academy during these years strengthening its hold on literary culture for the purpose of promoting the new absolutism. It is fair to describe the documentation as elegant and the work as one deserving separate publication in expanded form. In his discussion of persons and motives Plaisance shows a weakness for psychological terminology, but he seems to take no school seriously enough to interfere with his exposition.

The first four of these studies illustrate humanists functioning as such, to be sure under difficulties. Guy Lebatteaux, "Idéologie monarchique et propagande dynastique dans l'oeuvre de Giambattista Giraldi Cinthio," shows humanism reduced to a mere catalog of pièces justicatives suitable for any purpose, but he retains a sympathy for Giraldi, who in Italy in those days saw fit to sacrifice "la définition ontologique de l'homme à sa destination civique" (p. 309), in advance of so many other men of letters. Rochon's work as editor shows here a noteworthy coherence, for the earlier studies in the collection do much to illustrate and explain Giraldi's peculiar development. But the goal of coherence may be approached at the expense of other advantages. There is much of the rigidity of the problematique about these studies. of questions asked that serve in the end to make more and not less obscure the thoughts of men long gone.

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RAFFAELE CIASCA. Aspetti economici e sociali dell'Italia preunitaria: Saggi. (Studi di storia moderna e contemporanea, 4.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1973. Pp. x, 457. L. 8,000.

The literature on the problems of southern Italy is constantly being increased by both Italian and foreign scholars. Since the eighteenth century, historians, economists, and sociologists have been studying this part of Italy and its population in considerable detail. Three of the five essays collected in this volume discuss the economic and social problems that have been important in the

development, or lack of it, during modern times of southern Italy. The first and the longest essay (pp. 9–250) reviews the various land reclamation projects planned and initiated, though mostly never completed, under the last Bourbon rulers and the attempts to deal with the problem in the early 1860s, immediately following unification. Social changes and stratification in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are analyzed in the other two studies. The evidence presented by Ciasca refutes the image of a static society. Rather, it indicates that a high degree of mobility and advancement among the bourgeoisie and deterioration for the peasants altered the social structure of southern Italy during these years.

The fourth essay deals with the economic development of Lombardy between 1800 and 1870. This is an offshoot of Ciasca's earlier study, L'origine del programma per "l'opinione nazionale italiana" del 1847–1848, published in 1916. In both, the degree to which frustration with the economic policies of Austria in Lombardy influenced the Milanese middle class to support the Risorgimento is well documented. The last essay briefly reviews the importance of Melfi in Basilicata as a trading center in the Middle Ages and particularly its commercial relations with Florence.

Raffaele Ciasca, who retired in 1973 as head of the Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea, published these studies between 1923 and 1963 in different journals. To have them available in one volume is indeed fortunate. While much of what is presented in them has been integrated in other works, they remain important basic reading, together with the older studies by Sidney Sonnino, Leopoldo Franchetti, Pasquale Villari, Giustino Fortunato, and Gaetano Salvemini, for anyone wanting to study the southern problem in Italian history.

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MARCELLA PINCHERLE. Moderatismo politico e riforma religiosa in Terenzio Mamiani. (L'Età del Risorgimento: Studi e testi, g.) Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè Editore. 1973. Pp. 238. L. 3,400.

This volume, in the useful series directed by Professor Ghisalberti, should prove especially suggestive at this time, for the cumulative effect of recent studies into the limited social change brought by unification, the disarticulated economy of nineteenth-century Italy, the ambiguous machinations of the Cavourians, and the restricted part played by the populace have all served to increase the sense both of miracle and of disillusionment that contemporary Italians also felt in their own Risorgimento.

Much of the answer to the question thus revived of how Italy was united at all, of how so much could be accomplished yet so much left undone, lies in an understanding of the moderates who for a generation or more dominated Italy's intellectual, economic, and social life. Terenzio Mamiani was one of the most thoughtful of these. Born in the Papal States in 1799, he became a patriot whose enthusiasm for liberal progress drew him from philosophy to politics, sent him into exile as a young man, and led him to an honored place among Cavourians (minister of education in 1860, then professor, ambassador, and senator) until his death in 1885.

Most of the documents published here, the major part of the book, were written between 1830 and 1850; and they are intelligently summarized in a long introduction that might do more, however, to put them in the larger context of Mamiani's voluminous work.

His favorite theme was the regeneration of Italy, and his faith in that propels the long sentences of his dignified, academic prose from discussion of the land and the Italian language to proposals for works of charity and specific comments on taxes and constitutions. He was unaware of defending the interests of the propertied and unembarrassed by candid paternalism toward the lower classes. The spiritual regeneration he envisioned depended more on historical progress than revolution. Yet his faith in the power of education and of good example, of societies for agricultural improvement (he founded one in Pesaro), and of a free press was vibrant and courageous. All of this, like his detailed plans for elaborate welfare measures, was closely tied to his desire for a religious renewal that. would reconcile the Church and progress.

The limits of the liberal dream—and the characteristic failure to understand what industrial society required—stand in sharp relief against a diffuse confidence. Still, his perceptive understanding of why other people's utopias were impractical and the very real fervor of his broad and generous patriotism represent the narrow circles of Italian bourgeois culture at their best and most dynamic.

RAYMOND GREW
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RENATO TREVES. La dottrina sansimoniana nel pensiero italiano del Risorgimento. (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Scienze Politiche dell'Università di Torino, volume 29.) 2d ed.; Turin: Edizioni Giappichelli. 1973. Pp. 168. L. 2,500.

This book was first published in 1931. Added is the essay, "Saint Simonism and Italian Thought in

Argentina and Uruguay," a survey of the diffusion and the impact of the teachings of the French master, the count of Saint-Simon (Claude Henri de Rouvroy), mingled, as they were, particularly during the critical years 1838-48, with the ideals connected with the names of Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi. Treves undertook the study in the 1930s while a refugee from fascism in South America. Also included is an article by Guido Maggioni, "Saint-Simonism in the Lombard Reviews: 1825-1848," representing additional research Treves had been unable to pursue, presumably because of the increasingly repressive climate in Italy. A note of urgency surrounds the publication because of the appearance of Francesco Gentile's Saint-Simon in Italia (1969), an inquiry initially printed in France. Viewed in its totality and broader sweep, from the reflections of Saint-Simon to the theoretical elaborations of his French disciples and Italian interpreters, Saint-Simonism, according to Gentile, evolved from a mood to a doctrine that, its apparent inconsistences and naiveté aside, stirred the conscience and excited the imagination of many Italian patriots and reformers of the Risorgimento. It proved to be a valuable instrument as they went about confirming and revising where necessary the ideological heritage of the Enlightenment to meet Italy's special needs.

Treves disagrees with so positive an evaluation. He returned to the 1931 version and presents it here in its original form. In so doing he is insisting that it is highly speculative to assign Saint-Simonism a presence in Italy comparable to that of a genuine and coherent political and social philosophy, one which solicited and commanded implementary action in its behalf. Maggioni's examination of the Lombard periodicals is intended to reinforce Treves's judgment. Though Saint-Simonism may have constituted a school of thought. its precepts, advanced through volumes, reviews, and lectures, generated an ambivalence among the people it reached, which denied it an organic role. It appealed to those who had become disillusioned with the underlying assumptions of the Enlightenment-reason, natural law, and progress. Saint-Simonism also was attractive in the post-1789-1815 period to leaders and groups interested in the reassertion of the authority of the state, institutional refurbishment, who sought for social solidarity and religious revival. The cause of nationality that it championed, along with its concern for the emancipation of women, and the hopes expressed for a new form of associational living, epitomized in "the New Christianity," drew its number of admirers.

Simultaneously, however, most of those who had been impressed found much that was ob-

jectionable and downright ludicrous. The notion of compulsory service to society based on individual capacity and monetary rewards made dependent upon personal labor, the proposed elimination of the right of inheritance, the threat implied to private property, the rejection of representative government in its modern sense, the disavowal of violence, not to mention romantic recollection of the Middle Ages and the voice it raised for women's rights, exposed the impractical and far-reaching aspects of Saint-Simonism to unrelenting criticism and to ridicule. It is significant that personalities as diverse as Carlo Cattaneo, Antonio Rosmini, and Giandomenico Romagnosi immediately recognized the humane foundations of Saint-Simonism and just as instinctively rebuked most of its novel features as "ravings" (delini), a revulsion shared by many commentators in Argentina and Uruguay. When socialism arrived on the scene, it absorbed whatever collectivist energies and utopian tendencies that previously had been identified with Saint-Simonism.

If Treves's pioneer effort can still stand on its own merits, it, nevertheless, suffers from being dated since it does not consider the more recent investigations into the subject of Saint-Simonism in Italy carried on by Delio Cantimori, Galante Garrone, Franco della Perruta, and Adolfo Omodeo. Moreover the author's suggestion that Mazzini's principle of nationality and his theme of "God and the People," to cite two illustrations, had Saint-Simonian overtones, together with Treves's firsthand observations concerning the pull Saint-Simonism exercised in South America, is evidence of the fame and survival value that Saint-Simonism retained in spite of its deficiencies as a movement committed to the remaking of man and society. Really, there is no contradiction between Treves and Gentile.

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TONI CERUTTI. Antonio Gallenga: An Italian Writer in Victorian England. (University of Hull Publications.) New York: Oxford University Press, for the University of Hull. 1974. Pp. viii, 204. \$13.00.

Antonio Gallenga was certainly an interesting if not an agreeable person. His most famous escapade was his journey to Sardinia in 1833, backed by Giuseppe Mazzini, to try to assassinate King Charles Albert. The story, when it became widely known in the middle fifties, caused both conspirators embarrassment; but, whereas it was neither surprising nor important that Gallenga had compromised himself, Mazzini's reputation for saintliness suffered then and subsequently. Gallenga's own historical significance lies largely in

his work as foreign correspondent and leader writer for the Times from 1859 to 1884. By the time he was sent to Italy by the newspaper, he had become a supporter of Sardinian initiative in the Italian movement. He covered the Expedition of the Thousand and encouraged the British public in its adulation of Garibaldi in 1860. With reservations Gallenga approved the regime that governed Italy after unification. He played a number of other roles during his career. He spent three years (1836-39) in the United States, meeting a good many brahmins and gathering material for some vivid memoirs. He was professor of Italian at University College London. He represented Sardinia at the Frankfurt Assembly of 1848, and was a member of Italian parliaments. He eventually set himself up as a landowner in Wales.

Dr. Cerutti does his best for Gallenga as a writer, but the author has to admit that Gallenga's more specific literary efforts were of poor quality. His journalism, on the other hand, was skillful and effective, even if it apparently always had to be "translated." It becomes clear from this biography that Gallenga, like many notable journalists, was a difficult, opinionated, and unreliable individual. Crabb Robinson regretted having engineered him into the Athenaeum; J. T. Delane said he "would quarrel with everybody in a month" if appointed to run the Paris office of the Times; his indiscretions troubled friends and employers alike. Cerutti, however, while citing much of the damaging evidence, continues to treat his subject with grave respect. The book makes available some new material and will be found reliable and useful. But the author's lack of subtlety in discussion of political questions seriously weakens this biography.

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FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI. Vom Chaos zur Katastrophe: Vatikanische Gespräche, 1918 bis 1938. Vornehmlich auf Grund der Berichte der österreichischen Gesandten beim Heiligen Stuhl. Vienna: Verlag Herold. 1971. Pp. 320. Sch. 268.

This is an account of Vatican diplomacy from the chaos created by the Paris peace treaties of 1919 to the catastrophic events of 1938 that foreshadowed the Second World War. It is based primarily on the reports of two Austrain diplomats to the Holy See, Ludwig von Pastor and Rudolf Kohlruss. There are no great surprises or major revelations; that the Holy See was sympathetic to conservative and authoritarian governments and fearful of communism, and that Pope Pius XI and his secretary of state, Eugenio Pacelli, were friendly to Austria and Weimar Germany have been known all along.

Still some details are interesting: Pacelli's disclosure of the papal encyclical, Mit brennender Sorge (on the condition of the Catholic Church in Germany), to Kohlruss; the special conditions for keeping it secret, which, in the end, were not observed; the German-Austrian struggle for Santa Maria dell'Anima.

The study ends with the Anschluss of March 1938 and is followed by a short section on Pius XII, elected pope in February 1939. Professor Engel-Janosi explains Pius XII's policies during the war, especially toward the Third Reich, and clarifies the pope's efforts on behalf of the Poles, the Serbs, and the Jews. Pius's policy toward Nazi Germany was largely determined by the attitudes of the German bishops, the majority of whom favored peaceful accommodation with the government and feared the loss of their flock's allegiance. The pope's silence toward the persecution of Poles, Serbs, and Jews can be explained, according to the author, by Pius's personality, his inability to use "fiery language," his fear that speaking out would make matters worse, and his concern about the fate of forty million German Catholics. In the case of the Jews, Engel-Janosi asserts that the Catholic Church saved between 700,000 and 850,000 Jews, more than all other relief organizations combined, and he points to the fact that ninety per cent of all Jews in Rome survived, while in the occupied Netherlands, where the clergy and laity resisted the Nazis seventy-nine per cent were deported.

This is a useful book illuminating the details of Vatican diplomacy and personalities during a difficult period.

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IRMGARD WILHARM. Die Anfänge des griechischen Nationalstaates, 1833–1843. (Studien zur Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, 5.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 1973. Pp. 274. DM 52.

Professor Wilharm's monograph studies the attempt to place a foreign (Bavarian) dynasty on the newly created nation-state of Greece in the 1830s. Relying chiefly on documents found in the Staatsarchiv in Munich and Foreign Office documents from London's Public Record Office, he examines the interrelationship among the Bavarian administrative and military monarchal entourage, introduced with Otho Wittelsbach into Greece; the native Greek social and political leadership; and the three great powers (England, France, and Russia), which, by the Treaty of London in 1832, primarily established the infant state. Wilharm seeks to explain the failure of this experiment in foreign monarchy.

The author sees as the primary dilemma for the king's regents, and after his majority Otho himself, the choice between following a rational policy of economic development and stabilization or expending Greece's meager resources on a popular irredentist foreign policy. Since the legal status of the regency was unclear, the ultimate decision lay with Otho when he assumed direct control of the government in 1837; and he unwisely chose the latter policy achieving neither the "Great Idea" nor stabilization and support within the country. Yet Wilharm also states that the feasibility of the alternative policy of abjuring the "Great Idea" "cannot be decided with certainty" (pp. 252, 260).

The confrontation between native Greeks and the Bavarian dynasty showed itself conspicuously in the struggle for a constitution promised by the Treaty of London but adamantly opposed by the regents, the king, and the king's father, Ludwig of Bavaria. The constitution became a rallying cry for the opposition, both formal parties and gangs of brigands. However, Wilharm sees as equal requirements for successful government extensive participation of Greek nationals, land reform, and a successful expansive foreign policy. The monarchy was unwilling or unable to pursue any of these sufficiently and hence failed to establish itself in Greece. The result was the revolution of 1843, bringing Greece a constitution against the wishes of the king and leaving the monarch a stranger in his own land.

Besides archival material Wilharm relies heavily upon contemporary and subsequent secondary works for many of the aspects of this period. He uses quite frequently John A. Petropulos's detailed book Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece, 1833-1843 (1968) for much of his analysis of the political parties of the time, although he disagrees with him on a few particulars, such as the relationship between the parties and Greek brigandage (p. 204). Still the monograph stands by itself as a thoughtful, balanced persuasive view of early Greece from the Bavarian perspective.

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HEINZ RICHTER. Griechenland zwischen Revolution und Konterrevolution (1936–1946). With a foreword by KOMNINOS PYROMAGLOU. [Cologne:] Europäische Verlagsanstalt. 1973. Pp. 623.

This is a dissertation of truly Germanic proportions for which the reader, if he is to do it justice, had better set aside his summer vacation. For whatever he gives up he will be rewarded with a finely woven narrative that probes all the major issues without, surprisingly, losing itself in irrelevant detail. The fact is that there are so many such issues—or so many times that the same ones keep

reappearing—that extensive treatment is justified, though the author might spare us some of the instances where he feels compelled to point out that other writers were wrong.

Richter has used the recently published British and American documents, the German occupation records, the voluminous firsthand testimony of Churchill, Eden, Macmillan, Myers, Woodhouse, and others on the British side, and all the available Greek sources. He tracks down many hitherto unanswered questions surrounding the Greek resistance, the factional differences within the Communist-led and non-Communist liberation organizations, their struggle against each other, and especially the role of the British in dealing with both. He gives a clear picture of the strengths and weaknesses of the Greek Communist party and how it faced the critical issue of national versus Moscow-oriented interests and policies.

Apparently no one can be neutral about Greece and Greek politics, and Richter has a definite point of view. The heroes are the Greek people in general and the left-of-center democratic resistance leaders in particular—especially Komninos Pyromaglou, who contributes the book's preface. The villains are King George II, fascist-minded military men, the old parties and politicians, the German occupiers and the British occupiers who replaced them. The theme of common German and British interest runs through the book from the installation of the Metaxas dictatorship in 1936 to the German withdrawal in 1944. British policy is the "external factor" forever lurking behind the scenes, and sometimes taking the center of the stage, pursuing its own ends at the expense of Greek democracy. One can take the author's interpretations at face value or apply whatever discount one chooses. In any case there is no denying the solid scholarship that has gone into digging out and assembling the material. Historians will not stop writing about this period. It has too much interest and too much significance for Greek politics for the indefinite future. But any who decide to do so will have to contend with the facts and opinions that Richter has put together in this book.

JOHN C. CAMPBELL Council on Foreign Relations

M. BERZA et al., editors. Relatii româno-bulgare de-a lungul veacurilor (Sec. XII-XIX): Studii [Romanian-Bulgarian Relations in the Course of the Centuries (12th-19th Centuries): Studies]. (Academia de Stiinte Sociale și Politice a Republicii Socialiste România, Institututl de studii sud-est europene.) Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România. 1971. Pp. 431. Lei 28.

The first of a proposed two-volume collection of studies on Romanian-Bulgarian relations concerns

itself almost exclusively with problems of economic and political history. The contributors are all distinguished students of Bulgarian and Romanian history, and the quality of the studies reflects the expertise of the authors.

There is little topical correlation among the various contributions that are devoted to such diverse matters as the role of the Wallachians in the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Empire, that of the Bulgarians of Wallachia in the revolution of 1848, and the "Song of Plevna" in southeast European folklore. Most of the studies break little new ground either in method or in providing new archeological or archival data.

Borislav Primov's study on the Second Bulgarian Empire restates the generally accepted view of Wallachian participation in the establishment of that empire. Ivan Duicev's article on Peter Parchevich's efforts to organize a war of liberation against the Turks and Traian Ionescu-Niscov's description of the national liberation movement of the Bulgarians in the nineteenth century are useful summaries of the existing literature. Vera Mutafcieva's and Al. Vianu's joint study on Pazvantoglu's rebellion and rule in northern Bulgaria is a methodical and detailed review of an abundant collection of published primary and secondary sources. This is true also of C. Velichi's article on the Bulgarians and the revolution of 1848.

Much more original are the contributions on social and economic history. The work of D. Angelov and Stefan Stefanescu on the comparative socioeconomic development of Bulgaria and Wallachia in the thirteenth and fourteen centuries stresses parallel phenomena in two areas with comparable social structures and economic and political problems. Bistra Tvetkova complements that study in an excellent account of economic relations between the Bulgarian and the Romanian areas on both sides of the Danube in the sixteenth century. The multiauthored article devoted to the status of the Bulgarian immigrants in Wallachia and Oltenia in the nineteenth century adds a further dimension to the socioeconomic ' relations of the two peoples.

The only truly original and as such most valuable contribution is by Adrian Fochi. The author analyzes the variants of the "Song of Plevna," which emerged after the battle of 1877–78 in various parts of Eastern Europe. His concern is mainly literary and folkloristic but the *explication de texte* is important also to the historian of Romanian-Bulgarian relations. The volume as a whole is a significant contribution to the history of southeastern Europe.

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R. J. W. EVANS. Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576-1612. New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xi, 323, 16 plates. \$24.00. During the past few years a number of important books have appeared on the cultural life of that rather mysterious period between the Council of Trent and the Thirty Years' War, an epoch marked by the climax of witchcraft persecutions and a flowering of the occult arts and magic, of alchemy and astrology. Evans's work on the court of Emperor Rudolf II and the personalities drawn to Prague through his patronage provides a fine addition to this body of scholarship. Even more important, it offers the beginning at least of a new synthesis, a revaluation of traditional interpretations that were more concerned with reading the Enlightenment backward into the Renaissance than with trying to understand the highly complex, often eccentric reactions of educated Europeans to the spiritual insecurity that resulted from the confessionalization of life in the sixteenth century.

The evidence Evans brings to this task is formidable. The bulk of it takes the form of brief discussions of some hundred or more leading figures of the age who appeared at one time or another in Prague or who corresponded with intellectuals there. The cross-section is well chosen, representing great Czech nobles whose patronage rivaled Rudolf's, courtiers, poets, printers, librarians, theologians, antiquarians, painters, alchemists, astronomers, and a few charlatans. Most of them were polymaths whose creative interests covered several of these categories at once. Evans follows Friedrich Heer's provocative hypothesis in presenting this intellectual community as a group of moderate reformers seeking a "third way" to truth through an occult humanism that could avoid the increasingly rigid orthodoxies of Rome, Wittenberg, and Geneva.

The main cultural tendencies of Rudolfine Prague—the mania for collecting, exaggerated symbolism in the arts and in ritual, cultivation of natural and experimental philosophy, irenical theology, exaltation of the imperial monarchy, and a preoccupation with the occult and magic-are brought together here not through any inner logic of their own, but through the spiritual yearnings of men who hoped to find a lost universal harmony by deciphering the secret language of nature and by discovering the mysterious links they assumed bound natural phenomena organically to an underlying reality. The resulting mood was pessimistic, pansophist, highly elitist, almost gnostic. It was also fragile, swept away in the end by the rise of a new religious orthodoxy and by the mechanistic world view of Galileo's successors. Perhaps the main contribution of Evans's fine and erudite book is to make this strange world around the

melancholy Rudolf historically believable. It is a must for every academic library.

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JAROSLAW PELENSKI. Russia and Kazan: Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438–1560s). (Near and Middle East Monographs, 5.) The Hague: Mouton. 1974. Pp. xii, 368. 90 gls.

This is an important book dealing with a problem too long neglected in traditional historiography: the construction of an imperial ideology not only as a justification of Moscow's territorial expansion but as a rationale for its transformation into a multinational empire. The middle of the sixteenth. century was a watershed in the history of Muscovite institutional development. It was a time when, with the establishment of the tsardom, the creation of a new military service bureaucracy, the serious expansion into non-Slavic Muslim areas for the first time, and the elaboration of a Providential interpretation of its own history, Moscow took several giant steps toward the formation of a formidable autocratic state, which would sit astride and dominate the Eurasian steppe. Moscow's special position and pretensions within the Slavo-Turkic steppe and the consequences of its interaction with its Turkic neighbors deserve closer study. With the conquest of the Kazan khanate in 1552, Moscow not only gained control of an extremely important center of international trade and the rich agricultural lands of the khanate but it pacified the hitherto turbulent and distracting eastern border and opened the door to opportunities for dramatic expansion to the east and southeast. Muscovite bookmen seized the chance to draw appropriate imperial lessons from the event and to weave a web of justifications, which would at the same time enhance the prestige of the state.

Pelenski reviews and analyzes all of the pertinent literature and arguments of the period: the patrimonial and dynastic claims based on the activities and conquests of the Russian grand princes along the middle Volga as early as the ninth and tenth centuries, the intricate parallel translatio theories of political continuity linking Kiev, Vladimir, and Moscow on the one hand and the Volga Bulgars, Golden Horde, and Kazan khanate on the other, the right of conquest invoked as the occasion demanded in correspondence with various Turkic polities, and, perhaps most important, the Providential interpretation of the destiny of the House of Moscow as propounded by the Muscovite high clergy-to subdue and convert the "barbaric nations." These arguments need not have been terribly sophisticated in order to be effective. At least, as Pelenski correctly notes, the Muscovite ideologues knew what they wanted and were able to compose a coherent and impressive ideological framework for their goals, which was more than their adversaries, real or potential, were able to do. The author has produced a careful and important piece of work.

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M. I. SLUKHOVSKII. Russkaia biblioteka XVI–XVII vv. [The Russian Library in the 16th and 17th Centuries]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Kniga." 1973. Pp. 252.

S. P. LUPPOV. Kniga v Rossii v pervoi chetverti XVIII veka [The Book in Russia in the First Quarter of the 18th Century]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Ordena Trudovogo Krasnogo Znameni Biblioteka Akademii Nauk SSSR.) Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 372.

The titles of these monographs suggest broad studies of two related subjects—the nature of libraries and the role of books in a society that was in the throes of a far-reaching intellectual awakening. As it develops, the authors have set themselves more modest goals. Slukhovskii's study deals mainly with how libraries were formed, operated, and structured in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Muscovy, while Luppov's work centers upon the change of orientation that occurred in Russian book publication during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Both monographs are continuations of earlier studies by the authors involving libraries and books in other periods of Russian history.

Slukhovskii's latest volume dwells at length upon book repositories controlled by the Russian Orthodox Church that were primarily monastic libraries. Over two hundred monasteries are cited, many of which contained sizable book collections. In seven tightly woven chapters the author describes the building complex and floor plan of such libraries and explains how their books were requisitioned, inventoried, loaned, and replenished. The wealth of detail that he has uncovered is astonishing. One almost has the feeling of being part of an official inspection party on tour of the Muscovite library system with an eye toward examining its operation and suggesting reform measures and lower operating costs. Even the responsibilities, performance records, and idiosyncrasies of Muscovite librarians are discussed and the subtleties of library terminology analyzed. But what ultimately emerges from this scholarly study is a heightened sense of the pervasive influence of the Orthodox Church upon the intellectual life of Muscovy and an appreciation of the clergy's dedication in building, preserving, and replenishing great book collections of the time. Slukhovskii has enriched his work with numerous supplementary notes, photographs, diagrams, indexes, and a glossary. More attention to book titles found in particular libraries would have been welcome, but one must recall that this was not the primary purpose of the author and that such data are often lacking in the sources. The inclusion of a summary chapter would also have strengthened the book.

Luppov's study, in turn, is directed toward a broader circle of readers and is concerned with book printing, book markets, and the growth of libraries during Peter's reign. In six lucid chapters the author outlines particular problems of the Russian Enlightenment and the influence of the new schools on book buying and library development. We learn of the rapid transition that took place in the subject matter of books from emphasis on religious topics in the seventeenth century to interest in secular subjects of the eighteenth century. The author provides some striking tables showing the size and general content of some thirty private libraries and explains how the press. which had formerly been under Church control. came under government influence. Like education, the press was enlisted to promote change in the emerging Russian Empire that was clearly reflected in the subject matter of new books. Luppov acknowledges the strong influence of Peter's predecessors on many of his reform measures but assigns the tsar a high degree of responsibility for changing the trend of publication. Such change, he asserts, was made possible only by the existence of strong authority. This study is also well researched, organized, and annotated.

The data assembled by these authors bring into a view a side of Russian intellectual life that has largely been unexplored. While the Slukhovskii volume provides the clearest picture to date of the organization, operation, and physical attributes of Muscovite libraries, Luppov's work documents the relationship between book publication and government policy in vigorous style and in the process provides some delightful insights on the literary tastes of Russian society in the Age of Peter. Both monographs exemplify the kind of skillful archival research that Soviet historians are so well equipped to perform, and in this case some admirable results have been achieved.

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M. F. SHABAEVA, editor. Ocherki istorii shkoly i pedagogicheskoi mysli narodov SSSR, XVIII v.-pervaia polovina XIX v. [Essays on the History of Schools and Pedagogical Thought of the Peoples of the USSR, 18th-First Half of 19th Century]. (Akademiia Pedagogicheskikh Nauk SSSR, Institut Obschchei

Pedagogiki.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Pedagogika." 1973. Pp. 605.

This manual on the schools and the pedagogical thought of the Russian Empire during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is intended mainly for research assistants, students, and teachers at Soviet pedagogical institutes. It is the work of a kollektiv consisting of thirty-nine authors, bibliographers, and editorial assistants. The advantage of such a large number of contributors is the expertise they are in a position to offer on a wide variety of subjects, while the disadvantage can be unevenness of treatment and the lack of a unifying theme and point of view.

As the editor quite correctly points out in her introduction, the history of education among the non-Russian peoples of the empire is a subject that pre-1917 scholars tended to ignore. This generalization applies, however, more to the eastern than to the western borderlands of the empire. The chapters in this manual on education prior to 1850 in Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Central Asia, and Kazakhstan can truly be considered an important contribution. In regard to the western borderlands, however, pre-1917 writers tended to have a better feeling for the concrete historical conditions and the traditional values and culture of this area than do the Soviet writers of our kollektiv. They are, it might be mentioned, particularly insensitive to the religious values of some of the pedagogical thinkers about whom they write.

The kollektiv devotes 386 out of 562 pages of text to Russian education and pedagogical thought. The discussions of Peter I's educational reforms and the pedagogical thought and activities of V. N. Tatishchev are particularly well done. Chapters on the early nineteenth century also contain materials of interest on such matters as specialized and women's education, technical schools, and pedagogical institutes and journals. Three chapters are on the contributions of the Decembrists to Russian education and the pedagogical views of V. G. Belinskii, A. I. Herzen, and N. P. Ogarev. Yet the ideas and activities of S. S. Uvarov, an educational administrator and theorist of some note and the minister of education from 1833 to 1848, are not seriously discussed by the authors of the kollektiv. Can so many pages on radical intellectuals be justified while someone like Uvarov is almost overlooked? Not if the primary concern is to present the history of nineteenth-century education in the empire as fully and accurately as possible.

Many students of the history of education will want to consult this work because of its useful bibliography. Only works published in the languages of the peoples of the USSR are included. This is regrettable, for there is also a valuable

scholarly literature in Polish and German on the subject matter covered in this volume.

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v. IA. LAVERYCHEV. Tsarizm i rabochii vopros v Rossii (1861-1917 gg.) [Tsarism and the Labor Question in Russia (1861-1917)]. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mysl'." 1972. Pp. 338.

Reading a Soviet book makes one think of Dr. Johnson's famous observation about a woman preaching, which he likened to a dog walking on its hind legs—"It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all." Similarly, one is surprised to find that any book written in the obscurantist atmosphere engendered by the policies of the Communist party could have any merit at all. Laverychev's book has much merit, but it suffers from the grave defects often found in Soviet scholarship.

Prominent among the shortcomings is the polemic tone of much of the book. The author refers to a government commission studying the labor question as the "Octobrist-Black Hundred Commission," and he is much given to applying to Lenin's opponents such pejorative terms as "Menshevik-Opportunists," "Social-Chauvinists," and "pseudo-socialist parties" occupying "perfidiousrenegade positions." One wonders how many more decades must pass before these ancient quarrels can be treated by Soviet scholars with the calm objectivity that is expected of a sophisticated historical science. The use of Lenin as the most authoritative source must be accounted as another serious defect; Laverychev baldly states in his introduction that "the most important methodological basis for a study of the policies of tsarism in the labor question is the work of V. I. Lenin," and indeed many sentences begin with the oracular phrase "V. I. Lenin pisal." Jargon intrudes at many points in the narrative, and one is conscious of a straining to fit historical reality into the Marxist mold (for example, in relating the shifts in labor policy to the progression from a "feudal" to a "bourgeois" monarchy). It is not difficult to imagine Laverychev himself yawning as he makes his obligatory bows in the direction of the party bureaucrats.

It is fortunate that the patient reader will find much of value here to compensate for the blemishes. The author, who is an established authority in the field, traces in rich detail the whole course of labor legislation in the prerevolutionary period. The findings of a seemingly endless parade of government commissions, the quarrels between government departments, the tensions between tsarism and the industrialists, and the disagreements

among the industrialists are all described at great length. The principle that evolved to guide the tsarist regime in its labor policy was that of "guardianship" or "trusteeship" (popechitel'stvo), at the basis of which lay the regime's conception of itself as a supraclass state with an obligation to care for all the social classes. With this notion to work from, the regime gradually and tortuously brought forth a series of measures beginning in the 1880s to do such things as regulate child labor, provide insurance for sick workers, and set up a system of factory inspection. The government never went as far as the more advanced Western states, and the author finds the whole guardianship policy fraudulent in that the tsarist policies had a "clearly expressed class character hostile to the people." It was in general a cover for "a cruel exploitation of the workers." Although the regime occasionally pressed the industrialists to make economic concessions to the workers for the sake of reducing political agitation, it never hesitated to use police and military measures to control the working class. These measures were harsh enough to stimulate the more enlightened industrialists, in the period just before World War I, to seek a more moderate policy from the government on the grounds that such severe repression speeded up the process of radicalization of the workers. The contradiction which the regime could never resolve was simply that of preserving autocracy while creating a labor code that would satisfy both the bourgeoisie and the working class. Laverychev ends his book rather bombastically with the statement that "the working class, led by the Leninist Party . . . achieved a socialist revolution, consistently and for all time solving the labor question in Russia." One wonders how an inhabitant of the Gulag Archipelago would comment on the "Leninist solution."

Laverychev has made extensive use of the great Russian historical archives. He quotes often from contemporary periodicals of various political persuasions. He does not, however, cite any Western scholars, several of whom have made important contributions to this field in recent years. Readers wishing to supplement this Marxist account may consult Reginald E. Zelnik's Labor and Society in Tsarist Russia (1972) for both its text and bibliographical comments.

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DAVID MACKENZIE. The Lion of Tashkent: The Career of General M. G. Cherniaev. [Athens:] University of Georgia Press. 1974. Pp. xix, 267. \$11.00.

For both the specialist in Slavic studies and the general reader of historical literature, publication of a biography of General Mikhail Grigorevich Cherniaev is a significant literary occurrence. Through the public life of Cherniaev the reader can view the unfolding of historical developments of crucial importance to Russia, Central Asia, and Europe. Cherniaev was deeply involved in the corflict between the liberal reformers in the bureaucracy of Alexander II and the conservative-nationalist aristocrats seeking to recover influence lost during the so-called era of great reforms, the even more fundamental struggle of these same aristocrats to guard their prerogatives against a rising bourgeoisie, Russian imperial expansion into Central Asia and the consequent international problems that this expansion caused, the development of pan-Slavism as both the balm for a wounded aristocracy and a rationale for imperial expansion. and Russian involvement in the Balkans, which drew Russia into an ever-widening conflict with all of Europe. Cherniaev conquered Tashkent for Russia in 1865. Soon after he was recalled from his post in Central Asia for quarreling with his superiors and for exceeding his orders. Seen by conservatives as a martyr on the altar of "bureaucratic liberalism," he became the object of pan-Slavis: adulation and joined their struggles against the liberal ministers, especially the minister of war, D. A. Miliutin. Prompted by his pan-Slavist friends and his own sense of nationalist mission, he accepted command of the Serbian army in Serbia's disastrous war with Turkey in 1876. He then helped his fellow pan-Slavists push Russia toward war with Turkey.

As MacKenzie concludes, Cherniaev's reputation as the darling of the conservative Russian nationalists rested partly on his pen. Like his American counterpart General Custer, General Cherniaev carefully cultivated his own image. His military reports, from Central Asia and later from Serbia, magnified minor encounters into major victories and blamed his defeats on the timidity or duplicity of his superiors. Constitutionally unable to follow orders, he was "an adventurer thrust forward by the age of imperialism, gaining glory by conquering the weak and backward. . . . His fame and reputation were enhanced beyond measure by Russia's psychological need for heroes, by its striving for equality with a West more advanced economically and technologically, by its efforts to achieve an exulted historic mission" (pp. 243-44). Indeed Cherniaev's career is a sorry tale of monomaniacal ambition and bureaucratic intrigue.

MacKenzie spares the reader none of the sordid details. Generally well written and thoroughly researched, his account of Cherniaev attempts to show how he was shaped by the events of his time, and how he in turn influenced the course of Russian history. MacKenzie's study, however, has several serious flaws. First of all, he focuses too narrowly on Cherniaev. For example, he frequently notes that Cherniaev's inner conflicts reflected the conflicts of the nobility in an era of rising capitalism, of a nobility jealously guarding its privileges and waning power. Yet he nowhere adequately analyzes this important class conflict; he does not show specifically how the struggle between the nobility and the rising bourgeoisie determined Cherniaev's activities. Nor does he give the general reader enough information on the inner workings of the tsarist bureaucracy, information vital to the nonspecialist who wishes to untangle the complex disputes between Cherniaev and his superiors. Throughout most of Cherniaev's career his major antagonist was Miliutin, Alexander's liberal minister of war who sought to reform and modernize the Russian army. Among other things, Miliutin attempted to make the field generals directly responsible to the ministry of war, a move bound to raise the enmity of Cherniaev and his fellow aristocratic field officers. To fully understand this dispute, the nonspecialist would have to know much more about Miliutin and the Miliutin reforms than the author reveals in this book. Moreover, MacKenzie gives the general reader few hints on how the ministerial system as a whole worked or failed to work in the face of an insubordinate adventurer like Cherniaev. MacKenzie does not specifically say whether Cherniaev owed primary responsibility during his Central Asian campaign to the ministry of war or to the ministry of foreign affairs. He should have at least explained that ministerial solidarity did not exist in Russia at this time; each minister reported directly to the tsar. The most important minister was the minister who held the tsar's confidence at any particular moment. This state of ministerial anarchy made it possible for an ambitious general like Cherniaev to exceed his orders, exploit differences between ministers or take advantage of the confusion of the tsar. The author throws around the names of ministers without indicating clearly what their relative positions to the emperor were, or where they might fit in the ministerial structure at the time of their conflict with Cherniaev. He simply fails to describe adequately the bureaucratic context of Cherniaev's disputes with Miliutin.

The most serious fault in this study, however, is the author's own liberal bias. This bias affects the way he treats Cherniaev's personal life as well as the way he interprets the significance of the general's career. He correctly describes the struggle between Cherniaev and Miliutin as a struggle between nationalist-conservative and liberal, but definitely joins the debate on Miliutin's side. He never resists the temptation to administer a gratuitous slap at the bumbling, anachronistic Cherniaev-whom he characterizes as a throwback to the reign of Nicholas I, an impediment to progress and bureaucratic efficiency-whereas Miliutin comes through the narrative as the very breath of reason and progress. The most unsavory examples of the author's prejudicial treatment of Cherniaev are the recurrent references to the general's homosexuality. Either MacKenzie should have engaged in a thorough psychological study of his subject and shown how his homosexuality shaped his personality and public life, or he should have left the poor man's sex life alone. In a word, MacKenzie has not written a fair, unbiased, or objective account of General Cherniaev. One does not have to be an admirer of Cherniaev or a defender of obscurantism and Russian imperialism to notice that what MacKenzie does is to pose sources against each other and then choose the ones most critical of Cherniaev-usually the liberal sources. The author's bias, a bias that prompts him to believe the worst about his subject, seriously undermines the value of this study.

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v. s. Poznanskii. Ocherki istorii vooruzhennoi bor'by Sovetov Sibiri s kontrrevoliutsiei v 1917–1918 gg. [Essays on the Armed Struggle of the Siberian Soviets against the Counterrevolution, 1917–1918]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Sibirskoe Otdelenie. Institut Istorii, Filologii i Filosofii.) Novosibirsk: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," Sibirskoe Otdelenie. 1973. Pp. 306.

While Western scholars have almost ignored the civil war in Siberia, except concerning Kolchak and Allied intervention, Soviet scholars have given this subject a great deal of attention. This is especially true since the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956 when historians were directed to correct distortions caused by Stalin's personality cult. Thereafter historical output greatly expanded and improved, but Western historians will never be fully satisfied with Soviet works so long as politics determines their general direction, content, and use of jargon. Yet, when one overlooks these annoyances, he can find examples of solid historical research in sources often inaccessible to Western scholars. Such is the case here.

V. S. Poznanskii's major theme is Siberia's importance in the success of the Bolshevik Revolution. Western historians generally stress Bolshevik weakness because of Siberia's lack of a proletariat. Exceptional is the unpublished dissertation of Russell E. Snow, "The Bolsheviks in Siberia, February 1917–March 1918" (1972), which emphasizes Bolshevik strengths, notably leadership and tac-

tics, compared with their competitors, and Siberia's importance to Lenin because of its muchneeded grain. Poznanskii agrees, but concentrates instead on Siberia's military importance. He details the struggle against Ataman Semenov in Transbaikalia, an early front, and the decisive blow given Soviet power by the Czechs. Repeatedly Poznanskii condemns G. Kh. Eikhe, prominent military leader and memoirist (Oprokinutyi tyl [1966]), for blaming the defeat in mid-1918 on weak Bolshevik leadership. He defends these leaders and their instrument of power, Tsentrosibir' (Siberian Central Executive Committee), emphasizing that defeat resulted from the military superiority of their Allied-supported adversaries and middle peasant opposition to Soviet power. However, revolutionary forces prevented the anti-Bolsheviks from marching rapidly on Moscow and Petrograd and thus helped save the revolution. One wishes the author had examined the political struggle for Siberia, including dissensions among the Bolsheviks, in the critical weeks after November 1917.

Poznanskii's documentation and command of Soviet source materials are impressive. Students of the Soviet period will profit from his excellent twenty-five page introduction concerning the nature and location of documentation for this period. He includes another useful tool often absent in Soviet works, a lengthy annotated index of names, but omits a bibliography, a common Soviet practice.

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ALFRED ERICH SENN. Diplomacy and Revolution: The Soviet Mission to Switzerland, 1918. (International Studies of the Committee on International Relations, University of Notre Dame.) Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1974. Pp. 221. \$9.95.

Following the Bolshevik Revolution the fledging Soviet state managed to establish missions in four countries: Germany, Sweden, Great Britain, and Switzerland. In this continuation of his study of the Russian Revolution in Switzerland, Alfred Senn attempts to shed light on how the Soviet Union viewed its place in the international sphere during the first year of its existence by closely examining the Swiss mission of 1918. Lenin himself took considerable interest in the mission, viewing Switzerland as an excellent place from which to disseminate information about the Russian Revolution and from which to gather information about socialist and worker attitudes. This, rather than diplomacy in any usual sense, was in fact the main task of the mission. After some false starts the

mission was finally established under Jan Berzin, a Latvian and friend of Lenin. With the assistance of a variety of Russians, Swiss, and others, such as the Frenchman Henri Guilbeaux, the Soviet mission set up several press and other organizations to gather information and, more important, to disseminate propaganda in favor of the Soviet regime. As a result of this and meddlings in Swiss political affairs, the mission and other Russian revolutionaries-their relation to the mission was often very unclear-drew fire from both nonsocialist Swiss and foreign embassies, especially the French. Finally pressures from the now victorious Entente combined with growing Swiss uneasiness over their activities—especially those of Angelica Balabanova and others in connection with a major strike in November-led to the Russians' unceremonious deportation.

Senn has succeeded well in the task he set for himself: the detailed description of the mission, the various Russians who surrounded it, and their activities in Switzerland. As in previous works he has mined the wealth of sources industriously. The parade of characters sometimes becomes a bit bewildering, giving the text a disjointed air at places, but the prose quickens at other points. One could wish, however, that Senn had made a greater effort to tie the Swiss mission into the broader spectrum of international developments of the era and to tie it to Soviet expectations and thinking about international affairs, imminent revolution, and relations with other socialists as well. Nonetheless he has written a fine account of one of the first episodes in the development of the novel mix of diplomacy and revolutionary activity that has constituted Soviet foreign policy.

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s. N. SEMANOV. Likvidatsiia antisovetskogo kronshtadtskogo miatezha 1921 goda [The Liquidation of the Anti-Soviet Kronstadt Revolt of 1921]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Nauchnyi Sovet po Kompleksnoi Probleme "Istoriia Velikoi Oktiabr'skoi Sotsialisticheskoi Revoliutsii," Institut Istorii SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 230.

ROGER PETHYBRIDGE. The Social Prelude to Stalinism. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. 343. \$18.95.

Even half a century later the Kronstadt revolt of March 1921 is bound to be a politically sensitive topic for any Soviet historian; Semanov's account does not even pretend to strive for objectivity. How was it possible that Soviet sailors and workers revolted against Bolshevik rule? The author must find exceptional circumstances to account for it:

exhaustion from war and privation, the severe food shortage, and, above all, the changing composition of the armed forces as a result of the influx of peasant and declassé elements. Semanov cannot indicate that this was Trotsky's explanation, too; he is obliged to assert that the rebels, mostly anarchists and socialists, were doing the dirty work for the imperialists. His own evidence fails to bear this out. He is at pains to show that the basic decision to embark on the New Economic Policy was taken before, and not because of, the uprising. As for the near famine, he manages to put the blame on Trotsky. He also accuses Zinoviev of losing touch with the working class in Petrograd and "in effect" leading a fronde against Lenin. Semanov must minimize the political objectives of the rebels; their opposition to the Bolshevik monopoly of power and their demands for civil rights are dismissed as petit bourgeois nonsense. A Soviet reader will scarcely be able to form an adequate idea of who the rebels were and what they wanted. Western readers will still need to consult such studies as Paul Avrich's Kronstadt 1921 (1970).

The Social Prelude to Stalinism is a very different kind of book. It reflects the recent interest in the 1920s, years of relative pluralism on which fairly ample documentation exists. It also exemplifies the welcome recent growth of interest in Russian social history. The book is likely to be influential because of the questions it raises rather than the answers it provides. Professor Pethybridge, of the University College of Swansea, seeks to assess the role of social forces and conditions—as distinct from political and economic variables or the personality of the leader-in the mix of factors that produced Stalinism. In exploring the topic, he offers a number of astute observations and suggestive discussions on a wide range of issues-such as the impact of the civil war, the constrains imposed by illiteracy and poverty, the peasant nature of Russian society, family and population policy, and problems of nationalities, bureaucracy, and education. He is good on the confrontation of the early utopias with the dismal realities of post-1917 Soviet Russia. But in the end it is not clear just what, according to him, the total weight of social conditions was. While some of his comments on totalitarianism go in the opposite direction, the thrust of his argument—despite his disavowals—implies a bothersome element of determinism in the rise of Stalinism. Moreover, the entire treatment is neither concise nor exhaustive. If analytically unsatisfactory and perhaps too sweepingly negative in its assessment of the 1920s, this is nonetheless an interesting and challenging volume.

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RONALD HINGLEY. Joseph Stalin: Man and Legend. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1974. Pp. xxi, 482. \$15.00.

One of the most perplexing questions of USSR history, Stalin's rise to power with all its accompanying outcomes and disasters, still attracts the student of Soviet affairs. During 1973 two Stalin biographies were added to an already long list: Robert C. Tucker's Stalin as Revolutionary and Adam B. Ulam's Stalin: The Man and His Era; now comes the publication of an extensive, yet nonrepetitious, version by Ronald Hingley, a noted British scholar. All three authors, while approaching their tasks from different levels and intentions, join to put to rest forever the legend of "good old Joe," as promulgated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and other political figures during World War II. Instead the real, or almost true, Stalin emerges from their research.

In this process of deiconizing the tyrant, Hingley's work offers a magnificent exercise in demolishing the legend built for so long and intensively by Stalin and his henchmen. It is also a compelling study in how myths and legends emerge and how they can destroy the real person and necessitate a complete rewriting of history. For such is the case with Stalin who succeeded in creating an illusory image of benevolence while freely employing terror, destruction, and falsification during his three decades of unlimited power. To expose this deception and to penetrate the labyrinth of distortions became Hingley's herculean assignment. The search for the origin of the myth begins with Stalin's childhood and continues to the circumstances of his death in 1953. To this end the author has examined some four hundred books and sources, including the memoirs of former Stalin associates, using the method of direct confrontation between opposing views and revelations. Having established the degree of reliability of a given material, Hingley attempts to restore the most supportable course of events, with the result that in some specific cases he prefers to abstain from a conclusive opinion. For instance, the question of Stalin's collaboration with Okhrana, his responsibility for the massacre of the Tiflis May Day in 1901, and his disobeying Lenin's orders before and during 1917 are offered in a debating and not in a dogmatic style, despite obvious discrediting evidence. The confrontation between the legend and reality culminates in the dismembering of Stalin's role as a "war hero" during the Nazi-Soviet war. Hingley exposes not only Stalin's already well known strategic blunders but also such details as his only visit to the distant front line, contrasting it with the widely propagandized K. Finogenov drawing showing Stalin as a colossus "at the front."

This essay is both stylistically superb and a credible, scholarly contribution to its field. It offers a continuous challenge even to the knowledgeable reader, testing his own comprehension of the material and the ability to make references to other biographies. Furthermore, the impressive list of sources used is welcome and appreciated by the scholar who otherwise would have missed some of them. As to the author's specific suggestions, one has the freedom to accept or reject; however, the book remains a serious study. This is true despite some minor errors such as the author's confusion with the origin of Molotov's pseudonym, Skriabin. It does not derive from mallet but molot. Fifty-three illustrations, many of them very rare, optically underscore the conflict between the legend and reality. Instructors and graduate students in seminars on Soviet affairs are urged to submit this study to close scrutiny in order to test how legend is made and laid to rest.

STEPHAN M. HORAK
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Istoriia mist i sil Ukraïns'koï RSR [History of the Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR]. Khersons'ka Oblast' [Kherson Province], edited by O. E. KAS'IANENKO et al.; Kirovohrads'ka Oblast' [Kirovograd Province], edited by D. S. SYVOLAP et al.; Rovens'ka Oblast' [Rovno Province], edited by A. V. MIALOVYTS'KYI et al.; Sums'ka Oblast' [Sumy Province], edited by I. IA. MAKUKHIN et al.; Ternopil's'ka Oblast' [Ternopol Province], edited by S. P. NECHAI et al.; Zhytomyrs'ka Oblast' [Zhitomir Province], edited by O. S. CHORNOBRYVTSEVA et al.; Kryms'ka Oblast' [Crimea Province], edited by L. C. SOLODNOVNYK et al. (Holovna Redaktsiia Ukraïns'koï Radians'koï Entsyklopediï Akademiï Nauk URSR.) Kiev: Institut Istoriï Akademiï Nauk URSR. 1972; 1973; 1973; 1973; 1973; 1974. Pp. 686; 815; 654; 693; 639; 725; 801.

Six of these seven volumes closely resemble the preceding nineteen volumes of the monumental Ukrainian local history. The treatment of Ternopol province contains the same fascinating details about organization of Ukrainian nationalist ("Banderist") guerrilla activity as did the Ivan Franko volume. Numbers, positions, and sometimes names of Soviet officials killed by the insurgents while carrying out agricultural collectivization and suppression of "bourgeois" cultural and religious organizations are given for nearly every district, often for individual towns and villages. Such information for Rovno provincean Eastern Orthodox rather than a Uniate Catholic region-where nationalist guerrillas were active during World War II rather than in the late 1940s, is sparser. On the other hand, the volume on Rovno province, like those on other northern provinces (Zhitomir and Sumy among those reviewed here), contains much valuable detail on early history, along with some delightful photographs of ecclesiastical and secular monuments still extant. Treatments of the southern steppe provinces, Kirovograd and Kherson, obviously cannot present a comparable wealth of early historical detail, although they do contain some useful points on local campaigns among Poles, Russians, and Tatars. Probably more valuable is the information on origins of settlers in this "New Russia" at the end of the eighteenth and during the early nineteenth centuries.

The last volume of the series on Crimea province is rather different from its predecessors. As I noted in an earlier review, the order of publication appears to have been due simply to the availability of professional historians. No doubt complications connected with the founding of Simferopol University (the first in the Crimea) during these years, together with the inherent complexity of Crimean history, delayed this volume. It is a striking coincidence, nevertheless, that the Crimea volume contains by far the most revealing material on nationality questions. The Crimea is, of course, a real ethnic palimpsest. I am quite unable to judge whether the discussions of archeological finds relating to the Scythians and earlier groups are of any interest to the specialist. It does not seem to me that the treatment of the Greek and Genoese colonies is particularly useful, although some details on the migration of remaining Greeks to the north shore of the Sea of Azov in the late eighteenth century and the photographs of surviving Greek buildings are interesting.

The discussion of the Tatars, on the other hand, is highly significant. The Crimea volume, like several others, emphasizes the centuries-old, common struggle of the Ukrainians and the Russians against the atrocious attacks of Crimean Tatars and their Turkish overlords. Evidently the editors considered stimulation of East Slav solidarity more important than possible offense to Turkic sensibilities. The editors' option for East Slav patriotism is still more evident in the treatment of World War II. Apparently the recent memory of Moslem Tatar "treachery" to the Soviet regime has become assimilated to the atavistic East Slav dread of depredations by the steppe nomads. The Tatars collaborated with the German forces in intense antiguerrilla activity in the Yaila Mountains and their foothills. Since the editors understandably take pride in the truly determined efforts of local Communists to carry on partisan activities in these regions—the only Crimean areas at all suitable for guerrilla warfare-the resentment expressed toward the Tatars is undoubtedly genuine. The final tragic act of the Tatars' wartime

resistance to Soviet rule, their expulsion from the land they had inhabited for seven centuries, is mentioned obscurely in a footnote on page 69: "In the spring of 1944, after the liberation of the Crimea from the Fascist occupiers, under circumstances of a continuing war, the Tatars who had lived in the Crimea were settled in other regions of the country. The facts of active collaboration with the German occupiers by certain portions of the Tatars were unjustifiedly ascribed to the entire Tatar population of the Crimea." The note assures the reader that (since a Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 1967!) Crimean Tatars have enjoyed all their nationality rights—but in Uzbekistan and other union republics, rather than in the Crimea.

More attention is devoted to the recent settlement of the northern Crimean steppe by Slavs, and to the new Slavic settlements in the mountains and the southern coastal strip. The only clue to the existence of numerous Jews in the latter region is—as has been the case in treatment of the northern Ukraine-reference to extraordinarily high proportions of the "peaceful population" murdered by the Nazis. All in all, this volume is a historiographical counterpart of the symbol of Russian-Ukrainian partnership, which the Crimea became in 1954 when Khrushchev had the province officially transferred to the Ukrainian Republic. That being the case, it is hardly surprising that, despite vicissitudes in the Ukrainian Communist party leadership, the History of the Cities and Villages was allowed to proceed to completion.

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NEAR EAST

ELIAS SHOUFANI. Al-Riddah and the Muslim Conquest of Arabia. (The Arab Institute for Research and Publishing.) [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1973. Pp. 180. \$10.00.

This monograph represents the kind of careful analysis Islamic historical studies need. The relevant materials used inevitably must be those already known. The author's thesis extends W. Montgomery Watt's work on Mohammed's relations with the Bedouin tribesmen to the period of the first caliph Abu Bakr; it argues the necessity of looking at the specific relationships each tribal group entered into with Mohammed, for their actions upon the death of the Prophet followed from these. That Bedouin tribes did not fall into simple apostasy, throwing off an accepted Islam, has been known for years; what the author here does is to sort out clearly just what actions were taken by each group and why. He shows that Riddah,

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apostasy or falling away, can be properly applied to only a very few tribal groups; what, in fact, happened during Abu Bakr's time was Muslim conquest, or at least extension of power over Arabia and into the border areas. The book also re-emphasizes the importance of Meccan leadership, showing Mohammed's interest in wooing the Meccans and his policies favoring them. The author discusses Mohammed's evident interest in the lands north of the Hijaz toward Syria. The campaign of Tabuk is to be so seen, and although that came to little, events following it appear of capital importance for future policy: the imposition of obligatory sadaqah, or alms tax payments, and the forcing of idolaters with whom Mohammed had had treaty relations to become Muslims and pay the tax, or to fight him. Abu Bakr inherited these interests and pursued them.

More remarkable than the author's general analysis and conclusions is the careful way he handles his sources, teasing out important information through a careful sifting and criticism of individual accounts and Hadith reports. For example, he shows that a footnote listing Tabari is insufficient as a citation; it is necessary to state which account Tabari is himself using and what weight can be assigned it. In the work under review that method is not always followed; but the author expresses enough concern, particularly in pointing out problems using the reports by Sayf ibn Umar quoted by Tabari, that specialist readers and students of history generally are put on notice to be more careful using Tabari and the other standard sources. The real value of this monograph, therefore, is twofold: it brings into clear focus the tribal relationships with Mohammed and Abu Bakr, and it suggests how historians must handle the available sources.

A few minor problems in the book are the author's unacknowledged but clearly Sunni viewpoint of events on the day of Mohammed's death; several typographical errors particularly frequent in place names spelled with "H"; and the arrangement of the bibliography, where Julius Wellhausen's Arabische Reich (1902), in its Arabic translation (1958), is listed among Arabic works.

REUBEN W. SMITH
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W. MONTGOMERY WATT. The Majesty that Was Islam: The Islamic World, 661-1100. (Great Civilizations Series.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1974. Pp. 276. \$20.00.

W. Montgomery Watt is a leading scholar of Islamic history and civilization and has been so for many years. He is the author of several books and articles dealing with the life of the Prophet Mohammed and also with Islam as a religion and way

of life. In this book, however, the author is mainly concerned with the rise and decline of the Islamic Empire between A.D. 661 and A.D. 1100.

The book is divided into five sections: "The Umayyad Period 661-750," "The First Abbāsid Century 750-850," "The Abbāsid Decline 850-945," "The Buwayhid Period 945-1055," and "The Earlier Seljūq Period." In each of these sections, the author first presents a narrative account of the history of the respective period. He then discusses somewhat briefly some religious and cultural aspects pertaining to that period, such as Islamic factionalism, jurisprudence, philosophy, theology, grammar and literature, and relations between Muslims and non-Muslims.

The book is well organized, well written, and very enjoyable to read. The historical narrative is quite accurate but very concise. The author's remarks about the various features of Islamic culture are very useful but also very brief. The reader is left with a strong impression of the author's great care for accuracy and fairness. In certain instances, however, the reader is left wishing that the author had elaborated more. For example, the reasons for the cAbbasid decline are discussed in fewer than three pages (pp. 159-61), and the replacement of Christian culture by Islamic culture is presented in fewer than four pages (pp. 257-60). Moreover, the author mentions that the transformation of the Christian culture in the Middle East into an Islamic culture is "one of the great failures of Christianity" (p. 2), but the reader is left wondering as to what aspect of Christianity is to blame for this failure. Perhaps a future work by the author will address itself directly to this very important question.

There is no doubt that by writing this book, Watt has once more put many students and scholars of Islamic history and civilization in his debt.

WILSON B. BISHAI Harvard University

AFRICA

J. D. CLARK. Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site. Volume 1, The Geology, Palaeoecology and Detailed Stratigraphy of the Excavations; volume 2, The Later Prehistoric Cultures. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969; 1974. Pp. xvi, 253; xiii, 420. \$14.50; \$49.50.

These are the first two volumes of a three-volume report on excavations undertaken at a number of locations around Kalambo Falls on the boundary of Tanzania and Zambia, close to the southeast corner of Lake Tanganyika. The site produced one of the longest archeological sequences so far found in sub-Saharan Africa, from late Acheulian to the present millennium—some sixty thousand years.

It was investigated between 1956 and 1966 by a team of specialists under the leadership of Dr. J. D. Clark, and the resulting report draws together all kinds of data that can throw light on the region in prehistoric times, in terms both of the influence the environment had on man in the area and also of the influence man exercised on his environment.

Volume 1 comprises a general description of the prehistory of the area as an introduction to the detailed discussion of the geology and paleoecology of the site with descriptions of the excavations. The second volume describes and analyzes the archeological data and interprets them in terms of human activity within the environment of the period, proceeding backward from an account of the contemporary ethnography of the area. through the Iron Age remains and the microlithic industries to the Polungu Industry of the closing stages of the Pleistocene about twenty thousand years ago. The third volume will take the story back to the late Acheulian and will also discuss the significance of the site and its place in the prehistory of the continent. This last section will perhaps be the one most interesting to historians.

The reversed chronological procedure may seem confusing to some readers, but not only does it represent the way in which an excavation recovers data; more important, it proceeds from the known to the unknown, from the way of life of the peoples of the present day and recent past to that of their predecessors in the area. Since the archeologist depends very largely on ethnographic analogy in interpreting his data this is a very effective and convincing approach. Moreover there is a very great emphasis throughout the book on consistency of terminology: this is, I think, the first major report to apply the terminology recommended by a Wenner-Gren symposium in 1965. The deliberate way in which terms are defined and applied has given a remarkable clarity to the whole book. In particular, the careful distinction that is always rigorously kept in the interpretive sections between observed archeological fact and ethnographic analogy brings out in a strikingly new way how dependent archeologists are on ethnography. One notices, too, that Clark wisely sticks close to the Kalambo Falls area in seeking his analogies, though occasionally he draws on descriptions of stoneworking techniques from further afield, usually checking them experimentally and comparing his own efforts with the archeological artifacts.

Comparisons are made with material from other excavations, but these are sometimes limited by the difference in methods of classification of artifacts. The need for a standardized terminology is apparent, but it is difficult to get some workers to

adopt one. This book will go a long way to encourage them. I have one misgiving, however, in that the term "component" is defined (p. 73) in a very different manner from the archeological usage of the word in the rest of the world. It would have been better to employ a term not previously used.

The techniques of analysis and the definitions of terms are exemplary. This work is destined to become a classic in archeological methodology.

FRANK WILLETT
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KENNETH POST and MICHAEL VICKERS. Structure and Conflict in Nigeria 1960–1966. [Madison:] University of Wisconsin Press. 1973. Pp. vii, 248. (Price not set.)

The overthrow of the first Nigerian Republic and the outbreak of civil war in 1966 signaled the collapse of West Africa's most important experiment in the application of the Westminster model of parliamentary democracy. Four years before the coup, Henry L. Bretton argued in *Power and Stability in Nigeria* that Nigeria's legal-constitutional system rested on quicksand and might itself become a major source of instability. Yet to most observers, the ease with which Major Nzeogwu and his military associates overthrew the republic came as a complete surprise.

In this useful study of the six years just before the Nigerian coup, Kenneth Post and Michael Vickers offer an analysis of the political and social system of the First Republic based on their interpretation of events centering around the federal elections of 1964-65. The disastrous attempt to elect a new federal legislature should not be seen, they argue, as an isolated failure, but as the capstone of a prolonged crisis of the political system of Nigeria. Post and Vickers attribute the progressive decay of the precoup political system to several basic factors: the tenacity and strength of entrenched ethnic groups, each commanding a transcendent loyalty in its home region as well as among federal politicians and civil servants; colonialism, which differentially incorporated ethnic groups into a common political system and forced them to battle each other for political and economic rewards; the greed of the politicians, who plunged Nigeria into chaos by seeking to extend their dominion beyond the boundaries of their home regions; and the constitutional-political structure of the Nigerian Republic, which, as Bretton had predicted, fatally reinforced competition between regionally based ethnic groups.

Structure and Conflict is a "preliminary essay" that marks the beginning of serious efforts to achieve a fully integrated analysis of Nigerian society in the 1960s. The results of the authors' grueling forays

into building models of the political superstructure rarely go beyond the obvious and fall short of their goal, but in the process these two political scientists tell historians a great deal about the development of the Nigerian crisis and offer a number of fruitful suggestions about the interaction of culture and political structure. Post and Vickers have written a serious, provocative, and badly needed study. They have raised many more questions than they have answered, but that is in the nature of the exercise.

> FRANK CHALK Concordia University, Montreal

ASIA AND THE EAST

FRANK A. KIERMAN, JR., and JOHN K. FAIRBANK, editors. Chinese Ways in Warfare. (Harvard East Asian Series 74.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 401. \$18.50.

The introductory essay and seven articles contained in this volume may be considered from the perspective of three crude generalizations about Chinese militarism and military institutions during the Han dynasty and from the middle of the eighth until the nineteenth century. The first is the association of military heroism with the role of emperor. Dynasties were founded and legitimized by conquest, rival centers of power were destroyed or subjugated, and control over the frontiers was re-established. The imperial heirs owed their position to the founder's military prowess and, irrespective of their talents, temperament, or circumstances, were constrained to honor it, if only by ceremonial means within the official cult. The second generalization is that in a prédominantly labor-intensive agricultural economy, most military and civil officials were, or became, men of property with a strong interest in internal peace and order. War reduced production and invited loss and destruction of wealth. This, added to the fact that the inner Asian frontiers were mostly poor and not suited to large-scale Chinese settlement, discouraged adventurism on the part of officials. The third is to the extent that Chinese imperial government became depersonalized and bureaucratic, it was inimical to the heroic style. Martial values had their deepest roots in the picaresque counterculture of smugglers, bandits, rebels, and hired bravos who had much to gain and little to lose by violence, and they were widely celebrated in popular drama, fiction, and temple iconography.

John Fairbank's essay, "Varieties of the Chinese Military Experience," sets the military aspect of government in the context of an empire politically dominated by a civil bureaucracy. Military tasks sometimes had to be taken up by civil officials, but were often left in the hands of non-Chinese militarists of the frontier regions. The author offers the hypothesis that the Mongol and Manchu conquests can be regarded as an arrangement welcomed by "a sufficient number of Chinese" whereby the tasks of unifying and defending the empire were turned over to alien groups who had the ethnic solidarity and military orientation to perform these services successfully.

Frank Kierman's "Phases and Modes of Combat in Early China" contrasts the religious and ceremonial character of warfare in the seventh century B.C. with what he calls the "rationalization of warfare" by the third century B.C. Michael Loewe's "The Campaigns of Han Wu-ti" uses the inner Asian expeditions of 129-90 B.C. to demonstrate the severe logistic, geographic, and political limitations on Chinese imperial expansion even at this time when Han military power was at its height.

Charles A. Peterson's "Regional Defense against the Central Power: The Huai-hsi Campaign, 815-817," Herbert Franke's "Siege and Defense of Towns in Medieval China," and Edward L. Dreyer's "The Poyang Campaign, 1363" give this volume a solid core by their detailed examination of internal warfare within the Chinese Empire, and by their chronological continuity. All contribute to an understanding of the military and political significance of the fortified Chinese city. Franke's article is especially valuable for his careful attention to the relationship of urban defense to medieval class structure. Dreyer clarifies the significance of inland naval warfare in the fourteenthcentury civil wars.

Frederick W. Mote's "The T'u-mu Incident of 1449" and Charles O. Hucker's "Hu Tsunghsien's Campaign against Hsu Hai, 1556" shift the focus to the northern frontier and to coastal defense respectively. The capture of Emperor Yingtsung is employed to illustrate a persistent misunderstanding of the strategic problem of the northern frontier. This led to a commitment to sterile and inappropriate military solutions until the end of the Ming. Hucker has provided a contrasting study of the astonishingly imaginative array of means, including trickery and deceit, employed by a civil official charged with pacifying an east coastal region ravaged by island-based marauders.

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ELLSWORTH C. CARLSON. The Foochow Missionaries, 1847-1880. (Harvard East Asian Monographs 51.) Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1974. Pp. 259. \$8.50.

The author, who spent four years teaching in China, examines the work of American and British missionaries in Foochow during the years 1847-80. His primary sources are largely letters and reports of missionaries; he makes limited use of available Chinese materials. The major emphases are on the aims of the missionaries, on the methods they employed in efforts to win converts, their attitudes toward the Chinese, and the reasons for and the extent of Chinese opposition and the forms of the opposition. The analysis of each is marked by close attention to accuracy, avoidance of overinterpretation, and carefully balanced judgment of the protagonists. From a scholarly viewpoint the volume is a significant compilation of factual evidence concerning the missionaries in one Chinese city. Carlson is frank in his portrayal of individual missionaries who manifested attitudes of arrogance, self-righteousness, and unwillingness to adjust to Chinese feelings and traditions, but he also tries to understand them and to put before the reader the frustrations they experienced. The account does not differ in interpretation from those presented by other scholars in recent years.

The most valuable contribution is the author's detailed treatment of Chinese efforts to curtail the missionaries' efforts and the motivation of the Chinese in placing obstacles in the way. The overwhelming and deep-seated hostility throughout the period had its source in antiforeignism, in the belief of the gentry that Christianity endangered existing institutions and portended revolution, and the sheer persistence of the missionaries in demanding their rights and more under the treaties. The ingenuity of the Chinese in curtailing treaty rights in the face of threats of the use of force and the stolid, ethnocentric digging in in the face of violence and persecution by the missionaries guaranteed day-to-day confrontation and riots. The author's understanding of the Chinese side and his scaling down the self-righteous indignation of the Westerner make for exciting reading.

PAUL A. VARG
Michigan State University

J. D. FRODSHAM, translated and annotated by. The First Chinese Embassy to the West: The Journals of Kuo Sung-t'ao, Liu Hsi-hung, and Chang Te-yi. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. lxv, 222. \$13.00.

Here is a book that deserves a very wide audience. Although it may appear to be too specialized to interest many readers apart from historians of China, it should be highly rewarding to non-specialists. J. D. Frodsham has translated the journals of Kuo Sung-t'ao, China's first ambassador to

the West, and parts of the journals of Kuo's assistant, Liu Hsi-hung, and their interpreter, Chang Te-yi, he has also provided a selection of related items, mostly written by Kuo, as well as the diary kept by one of Kuo's two English secretaries, Dr. Halliday Macartney, and an excellent introduction that places the mission in its historical setting and comments perceptively on the writers and their differing views of their common experience. The translations are painstakingly annotated and, insofar as I can tell from some random comparisons with the Chinese texts, quite accurate. The entire book reads smoothly.

China specialists will not find here anything that is momentously new, but Frodsham has fresh perspectives, and the texts offer a wealth of enlightening detail about the nineteenth-century Chinese-Western encounter. Frodsham observes that Kuo was naive: "Kuo's work was in essence but the record of his ignorance of the West. [Kuo himself once asked: "How can I, who know no foreign language and am ignorant of world affairs, fill my post competently?"] Yet it is precisely in this ignorance, in the freshness of response that it evokes, that much of the charm of his work lies." There is indeed charm in the work, even and perhaps especially in the abundance of trivia. There is also substance. Kuo was an experienced, curious, thoughtful man. He had keen insight and an open mind. An outspoken reformer at a time when such views were dangerously unpopular, Kuo was by no means an uncritical admirer of the West. But when he had favorable comments to make about Western strengths he made them bluntly. To his colleague, Liu Hsi-hung, however, Western learning was mere technology, "exotic arts," and "petty, miscellaneous tricks" that produced "novelties"; later, when Liu saw for the first time in his life trains and other modern wonders, he concluded, "This is certainly a clever construction, but far from indispensable." These views notwithstanding, Liu found things to admire in Europe, although he still insisted that the West had little or nothing to teach China.

The contrasting views and personalities of the Chinese observers, their interaction with each other and with the British, and Europeans' reactions to them make up a lively and fascinating chapter in world history. Frodsham has performed a service that enlightens and delights.

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DAVID L. DAVIS et al. Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History. Edited by John W. Hall and Jeffrey P. Mass. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 269. \$12.50.

Seven of the eight contributors to this volume are either Ph.D. candidates or recent recipients of the degree. If the volume is a fair sample of their work, the study of medieval Japanese history clearly is moving into a take-off stage. There is not an essay in the book that does not enlarge our understanding of medieval Japan, either by providing new historical information or by suggesting new lines of interpretation.

As the subtitle indicates, the main focus of the essays is the development of political institutions from the reception of T'ang civilization to the emergence of the Muromachi Bakufu. Either directly or indirectly, all the essays explore the morcellement de pouvoir that resulted from competition between capital and province, court and aristocracy, and metropolitan elite and regional warriors. John W. Hall establishes this theme in the opening essay, which describes how changes in the physical configuration of the capital city reflected the shift of power relationships among the imperial family, the civil aristocracy, and the provincial warrior elite. It is the least technical of all the essays and doubtless will be of value to specialists in fields such as art history as well as to historians.

In the next two essays G. Cameron Hurst illuminates the character of Heian court politics through a study of aristocratic household governments, patterns of aristocratic patronage, and the role of the abdicated emperor's court. He suggests that the four centuries of aristocratic ascendancy were not a period of decline, and that the Heian courtiers developed highly sophisticated institutions to compete for preferment and land rights, the dynamic forces behind Heian politics. Elizabeth Sato's essay on the development of the shōen confirms this. Her essay also suggests that the accumulation of rights in private estates was a far more complex process than earlier accounts (including that of Asakawa Kan'ichi) have suggested.

In a diffuse but provocative essay, Cornelius J. Kiley sets forth an equilibrium model of late Heian politics. He argues that the resilience of aristocratic government rested on the community of interest the shoen system established among its participants at all levels. He suggests that the shoen was not an institution that strengthened local interests at the expense of aristocratic, but that it was a corporate "estate community" controlled by "segmental factions" including both aristocratic patrons and local landed elements. To the extent that political conflict occurred, it centered around factional disputes, not class conflict or capital-provincial rivalry. In a brilliant insight, he also suggests that the very looseness of the political structure-"extreme tolerance for autonomous groups"helped to innoculate the system against the periodic upheavals that plagued the Chinese imperial structure.

In two essays on the Kamakura period, Jeffrey Mass gently challenges the views of his coeditor and sensei that there were important continuities between Heian and Kamakura institutions. Relying on a careful study of documentary sources, he concludes that Yoritomo established his regime in Kamakura in a deliberate effort to break away from the authority of the court, if not to supplant it. His methodology suggests the danger of relying too heavily on later literary accounts and chronicles. Kyotsu Hori's essay on the impact of the Mongol invasion argues, as others have, that the invasion was important in weakening the Kamakura regime, but suggests that it had this effect mainly because it accelerated long-term tendencies of the institutional structure, such as the collapse of the sōryō system, the shift to impartible inheritance, and the growing gap between the dynastic interests of the Hojo and the local interests of provincial warriors.

The two essays by Prescott B. Wintersteen, Jr. show how the Muromachi Bakufu displaced the court and aristocracy as the arbiters of capital politics and how in turn its own authority in the provinces was eroded by the granting of emergency financial powers to the shugo. David L. Davis also illuminates an important aspect of the Muromachi period by describing for the first time in English the institution of the ikki, which bound samurai, and also commoners, by peer loyalty and territorial proximity rather than by kinship, aristocratic patronage, or vassalage ties. He suggests, not very convincingly, that in this new organizational principle lay the sprouts of modernization.

Nearly all the essays raise issues and define problems within the boundaries of the scholarly discourse established by Japanese historiography. Herein lies the volume's strength as well as its weakness. It gives us a better picture of "what really happened," but fails to raise broader issues such as the nature of Japanese feudalism. Only the essay by Cornelius Kiley, informed by his acquaintance with political anthropology, suggests tantalizing possibilities for further comparative study.

Let me add two minor cavils: a number, of key terms (e.g., ko on page 81 or koei on page 121) are not to be found in the otherwise valuable glossary, and there are no biographical notes on the contributors, who deserve to be identified more completely.

PETER DUUS
Stanford University

PHILIP MASON. A Matter of Honour. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1974. Pp. 580. \$12.95.

The author, already distinguished by a two-volume account of the administrative and social background of the British in India, has placed us further in his debt with this account of the Anglo-Indian armies from their beginnings in the eighteenth century to-1947, the year the Indian subcontinent formally regained its independence from Britain.

It is based wholly upon published works and is lit with insights gained from the author's twenty years of administrative service in India. While one may regret that he did not use some recently published works—for example, J. A. Norris's *The First Afghan War 1838–42* (1967)—or the untapped riches in periodicals such as Colburn's *United Service Journal* (1829–1920), the core of the book remains unflawed.

It is not military history in the commonly accepted sense of battles and marches. Instead it attempts to answer questions that have significance beyond British India. What inspired Indians to fight so well in causes not their own, for men whose looks and customs were different, and whose behavior was often both incomprehensible and offensive? How did these Anglo-Indian armies so often beat larger armies—armies more often than not trained and led by European professionals? Why did these Indian regiments remain loyal when it was far from their interest to do so? What inspired the handful of mutinies that shadow those two hundred years? How, after the great mutiny of the Bengal Army in 1857, did a new army emerge from the ashes, and in what way did it differ from the old? What did these armies borrow from the past, from their enemies, from the British? What did officers and men think of each other, and in what ways did their relationships change over time? How did the armies fit into the structure of the empire they had helped win?

Roughly four-fifths of the book is devoted to the years before 1914. If for the years following the author displays less sureness of touch—a fact revealed by his increasing dependence upon campaign history—he is in good company, for we are all feeling our way among the rubble of this century. If, years from now, a historian can bring to the last generation of the Anglo-Indian army the same clarity, compassion, and understanding that Mr. Mason has brought to those generations before it, this will be an event well worth waiting for.

JOHN TOTTENHAM
University of Michigan

BAWA SATINDER SINGH. The Jammu Fox: A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir, 1792–1857. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 263. \$15.00.

Biographies, which constitute such a large segment of South Asian historiography, suffer from an important didactic weakness: their preoccupation with the particular usually results in a weak analysis of larger but related issues. This biography of Gulab Singh is no exception. The author concentrates so intently on the mid-nine-teenth-century dogra maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu that he ignores, no doubt deliberately, questions of greater historical significance.

The primary purpose of the book is to present a thoroughly researched and "dispassionate account" of Gulab Singh's career, particularly his role in the complicated events and intrigues that followed the death of Ranjit Singh and led to the destruction of the Sikh state. In this respect it is a fine example of biographical scholarship. It portrays Gulab Singh as a Machiavellian power broker and political opportunist who so successfully elevated survival above all other considerations that the British ultimately appointed him maharaja of Kashmir. Whether or not duplicity, cruelty, and avarice are admirable is not, however, a question in the book. Instead, it emphasizes that Gulab Singh, unlike his contemporaries in the Punjab, possessed both the ability and the foresight to make amorality work for him. This unemotional approach results in a balanced account of Gulab Singh's activities and as such broadens our knowledge of the political events of northwestern India during this period.

It is, then, an excellent biography. But, perhaps because it is so preoccupied with presenting a neutral account of Gulab Singh's career, the book stops short of any analysis of the structure of the Sikh state or the character of traditional political power in South Asia. A good example is the author's treatment of the question of communalism. The author, by virtue of research in hitherto unused private papers, is able to quote Governor-General Hardinge to the effect that the British made Gulab Singh maharaja of Kashmir because they preferred Hindu to Muslim rulers. Yet the statement is left unexplored. Similarly, the author's assertion that Gulab Singh was reluctant to employ Muslims in his administration in Kashmir and actually removed many is not pursued or related to a statement on the maharaja's religious tolerance made several pages later. The lack of any analysis of these points, however brief, is frustrating, especially in light of the importance of the Kashmir question since 1947. The fault here, however, is not in the scholarship but in the form; an unbiased narrative of one man's career is attained at the expense of analysis.

NEIL RABITOY
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NICHOLAS MANSERGH, editor-in-chief. E. W. R. LUMBY, assistant editor. The Transfer of Power, 1942-7. Vol-

ume 4, The Bengal Famine and the New Viceroyalty, 15 June 1943-31 August 1944. (Constitutional Relations between Britain and India.) London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by Pendragon House, Palo Alto, Calif. 1973. Pp. xcix, 1295. \$52.00.

This important collection of source materials must surely serve as required reading for any serious historical interest in twentieth-century India. The latest volume of documents covers the final weeks in the viceroyalty of Lord Linlithgow (April 1936 to October 1943) and the first months in the regime of Lord Wavell. It represents the official record of momentous events that transpired within fourteen months during the last half decade of British rule. It provides a fascinating glimpse of the twilight of the rai, of both rulers and ruled, as seen from the perspective of New Delhi. In the midst of a vast global war, struggles no less fateful for peoples of the Indian subcontinent were reaching points from which there could be no return. Within one year (from August 1943 to August 1944) profound forces of change seem to have been let loose. Indian troops went off to battle in North Africa and Burma. Domestic tranquillity, irreparably shattered by the triple hammerblows of the Lahore Resolution, the Cripps Mission, and the Quit India Rebellion, was never again to be the same. And immediately thereafter came the great famine of Bengal. It wreaked unprecedented carnage upon those most wretched and poorest of peoples—that half of the population which ever had clung precariously to life.

If any single theme seems to emerge from these papers, like a recitative in variations, it is sense of loss-deep disappointments, dashed dreams, broken faiths, and breached relationships on every side. The last hopes for preserving a united India within a federation of a self-governing and completely independent dominion seemed to fade. By words and deeds, Congress leaders had resisted the India Act of 1935, had set themselves against provincial autonomy in 1937, had discouraged princes from constructive participation in federating schemes, had resigned from positions of power and responsibility in protest against the war, and finally had made a futile effort to drive the British out of India by force. Now they found themselves in jail for the duration of the war. Leaders of right-wing Conservatives in Britain, Churchill among them, had matched the Congress blow for blow in shortsighted and reckless policies. In consequence, while the princes had remained petrified, indecisive, and immobile, much of the remaining Muslim support for a united India had been drained away, and Muslim commitments to partition had grown ever more irrevocable. Only later, when already too late, did Gandhi begin to wish that the Congress had helped to bring the federation into being.

But it was Rajagopalachariar (in the newspaper Amrita Bazar Patrika) who saw most clearly. Perceiving the dangers, he lamented "the soul-killing negative attitude" of Congress leaders, their refusal "to correct past mistakes," and "lack of foresight.""Magnificent opportunities" had been lost. It was fallacious to view Indo-British affairs simply as "a struggle between arrogant Imperialism and uncompromising Nationalism. . . . The forces concerned [were] many, and the conflict many-sided. ... British Imperial policies [had] always been a mixture of national self-interest and certain truly noble ideals, whereas Indian Nationalism [was] not the irresistible longing of a homogenous and united people ready to sacrifice their all in their thirst for freedom." Muslims had set up a rival feeling with "widest appeal among the Muslim masses." Industrialists were making "quiet and uninterrupted services at the call of a bureaucratic Government while shedding copious tears for Nationalism." Vast problems of poverty and illiteracy were heavy drags, without quick or easy solutions. States and zamindars, and countless caste and sectarian jealousies, pulled people in many directions. "In this entanglement of forces, the possession of an unbroken tradition of loyal service [was] not a negligible factor. Unfortunately, however, Indian Nationalism [had] so long been in opposition that it [seemed] incapable of realizing that it [could] make honourable use of power and responsibility." Nonviolent resistance had served as a method for agitation and for regenerating the spirit. "But as a positive means to bring about the transfer of political power to representatives of people composed as [India's] it [had] proved inadequate. At the critical point where resistance should end, and persuasion and formative compromise be requisitioned so as to save and fix the moral gains, there [was] a gap, and all that [had] been achieved [could melt] into mere history. [India's was not a condition in which anarchy could automatically crystallize into ordered self-government." For the sake of preserving past gains and of building a new union as an ultimate expression of genuine national integration, Rajagopalachariar pleaded with the Congress leadership to join the

But alas, Rajaji's words were not heeded. Narrower interests were to prevail—on all sides.

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Madison

CHARLES A. JOINER. The Politics of Massacre: Political Processes in South Vietnam. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 346. \$12.50.

This is not one of those books on Vietnam that is going to make a great splash, despite the irrelevant

title. In fact, other than a lengthy chapter on the presidential election of 1967—well placed in historical perspective but superficial in political analysis—the book is essentially the reprinting of research previously published between 1963 and 1970, including three articles jointly authored. Nevertheless, it does constitute one of the fullest scholarly accounts available of the internal politics of South Vietnam in the late 1950s and 1960s. Giving prominent attention, quite appropriately, to the centrifugal forces in South Vietnam, Professor Joiner is most complete in his coverage of political parties, the Buddhists, and the montagnards. His treatment of the National Liberation Front (NLF) is simply a commentary on Douglas Pike. He also devotes considerable space to bureaucrats and the Vietnamese administrative system, understandable for someone who began his career in Vietnam as a staff member of the Michigan State University Advisory Group.

The book opens boldly with the claim, "This work is highly critical. . . . It is critical of American foreign policy . . . of the several governments of South Vietnam, . . . and of the government of North Vietnam." Though this is undoubtedly a sincere expression of Joiner's present sentiments, such views are unfortunately not nearly so prominent in the text as his preface would have us believe. In fact, the book can be contrasted with much of the literature on Vietnam because of its description of political events and institutions without assigning blame for the frequently tragic consequences of policy. Many scholars would applaud this approach; moral judgments should not clutter academic writing. But given the focus in this volume on politics within areas controlled by the Republic of Vietnam (Saigon), such an approach more often than not amounts to withholding criticism of U.S. intervention.

Nothing is said, for instance, of the American role in the overthrow of Diem, perhaps because the passage in question was written in 1964. Nor, in fact, is there a discussion in any chapter of the impact of the CIA on numerous occasions, even though this topic has loomed large in the political conversation of sophisticated Vietnamese for many years. No mention at all is made of the tremendous pressure from Lyndon Johnson on Saigon to hold a presidential election before the U.S. election in 1968, although most observers are agreed that such pressure was the primary stimulus for the Vietnamese polling in 1967. It is refreshing, however, for Joiner to make the point quite clearly in more than one passage that it was the massive American military presence from 1965 that led to the increased North Vietnamese participation in and direction of the Communist struggle in the South.

I am in sympathy with the author's position that

"it is the political processes of residents of South Vietnam . . . that explain the failures or successes of external forces and ideologies struggling on South Vietnam's soil" (p. xii). Yet an adequate analysis of those processes would hardly seem possible without clearly identifying the external forces. On the status of North Vietnamese in the South, Joiner seems to be ambivalent. At one point he refers to Tonkinese as "foreigners" (p. 296) and at another calls Vietnam a "divided nation" (p. 230). He calls the "question of whether Hanoi represents a foreign power infringing upon the rights of residents of South Vietnam" a "complex problem" and never answers it squarely (pp. 6-7). Nevertheless, at several places in the book the status of North Vietnamese as "outside intruders" is implicitly confirmed. On a related question Joiner finds the role of Hanoi in the formation of the NLF "shrouded in mystery" (p. 8). In any case he seems to place greater emphasis on the strength of Cochin Chinese regionalism than does Pike, at this as well as at other turning points in Vietnamese

In sum, there is much in this volume that is valuable, in both description and interpretation. It suffers, however, from factual gaps and lack of coherence because of Joiner's failure to revise or update his earlier articles. And the mild, even-handed rebuke to all combatants is likely to satisfy very few readers. For it is hard now to conclude that all parties to the Vietnamese conflict have, in fact, carried equal moral responsibility for destruction of a society.

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SARTONO KARTODIRDJO. Protest Movements in Rural Java: A Study of Agrarian Unrest in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. (Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1973. Pp. xv, 229. \$16.75.

This book by Indonesia's most eminent modern historian will be of great interest not only to specialists on that country but to students of peasant movements in general. Professor Sartono has the advantage not only of being thoroughly at home in the culture he is describing but of having a broad interest and solid grounding in sociology and anthropology as well as history, and he uses these tools to good effect in developing the multidimensional approach of his study.

In accordance with his conviction that an analytical framework would be more fruitful than a chronological one, Sartono has arranged his discussion according to what he sees as the primary characteristics of the movements. There are chap-

ters on antiextortion movements, messianic movements, revivalist and sectarian movements, and local Sarekat Islam movements—these last representing a blending of traditional and modern forms of organization and protest. Within these categories, he considers the movements in terms of their mass base, leadership, and ideologies, of the political-economic structure of rural Java, and of the "cultural conduciveness of the society in which these social movements are found" (p. 4).

Sartono's book thus shares with Eric Hobsbawm's Primitive Rebels (1959) an approach through categorization; it shares as well an evolutionist assumption of development toward greater consciousness and more modern and effective forms of organization. "What is important," he tells us, "is that the fundamental tendency of the period after 1910 was the progressive adoption of modern traits" (p. 189). Maybe so, but this is scarcely proved by the examples he provides, which show "archaic" types of protest arising well after the florescence of the Sarekat Islam. Categorization of phenomena is a useful heuristic device for introducing a wide range of examples, but it is static, bears the danger that the category may become more important than the substance, and makes it difficult to develop successfully a discussion of the movements in their environment and their change over time.

Professor Sartono is surely justified in his hope that this book will reduce the Eurocentric tendency in the writing of Indonesian history. Certainly the rich variety of movements he discusses puts to shame those who have argued that there is little information on the doings of the rural population under colonialism. His own masterly, indepth investigation of one such movement, The Peasants' Revolt of Banten in 1888 (1966), has already indicated the wealth of archival material that may be found concerning a peasant outbreak; and the capsule histories of nearly two dozen movements that are given here should be a beacon for research for many years to come.

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SIONE LATÜKEFU. Church and State in Tonga: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries and Political Development, 1822–1875. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii. 1974. Pp. xvii, 302. \$12.00.

It has generally been stressed by historians and other analysts of the polity in the Far Pacific that missionaries played the most important role in its development. Missionaries themselves are largely responsible for such a historiography; their claims to achievements of this kind were meant to justify

their work to financial supporters back home or to hold a better leverage with British officials in the islands, and to pat themselves on the back for bringing civilization, including governmental institutions, to distant heathens. The antimissionary tracts, fewer in number, have held a diametrically opposite view.

The volume under review is significant in many respects. It is one of the numerous publications resulting from ambitious programs launched by Australian and New Zealand universities to study the Pacific. It was first submitted as a Ph.D. thesis at the Australian National University. The author, Sione Lātūkefu, a scion of one of the prominent families of Tonga, an ordained Methodist minister, and a senior lecturer at the University of Papua, has worked closely with the missionaries and governmental archives in addition to using oral tradition collected from Tongans during a "field trip" to his native land. He had a unique opportunity to spend four weeks with the ailing queen of Tonga in Auckland, where the queen filled him with her "wealth of knowledge of the Tongan traditional past." The study is fairly objective, relatively free from chauvinism, church pride, or an alienation that creeps into individuals working outside their land of birth. Finally, it is a work completed without having to visit England; all the documentation, some of it never before consulted, like the papers of Reverend R. G. Page, was available to Lātūkefu within the Pacific area.

The focus of the work is the period from the reestablishment of the Methodist missionaries in 1826 to the promulgation of constitutional monarchy in 1875. In Lātūkefu's view, the missionaries served to accelerate the evolution of a polity in that direction but did not motivate or even provide the prime power to the process. Through a careful analysis of the Tongan religious and secular authority, first combined in the Tu'i Tonga, bifurcated in the fifteenth century by creation of a new position of hau (temporal ruler), the author brings us to a crisis in the middle of the nineteenth century brought about by rival factions in the family of Kanokupolu, which had traditionally held the temporal authority. He outlines three different new codes of laws, the result of efforts of Tongan rulers in the nineteenth century on their own, without much missionary influence. The crisis of succession in the Kanokupolu family in the midnineteenth century was matched by a crisis of confidence in traditional Tongan deities. The blow to such divine authority was given by the conversion to Christianity of Taufa'hau (later King George), who first tested the heathen gods and then the Christian god by a series of tests that included throwing his companions to sharks and retrieving them. The least convincing part of the book is the background of this conversion, which Lātūkefu describes more in the style of a proselytizer than as a scholar analyzing the political reasons that certainly influenced it. In Dr. Lātūkefu's judgment, the missionary influence was important, but not decisive, in the political process leading to the Constitution of 1875. The argument thus strikes a middle ground between the promissionary and antimissionary writings on the role of the church in the development of Tongan polity in the last century.

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TOM GIBSON. The Maori Wars: The British Army in New Zealand, 1840-1872. (19th Century Military Campaigns.) London: Leo Cooper; distrib. by Shoe String Press, Hamden, Conn. 1974. Pp. 271. \$13.50.

Tom Gibson is a professional soldier and brings to this account a trained eye for the lay of the land, a sympathy for the conditions under which the rank and file fought, and an overall appreciation of the political and military problems faced by field commanders in New Zealand in the mid-nineteenth century. His account is a straightforward, chronological retelling of the well-known facts from the perspective of the British army and draws heavily on regimental histories and other published works for most of its material. The book is intended for the general reader rather than the scholar. The illustrations are excellent, but the campaign maps are difficult to follow, and the footnotes are virtually useless, since they give only author and title. The bibliography supplies some of the missing data, but the date of publication and publisher are not always listed.

Given the campaign focus of the book, one should not expect the author to probe deeply into the causes and consequences of the wars or to plumb the conflict from the viewpoint of either the Maori or the settler. Even the general reader, however, will be disappointed that Gibson provides little more than a blow-by-blow account of each skirmish, battle, and campaign. Twelve regiments of the line saw active service in New Zealand, together with a field battery, engineers, the military train, and the commissariat staff corps. These units come and go as if they existed in a vacuum. Gibson tells us almost nothing about the organization of the British army. He does not explain the structure of command, the kinds of men recruited or experience and skills they brought with them, how the army adapted itself to local conditions and attitudes, what the problems of communication were within the colony, with Australia, and

with Whitehall, and how the movement of troops and supplies, whether by land, sea, or river, affected the conduct and outcome of campaigns.

Indeed, the lesson of this book seems to be that military history is too important to be left to the professional soldier. Gibson's style lacks distinction. He assumes more background knowledge than most general readers will have and writes from the outmoded traditional perspective that once the army had crushed the "rebellious natives," pakeha and Maori were reconciled to each other and to racial brotherhood.

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UNITED STATES

FRANK FREIDEL, editor, with the assistance of RICHARD K. SHOWMAN. Harvard Guide to American History. In two volumes. Rev. ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1974. Pp. xxx, 605; xxvi, 610–1290. \$45.00 the set.

JOHN A. GARRATY, editor; JEROME L. STERNSTEIN, associate editor. *Encyclopedia of American Biography*. New York: Harper and Row. 1974. Pp. xiv, 1241. \$22.50.

American historians have long awaited publication of this revision of the Haward Guide, for the 1954 edition and its predecessors had proved invaluable and practically indispensable to all students of the subject. The revised edition fulfills our expectations and in many ways surpasses in usefulness the 1954 Guide. Most noticeable is the improved readability. Whereas the older version's chronological sections ran entries together in paragraph form, this edition begins each entry with a new line. For a basic reference tool such as this, easy readability is an immense virtue. This virtue, and the thirty-three per cent new entries, necessitated expansion of the Guide to two volumes, with an accompanying increase in cost. The improvements fully justify the added expense.

The major change in organization is the shift from one chronological list of books and articles to two types of lists. Volume 1 contains topical entries and sections on the nature of the profession, original sources, and finding aids; volume 2 encompasses chronological listings, the name index, and the subject index. Discussions of the profession, sources, and guides have been rearranged considerably, but the information remains essentially the same. While the editor obviously had to delete material from the 1954 book to incorporate recent scholarship and to reflect changing emphases in the profession, he also chose to remove summaries from the openings of bibliographical chapters, as

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well as the sections on historical sources, on the grounds that "few readers now use them" (p. v). Such may be the case, but each section was valuable, especially that on sources. Unless researchers eschewing the latter had more comprehensive finding aids available, they ignored the material to the detriment of their research, for in historical writing mastery of primary sources remains essential. If only as a heuristic device, the citations of sources should have been maintained.

Responding to the trend of historical publications in the last two decades, the revised edition includes far more documentary histories and edited books of readings than its predecessor. Also, the new topical arrangement has enabled greater catholicity of selection, so that the *Guide* more accurately reflects the American past. For example, the section on sport history now includes such popular works as *Instant Replay* and *Ball Four*.

Although twenty years have elapsed since the initial publication of the *Guide*, this new edition does not account for that many years of publication, for the cutoff date for inclusion in the present volumes was June 30, 1970—a full four years before publication. Such a time lag in a work of fundamental importance is regrettable. These volumes demonstrate the careful and time-consuming editorial work necessary in such publications, but the delay still seems unduly long. The percentage of mechanical errors is remarkably small.

Frank Freidel and his editorial assistant deserve the hearty thanks of all who labor in the field of American history for providing this basic handbook. It will be as useful to our work as its predecessor—the highest compliment it could be paid. Gratitude must also go to the designer and publisher for making this indispensable reference tool entirely readable.

The Encyclopedia of American Biography offers an interesting new wrinkle. Each of the over one thousand entries contains an objective biographical sketch and an interpretive evaluation of the individual's contribution. History graduate students at Columbia University compiled the sketches, and the editors selected appropriate scholars to interpret the significance of the lives, although in many instances they did not choose the most obvious authorities. Decisions about inclusion in the volume rested with the editors, and they were more concerned with an individual's long-range significance than contemporary fame. They freely admit their inclinations to rate artistic and intellectual achievement higher than skills in politics, business, and athletics. Only presidents were assured of inclusion. Many foreign-born persons made the list, but only if their distinctive contributions came during their American years.

Another unusual feature is the incorporation of living figures. If from the perspective of the mid-1970s, a person seemed significant, as did Agnew, Nixon, Kissinger, Landon, and McGovern among politicians, he got included. Among other diverse contemporaries are Simon Kuznets, Elvis Presley, Walter Lippmann, James J. Ling, Michael Harrington, Martha Graham, William Schuman, and Billy Graham. Editorial work on the *Encyclopedia* was amazingly current, witness the inclusion of Arthur Krock's death on April 12, 1974. Insufficient foresight, however, excluded Gerald R. Ford.

The editors have achieved their objectives. Informative sketches give basic biographical facts and the evaluations provide interesting views on their subjects. Sometimes these views appear somewhat skewed, but unorthodox interpretations emphasize the editors' imagination in offering any evaluations at all. The average entry, including both sections, runs around 850 words.

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JEROME FINSTER, editor. The National Archives and Urban Research. (National Archives Conferences, volume 6. Papers and Proceedings of the Conference on the National Archives and Urban Research. Sponsored by the National Archives and Records Service.) Athens: Ohio University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 164. \$10.00.

This book, presenting the findings of participants in a conference held at the National Archives in June 1970, is a useful but curious potpourri of essays on American urban history and archivists' commentaries on historians' use or neglect of documentary sources in preparing their studies. A forerunner to the panel discussions, a brief plea from Sam Bass Warner, Jr. urges fellow historians to subject themselves to the arduous task of locating and analyzing the facts and figures needed to explain the background of current urban problems so that city planners, administrators, voters, and taxpayers can all gauge the nature and dimensions of the urban crisis. Only attention to "relevance," that overworked term, will permit history, Warner contends, to survive in school and college curriculums.

The four topics chosen for the panels at the 1970 conference were the growth and character of urban population in the United States; past, present, and future housing dilemmas; mass transit problems; and the effect of federal activities on urban development, a theme described by one author as "a Great Impact, a Gingerly Investigation." Although the more than four-year interval between

presentation at the conference and publication of these essays has reduced their importance to scholars—inasmuch as competent new monographs on demographic change; housing conditions, and transportation within metropolitan areas of the United States have multiplied in the interim—the material included in this slim volume will certainly prove invaluable to newcomers to research in what Warner has labeled "The Urban Wilderness." Nor is it likely that the experienced laborer in the vineyard of urban history will fail to find in the last section of this book helpful guides to information tucked away in the recesses of the National Archives.

This multifaceted collection of treatises is almost as much bibliographical reference as historical exposition. Its various parts are of uneven quality. At best it is far from being easy bedtime reading. But today, when fear of prolonged inflation, severe economic depression, and political discord are casting long shadows over much of the land, the optimism pervading these studies written less than five years ago may encourage enduring faith in our capacity to resolve successfully the problems of "a nation of cities." If for this reason alone, it is worth looking at.

CONSTANCE MCLAUGHLIN GREEN Washington, D.C.

American Narrative Painting. Catalog notes by NANCY WALL MOURE. Essay by DONELSON F. HOOPES. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, in association with Praeger Publishers, New York. 1974. Pp. 191. \$15.00.

MATTHEW BAIGELL. The American Scene: American Painting of the 1930's. (American Art & Artists.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1974. Pp. 214. \$29.50.

WILLIAM H. GERDTS. The Great American Nude: A History in Art. (American Art & Artists.) New York: Praeger Publishers. 1974. Pp. 224. \$25.00.

The idealization of life and experience has played a prominent role in the history of American art, even where the artist aimed at realism; and nowhere is this clearer than in American narrative and figure painting, including the representation of the nude. A reflection, in part, of the belief that art was not meant "merely to give a transient pleasure" but was an instrument of "moral culture" and, in part, of the prevailing nationalism that defined the American character in essentially optimistic terms, such romanticizing resulted during the nineteenth century at least-in the rejection of the tradition that the expressive force of the figure was beautiful for its own sake and in the consequent emphasis on the story-telling or symbolic element in American painting.

These three books all point up this generalization, as well as provide new ones for the social and cultural historian. Donelson Hoopes's American Narrative Painting, a catalog of an exhibition mounted at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, suggests how the story-telling element in American painting became the "dominant concern of artists of major importance." Since meaning in human terms becomes inevitably "story," Hoopes is able to cast a wide net and include in this category works with religious, mythological, historical, anecdotal, and landscape themes. His catalog stops at the twentieth century and the beginning of the prevalence of "abstract" values over literary. The Ashcan School, according to Hoopes, represented "the final burst of energy" of this kind of painting; after the Armory Show of 1913, with such exceptions as the American "regionalists," the "contemporary narrative painter has labored futilely at an exhausted vein of art."

Hoopes's short essay provides an adequate summary of his subject. In his eagerness to demonstrate the story-telling propensity of American artists, however, he misses-it seems to methe essential nature of the narrative painting tradition: its conservatism, idealizations, and agrarian orientation. Not concerned with the relation of these paintings to American social values or with the reasons behind their success in the nineteenth century, or their failure in the twentieth, Hoopes misses the opportunity to make significant distinctions or to probe deeply into the implications of the works he discusses. Since the appeal of many of these works lies more in their social meaning than artistic merit, we are left amused rather than enlightened. Yet, what a mine of material there is here for the social historian!

Matthew Baigell is more concerned with the social-and political-circumstances that underlay the emergence of the American Scene movement of the 1930s—Hoopes's exceptions. He, too, however, is content with description more than with analysis. The American Scene concentrates on those artists whose work, Baigell believes, evolved out of the nationalism of the decade-Thomas Hart Benton, Grant Wood, John Steuart Curry, Reginald Marsh, Ben Shahn, and Stuart Davis—and excludes those whose "despair, alienation, and isolation"-Charles Sheeler, Charles Demuth, John Marin-were more "characteristic of the twenties." Baigell disregards the fact that his aye sayers were as frequently involved in a cynical baiting of the "European-dominated East" with its polyglot populations and "non-American" life styles as they were in affirming their own Americanism against the "foreign" modernists, to whom they owed so much in the way of schooling and actual compositions. When Benton, for example,

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inveighed against Eastern cities as the breeding ground for homosexuality and "abstract intellectuality," throwing into one "European" all the bitterness and disappointment he had experienced in New York City, and equated regionalism with the effort to "put . . . recognizable American meanings" into painting, he was denying the urban experience created by an industrial civilization and seeking, instead, to return to some pastoral never-never land of the Midwest-that land which the American narrative painters of Hoopes's volume also glorified. Baigell's superficial summary is adequate in its coverage, but misses, as does Hoopes's, the essential nature of the movement he describes. He includes many illustrations in both color and black and white, which in themselves make this a valuable collec-

The same kind of romanticizing that influenced the course of narrative painting in America also influenced the development of the artistic nude, as William Gerdts points out in his thoroughly researched two-hundred-year history of that genre. Also short on social analysis and telling us less about the American character than the dust jacket promises, Gerdts is extensive in his coverage and judicious-at least through the nineteenth century—in his esthetic judgments. He points out that the genre of the nude encountered special problems in the United States that influenced its development specifically. Puritanism—or ideas of sexual morality-of course figures prominently; but also of importance was the absence of schools during the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth centuries, the difficulty of obtaining models, the hovering presence of classical and European styles, and the absence of an artistic philosophy that allowed for the study of the figure for its own sake rather than for purposes of portrait, narrative, or historical representation. Despite these difficulties, as The Great American Nude illustrates, some American artists did produce in sculpture and on canvas many beautiful interpretations of the nude. If most of them do not measure up to the standards set by the Great Masters of the past and present, they are surely the equal of the productions of the majority of English and Continental artists who were also not Titians or Manets. If no comparable master of the nude was produced in the United States, surely part of the reason must be in its relatively short history and in the proscriptions imposed by a new society conscious of its moral destiny. Gerdts's book is also richly illustrated and offers a great deal that is pictorially new along with the old

All three volumes suggest the variety of the American artistic heritage, the extent to which American art historians have succeeded in record-

ing its details, and the great possibilities for analysis that still exist.

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KENNETH A. LOCKRIDGE. Literacy in Colonial New England: An Enquiry into the Social Context of Literacy in the Early Modern West. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1974. Pp. xii, 164. \$6.95.

The level of literacy in colonial New England was lower than historians of education might lead us to believe, and the growth of literacy was sluggish until the eighteenth century. Even when near-universal male literacy had been achieved the improvement was not associated with attitudinal changes. There was no modernization of consciousness in early America, for the driving force behind the spread of literacy was that traditional agency, the Protestant religion. These are some of the conclusions reached by Professor Lockridge in this very brief introduction to a relatively new area of historical inquiry.

Some readers may be surprised by Lockridge's findings, so the methods by which they were derived deserve careful scrutiny. Evidence for colonial literacy was taken entirely from the ability of testators to sign their wills. The group that Lockridge sampled seems to have been wealthier and of higher status than the colonial population at large, and consequently more literate. On the other hand, their wills were often drawn up in circumstances of illness and old age when the ability to write might have deteriorated. Lockridge claims that "the two sets of biases appear to cancel," but I am not entirely convinced. Nor, one suspects, is Lockridge, for on several occasions he mentions adjustments to his figures, which may be necessary when comparing them to Virginian, English, and Swedish evidence. The description and processing of the data are crucial for the subsequent argument. I am thankful that Lockridge has been forthright about his assumptions and statistical juggling, giving the reader fifteen tables, nineteen graphs, and thirty-five pages of notes to judge the evidence for himself.

The least satisfactory section of this book examines the evidence of charitable giving—again derived from wills—and demonstrates that the era of rising literacy saw no emergence of "modern attitudinal qualities." Bernard Bailyn, Lawrence Cremin, and others who saw in colonial America a dynamic, modernizing society are strongly criticized. It is possible that Lockridge is chasing a chimera, or at least looking in the wrong place. One should not be surprised that when approaching death the thoughts of so many men were "per-

sonal, local, palliative" instead of focused on social improvements. The most significant contribution of this volume has been to indicate the areas that may require further historical revision and to demonstrate that the history of literacy can supply some of the most vital clues.

DAVID CRESSY Pitzer College

PETER H. WOOD. Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1650 through the Stono Rebellion. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1974. Pp. xxiv, 346, viii. \$10.00.

The importance of slavery in early South Carolina has always been obvious, and there are ample records for its study. Why, then, has the subject been so neglected? Until recently schoolbooks neglected black history, but professional scholars did not. Perhaps they shied away from immersing themselves in plantation life in early South Carolina because it was so generally dreary. Now, by pursuing the contemporary theme of black achievement, Peter H. Wood has found a way to make the depressing material into an exciting book.

Many Africans came from rice-growing regions, but no Englishmen did. It therefore seems likely that blacks, not whites, perfected the cultivation of the colony's first great staple. Blacks were too numerous and socially too isolated from their masters to learn much English from them. They therefore developed Gullah speech from the Atlantic pidgin dialect and borrowings from the other languages, mostly African, spoken in early South Carolina. In the informal, individualistic setting of the frontier, blacks were high achievers in all the agricultural and mechanical arts of the colony, outstripping whites partly because of their superior resistance to malaria and yellow fever. All blacks chafed under oppression, and many struck against it by poisoning, burning, fighting, or escaping their masters. As conditions grew worse, and the Spanish in Florida offered refuge and support, blacks developed large-scale plans for insurrection and escape. These culminated in the Stono rebellion, which, Wood argues, came close to succeeding, but failed. White South Carolinians then strengthened their police, restricted the activities of blacks, cut back new importations from Africa, and inculcated a Christianity that stressed humility and subservience. The early promise and creativity displayed by the black majority—there were roughly forty thousand blacks and twenty thousand whites in South Carolina at the time of the Stono rebellion-became subdued and stifled: "By the time Europeans in America were prepared to throw off the yoke of slavery under which they felt themselves laboring as the subjects of the English king,

the enslaved Negroes in South Carolina were in no position to take advantage of the libertarian rhetoric" (p. 326).

The research behind this book has been thorough and judicious, ranging well beyond the time and place of its main subject to find meaningful clues and wider significance. Wood writes well, and his book has been handsomely produced. Unlike Eugene Genovese, Abraham Lincoln, and several others, he cannot always maintain a proper sympathy for whites as well as blacks. He somewhat exaggerates his case for black achievement, yet it remains formidable. Black Majority is a distinguished addition to the growing body of books on colonial slave systems.

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EDMUND BERKELEY and DOROTHY SMITH BERKELEY. Dr. John Mitchell: The Man Who Made the Map of North America. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1974. Pp. xix, 283. \$12.50.

American scholars have toiled long at the task of reconstructing life in colonial America. Of particular interest has been the problem of assessing the role of colonials in the burgeoning global scientific community. The last quarter century has seen a number of works assessing the contributions of previously unknown, or little-known, Americans whose apparent backwoods origins belied their scholarly educations and keen scientific curiosity. Such a book is that on John Mitchell by the husband and wife team, Edmund and Dorothy Berkeley. It is a fine book, well researched and well written, taking its place among the large number of books by the Berkeleys in the history of biology. The authors take full advantage of a variety of sources on both sides of the Atlantic and handle the research material with ease. Arrayed into seventeen chapters with an extensive bibliography, the book deals chronologically with Mitchell's early life in Virginia, his education in Scotland, his medical practice in Virginia, and his later life in England. The emphasis, however, is on his role as an eighteenth-century scientist rather than his own personal life. Consequently the book succeeds less as a biography than as a small window into the scientific world of the eighteenth century. Such famous characters as Benjamin Franklin, John Bartram, Johann Dillenius, Carolus Linnaeus, Mark Catesby, Peter Kalm, and the duke of Argyll stride onto the stage and take their places in the world of Dr. Mitchell. It was a remarkable era peopled by some remarkable men. Intellectuals in the entire Western world were blindly groping for order in science, and much of the stimulus came United States 205

from the wealth of previously unknown flora and fauna pouring in from the New World. Well-established rules were constantly being demolished or revised as new specimens were reported, and New World scientists often were instrumental in both discovery and classification. Through the Berkeleys' work one gets exciting glimpses into the problems faced by early taxonomists. Mitchell's role was an important one: he served as a medical doctor, plant collector, political writer, botanist, archivist, and cartographer. He is perhaps best known for his map of North America, which served as the authority in negotiating the treaty of 1783, but his accomplishments were many and varied. He wrote treatises on such diverse subjects as yellow fever, the American opossum, human skin color, and pine trees. He had numerous contacts in both America and Europe, often acting as liaison between eminent European and American scientists of the day.

The book was written by botanists, as it perhaps should have been, and I am pleased with the result, but some will be mildly disappointed. The historian will wish for fuller treatment of the man, while the cartographer will search in vain for details on map compilation. But "satiety for all" is perhaps an impossible goal, thus we must be content with what we have—a very good book.

SAM HILLIARD

Louisiana State University

CATHERINE DRINKER BOWEN. The Most Dangerous Man in America: Scenes from the Life of Benjamin Franklin. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1974. Pp. xiv, 274. \$8.95.

This is "popular" history-biography. Catherine Drinker Bowen is a great storyteller, and she tells this story with her usual verve and enthusiasm. Not really a biography, the book describes four episodes in Franklin's life prior to the Declaration of Independence: "The Dogood Papers," relating to Franklin's adventures as an anonymous youthful essayist in his brother's paper, the New England Courant; "Franklin and Electricity," which sketches Franklin's achievements and fame as a scientist; "The Albany Congress of 1754 and Franklin's Plan of Union," centering about the famous Albany Congress and the plan that Franklin devised for a union of the Anglo-American colonies; "Franklin in London" with three scenes-Franklin's relations with the Pennsylvania proprietors, his involvement in England in the Stamp Act controversy, and his well-known grilling and humiliation by Alexander Wedderburn in the Cockpit on January 29, 1774. There is also an interlude entitled "Franklin is Fifty," describing his activities in the mid-1750s, and a personal afterword by Mrs. Bowen.

For her material Bowen draws upon other secondary works and Franklin's published letters and papers, especially the autobiography. She uses no footnotes, but she does append a bibliography of printed documents and secondary works.

The book is a very personal piece, broadly dependable as to the major episodes but distressingly casual as to detailed facts and larded with personal generalizations on the English, the Americans, and the human race in general ("What a brute that man [Wedderburn] was!" [p. 248]).

Benjamin Franklin was a man of the common people—the tradesmen, the shopkeepers, the "mechanicks." Yet he was also a man of the Enlightenment, and moved in events and developments of the profoundest importance to Western civilization. Bowen's understanding of Benjamin Franklin is never profound. Neither does she really understand the broad and deep circumstances—social, economic, political, or intellectual—of the Western world in which Franklin lived and worked, or the institutional structure of the British Empire. This book is narration, pure and simple.

Why did she write it? Because she enjoyed doing so. Which is reason enough. Why should anyone read it? Because it is fun. Which, also, is reason enough. But let there be no mistake. This is no contribution either to history or to biography. It adds nothing to what was known before about Franklin, and it fails entirely to qualify as commentary or interpretation. The book will be entertaining, perhaps even valuable, for junior high and high school students; to the patriotic citizen, luxuriating in the ancestor worship of an upcoming bicentennial, it will be highly gratifying; for the serious student of history it is utterly without value.

MAX SAVELLE University of Washington

PAUL K. CONKIN. Self-Evident Truths: Being a Discourse on the Origins & Development of the First Principles of American Government—Popular Sovereignty, Natural Rights, and Balance & Separation of Powers. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 211. \$7.95.

Constitutional questions have been thrust to the center of our attention by the rhetoric of the past two years, and popular reaction to them has revealed us as a politically illiterate people. Nixon used to promote his "new federalism," evoking a response that was emotional and reflexive more often than informed and reflective. The great debate of last summer over separation of powers showed how frequently even thoughtful and well-

meaning people in public life spoke and acted with little comprehension of the key moral and political doctrines underpinning our constitutional government.

Professor Conkin has provided us with a scholarly, perceptive little book about the origins and eighteenth-century meanings and connotations of the basic principles of American constitutionalism: popular sovereignty, natural rights, mixed governmental forms, and balanced separation of powers. Except to a degree in his epilogue, he has not addressed himself directly to the problem of how far removed our political thought and practice are from the forms, intentions, and assumptions of two hundred years ago, but nobody can emerge from a thoughtful reading of Self-Evident Truths without realizing that our very frames of reference have changed so much since the eighteenth century that the language of that day carries wholly different connotations today.

Take, for instance, the concept of property. The political system of the founders of the republic, notably John Adams, and of English political philosophers like James Harrington who were fountainheads of American constitutionalism, hung entire political systems on a conception of property as "exclusive claim to a part of nature joined with work, management, and consumption," a conception quite foreign to us today. In this perspective, Conkin writes, "Most of us would be classified as wage earners or mere employees. However well paid, however blessed with the tokens of respectability, we are all still servile men and women, participants in a new and often very paternalistic and benevolent form of feudalism.' Thus for us to appreciate what it meant to assume that property was bracketed with life and liberty as inalienable rights of human beings, we must reckon with the fact that our language and the images it evokes have changed greatly in the last two hundred years.

But the central purpose of this book is to tell where the constitutional principles of 1787 came from and how they evolved. Conkin has achieved this goal persuasively and clearly.

WILLIAM M. DABNEY
University of New Mexico

RICHARD A. BARTLETT. The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776–1890. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 487. \$15.95.

Richard Bartlett's new book has some of the breadth of his earlier work, Great Surveys of the American West (1962), but the present study covers the entire postcolonial frontier and is broadly conceived social history. The author contends that on

the frontier people were freed from social restraints as never before, and the social history of the West becomes the subsequent growth of family, church, school, occupation, transportation, and urbanization out of this near vacuum.

The book begins with a narrative section on the trek across the continent from the breaching of the Appalachians to the census report of 1890. Bartlett believes this sweep to have been inevitable, though it would seem in his discussion that the distribution of the public domain and settlement patterns could frequently have taken different courses. Next comes an analysis of "the basic mix," the people themselves. Here an evaluation of the Scotch-Irish is particularly perceptive. Agriculture is then singled out as the primary frontier occupation. The settlement of the Plains, based on misconceptions stemming from an unusually wet climatic cycle, is compared with earlier eastern frontier farming, as well as with trapping, cattle raising, and mining. Bartlett skillfully surveys the rape of the new country, especially the wanton destruction of the continental forests, both north and south. The chapter on transportation begins with colonial traces, includes such details as the design of Conestoga wagons, and ends with the building of canals and railroads. In an exploration of emerging Western society, the family is the chief concern, with attention to the role of women. Then come also workingmen, transients, churches, schools, and colleges. There are particularly useful sections on the importance of fraternal orders and on the low level of health among most frontiersmen. The final subject is urbanization, in which cities arising from fortuitous sites (Chicago), cattle trails (Dodge City), or mining (Butte) are differentiated from those resulting from boosterism (Los Angeles). Even recreation and entertainment are reviewed briefly as parts of the urbanization of the West.

Bartlett's fine book is not intensely sociological; rather it is social in the tradition of Lewis Atherton and Everett Dick. For example, quantitative analysis of vertical mobility, class structure, or demographic patterns, the kind of studies covered in Ray Billington's America's Frontier Heritage (1967), are only incidentally treated. Thus, racial or class frictions become less obvious than Freemasonry and the family. Bartlett is probably correct that such is the way most Westerners would have described their frontier experience.

ROBERT V. HINE
University of California,
Riverside

HAROLD C. SYRETT, editor. The Papers of Alexander Hamilton. Volume 20, January 1796-March 1797; vol-

ume 21, April 1797-July 1798. New York: Columbia University Press. 1974. Pp. xvi, 597; xiv, 560. \$17.50 each.

The volumes of *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* continue to march with splendid precision from the editorial offices of Professor Harold C. Syrett and his associates. Scholars who have watched the parade will applaud these two additions as enthusiastically as the rest.

As I have noted elsewhere, there has been a marked renaissance of interest in history, and especially in historical sources. A nation become suspicious of its mythology and skeptical of the public pronouncements of its political leaders has shown a decided appetite for such works as Studs Terkel's oral histories. Publishers of the presidential papers of Richard Nixon were astonished at the volume of their sales.

Nonprofessional students will find in *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* a similar kind of history, but in many ways much more satisfying. Diligent scholarship identifies for them even the most obscure persons referred to, and explanatory notes provide a frame of reference for events discussed in the text of the correspondence. For major episodes there are brief essays that are models for all writers who have struggled to be comprehensive, concise, and literate (see especially the essay on the Farewell Address, vol. 20, pp. 169-73). The editors' achievement is thus both a readable narrative and an invaluable source for professional scholars.

Volume 20 covers a little more than fifteen months from April 1796 to July 1797. During this period the continuing battle over Jay's Treaty moved from the Senate to the House of Representatives. Hamilton assisted the retiring president in hammering out the Farewell Address, and the election of 1796 crystallized the formation of the first party system.

About one-fourth of volume 21 is taken up with the mass of documents connected with Hamilton's entanglement with Maria and James Reynolds. The remainder is concerned primarily with the increasing tension between the United States and France: the XYZ Affair; the tangled complexities of neutral rights on the high seas; and the initial steps taken to meet the problems of internal security and national defense.

Although Hamilton had been out of government for two years, it is obvious that he considered himself still to be "mayor of the palace." When James Monroe was recalled from his post as minister in Paris, Hamilton wrote to the secretary of the treasury, Oliver Wolcott, Jr., "Sometimes I think of sending [Thomas] Pinckney but various uncertainties & possible delays deter me from this plan" (June 15, 1796, vol. 20, p. 224). Nor did the succession of John Adams alter the

situation, as the steady flow of correspondence from Washington's former cabinet officers, retained by the second president, attest (for example, from James McHenry, April 14, 1797, and January 24, 1798, vol. 21, pp. 48–49, 339–40; from Timothy Pickering, March 25, 1798, vol. 21, pp. 371–78)

It is also clear that despite the belligerent, almost warmongering stance assumed by Hamilton in such public utterances as the "Warning" essays (vol. 20, pp. 490-556, passim), he could coolly advise McHenry, "The U. States have the strongest motives to avoid war [with France]. They may lose a great deal; they can gain nothing. They may be annoyed much and can annoy comparatively little" (April 29, 1797, vol. 21, p. 63). Thomas Jefferson could not have put it better.

But we still know little of the private man. The dearth of personal letters makes it difficult to penetrate the inner mind and heart of Alexander Hamilton. Did this man of surpassing complexity reveal a somberness of spirit when he wrote in 1797, "Public Office in this Country has few attractions. . . . The opportunity of doing good, from the jealously of power and spirit of faction, is too small in any station to warrant a long continuation of private sacrifices. . . . The prospect was even bad for gratifying in future the love of Fame, if that passion be the spring of action" (vol. 21, p. 78)?

In these, as in the previous volumes of the *Papers*, the scholarly competence is of an excellence that scarcely warrants the prefatory apology that "the editors on some occasions... have been remiss" (vol. 20, p. viii).

JOHN PANCAKE
University of Alabama

DICKSON D. BRUCE, JR. And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845. Knox-ville: University of Tennessee Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 155. \$7.50.

This study stands as one of the promising approaches in the study of American religious history—self-consciously employing interdisciplinary perspectives and focusing on the religious life of lay people, rather than clerical leaders. Winner of the first James Mooney Award (1973), sponsored by the Southern Anthropological Society, Bruce's book analyzes the fascinating and colorful phenomenon of revivalism in the Old South, and his slim, gracefully written volume will provide many challenging arguments for students of Southern history and American religious history.

Bruce maintains that the camp meeting was "first and foremost a religious activity" and that it "can be called without exaggeration a creation of

the plain-folk." Bruce's "plain-folk" are the marginal members of Southern society whose lives were disrupted by high geographical mobility and animated by expectations of social mobility. Despite the hegemony of the planter class, the plain folk of the camp meetings possessed "an urge for respectability" represented by the planters, and though relatively powerless in Southern society, they refused to challenge slavery or the basic deferential values of the Old South. Bruce thus presents an anguished, victimized social group, torn by their aspirations and the reality of their lives, frustrated by an ethic of individualism in an environment that demanded cooperation, and afflicted by random and senseless violence.

Bruce maintains that camp-meeting religion became a creative response by plain folk to deal with the oppressive social reality that they confronted. His most stimulating chapter is an analysis of the camp-meeting hymns, which had their origins largely in Britain and New England but to which the plain folk added their own original and characteristic "spiritual choruses." Bruce interprets the prevailing theme of these choruses to be a total rejection of this world in hopes of a beatified existence beyond the grave. Coupled with the traumatic and publicly narrated experience of conversion, these choruses become symbolic of the attempt by plain folk to create a community of acceptance in a world that had rejected them. Bruce's analysis therefore parallels some of the recent interpretations of slave religion in the South by attempting to go beyond the old "social control" rubric.

Bruce's conclusions, however, cry out for some sort of statistical evidence to substantiate his impressionistic portrait of the plain folk and the constituency of the camp meetings. In addition, his research is disappointingly thin and derivative, but several conceptual problems might have been clarified by attention to additional secondary literature, such as Donald Mathews's interpretation of the second Great Awakening or Sheldon Hackney's work on Southern violence. One is also distressed by Bruce's casual use of the church/sect typology, his continual identification of revivalism with "the frontier," and his shallow theological understanding, but his effort to understand the religious experience of lay people is refreshing, even though his results are not fully satisfying or convincing.

JOHN M. MULDER
Princeton Theological Seminary

WALTER DONALD KRING. Liberals among the Orthodox: Unitarian Beginnings in New York City, 1819–1839. Boston: Beacon Press. 1974. Pp. ix, 278. \$12.50.

This is the first of a projected three volumes on the oldest Unitarian congregation in New York City, the Church of All Souls. The author is the minister of the church, and his efforts represent a high order of antiquarianism. He seems to have his own parishioners chiefly in mind as his audience, but his book can be used by historians as well. They will find that it relates the hitherto untold story of the spread of liberal Christianity from New England to New York. It is conveniently documented and nicely illustrated. Biographical data on early members of the society, mostly merchant families who migrated from New England to New York, make the volume a potential resource for social as well as religious history. Among the prominent laity discussed are William Cullen Bryant, Catherine Sedgwick, and Moses Grinnell. Most Unitarians at this time were political Whigs, but a number of those in New York, as in Salem, Massachusetts, and Portsmouth, New Hampshire, turn out to have been Jacksonian Democrats. The most striking character portrayed here is the tragic refugee German liberal, Karl Follen, whose ministry to the parish was cut short in 1838 by his refusal to be silent on slavery. Dr. Kring points with pride to Follen as a hero of his church, but also tries to make excuses for the conservative laymen who drove him out.

DANIEL WALKER HOWE University of California, Los Angeles

ROBERT C. DICK. Black Protest: Issues and Tactics. (Contributions in American Studies, number 14.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 338. \$12.95.

Unlike his counterpart in the antebellum South, where the free Negro was regarded as a third element in a system planned for two (in the expressive phrase of U. B. Phillips), the free black in the North could speak out in protest against his lot and in advocacy of reformist measures. Taking advantage of this circumstance, a growing company of black leaders in the North proceeded to express themselves during the forty years preceding the Civil War, their speeches and writings mounting in volume and urgency as their number increased and the times grew more tense. This book successfully undertakes to identify, describe, and analyze the ideas advanced and, to a lesser extent, the tactics considered by these spokesmen. The issues they wrestled with included, among others, voluntary emigration, political party affiliation, racial separation, the use of violence as a means of effecting social change, and, above all, the relative merits of the various ways of striking at United States

Meritorious alike in its scholarship and critical analysis, Dick's volume is highly revealing as to the mind of the Negro. In part the ideas expressed by the black theoreticians and expounders he brings under scrutiny were reflective of the reform impulse of the times. Black thought, however, had its points of uniqueness, not only in theme and substance but in its greater sensitivity to the paradox and contradiction in the American creed and in a more unwavering and compelling sense of social urgency. Black ideologues, moreover, like Frederick Douglass and Henry Highland Garnet, were activists as well as theoreticians. For this reason their pronouncements tended closely to reflect the viewpoints of the rank and file. In black life the social and psychological distance between leaders and followers was likely to be minimal. Indeed, as Dick points out, a high percentage of black spokesmen were community-oriented clergymen. Dick also takes note that black opinion makers, although in agreement on ends, often differed as to means. He supports this assertion with a fifty-five page appendix, "Intraracial Issues," of pro and con discourses.

BENJAMIN QUARLES
Morgan State University

EUGENE D. GENOVESE. Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made. New York: Pantheon Books. 1974. Pp. xxii, 823. \$17.50.

Monumental in conception and execution, this book presents a richly documented neo-Marxist analysis of slavery in the Old South. Although the volume is subdivided into four "books" framed by Biblical passages, its structure is triadic, revolving around the dialectically interrelated themes of paternalism, accommodation, and resistance. Book 1 delineates the structural parameters of Southern slavery based on the inextricable paternalistic union of master and slave classes; books 2 and 3 analyze the accommodation of slaves to this reciprocal relationship in their worship, work, status differentiations, domestic institutions, and leisure activities; and book 4 illuminates various forms of resistance to the same paternalistic relationship. Genovese argues persuasively that "accommodation and resistance developed as two forms of a single process by which the slaves accepted what could not be avoided and simultaneously fought . . . for moral as well as physical survival"

Despite its dialectical thematic structure founded on a model of class conflict, Roll, Jordan, Roll possesses a strangely static quality that derives primarily from Genovese's mode of using evidence. Within the dynamic framework of his gen-

eral argument, he tends to adduce evidence relevant to specific issues without regard to time or place. Consequently the book is abundantly documented with excerpts and examples drawn from diaries, letters, journals, songs, and oral traditions recorded at various times and places in the Old South, yet it lacks a focused perspective on the development of slavery as an institution. The timelessness of the book is further enhanced by the Biblical passages marking the internal subdivisions of the volume.

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Within his panoramic view of "the world the slaves made." Genovese contributes significantly to our understanding of slave life from the perspectives of both slave and master. He not only succeeds in exploding various "legends," but perceptively explores such issues as slave religion, black work ethic, and the role of house servants. Although spatial considerations prevent a detailed discussion of these issues, mention of major highlights of his argument seems useful both for their substantive and methodological import. Conceiving slave religion as a distinctive Afro-American Christian synthesis lacking a "politically militant millennial tradition," Genovese argues that "black Christianity offered profound spiritual strength to a people at bay, but it also imparted a political weakness, which dictated ... acceptance of the hegemony of the oppressor" (p. 284). In detailing the origin and nature of the black work ethic within the wider context of the Protestant American work ethic, Genovese makes an illuminating contrast between the New World experience of African and European immigrants: "Whereas the Europeans found themselves drawn into an industrial system that slowly transformed them into suitable industrial workers, the Africans found themselves drawn into a plantation system that ... immensely reinforced traditional values and also added elements of corruption and degradation" (p. 311). In analyzing the role of house servants, Genovese maintains that their intermediary role between other blacks and whites caused them to become "the principal carriers of a third culture, neither African nor Euro-American" (p. 365). Paradoxically, the sociocultural insights suggested by these examples result from the application of the same dialectical interpretive model that contributes to the quality of overall stasis in Roll, Jordan, Roll.

While the depiction of the structural and cultural aspects of slave life in the Old South might appear a sufficiently complex analytical problem, Genovese further seeks to place many issues in a larger historical and geographical context. Such comparative discussions are often illuminating but sometimes appear irrelevantly contrived. Thus, while it is surely useful to compare the economic

role of slave children with that of children in European industries of the same period or to explain slave revolts in hemispheric perspective, it seems unnecessary to recount personal experiences of misinformation courteously given by Southern blacks in the 1950s or to mention in passing the importance of granting surnames in feudal Japan. Although such extraneous comparative references are unimportant in themselves, they reflect one cause of the sprawling monumentality of the book that detracts from the presentation of a more dynamic and focused argument.

A more important cause of such monumentality is Genovese's differentiated treatment of structural and cultural issues especially in book 3, which deals with status distinctions, domestic roles, and leisure pursuits. In discussing status differentiations, Genovese begins with structural occupational categories and proceeds to a consideration of cultural distinctions pertaining to free Negroes, miscegenation, and language. Such cultural issues could be more felicitously discussed as aspects of a structural analysis. Such a structural emphasis would contribute to a more effectively focused and succinct analytical argument.

Nevertheless, the virtues of Roll, Jordan, Roll deriving essentially from the same neo-Marxist source as its limitations contribute impressively to an enriched appreciation of slave life in the Old South.

MARION KILSON
Radcliffe Institute

ROGER W. LOTCHIN. San Francisco, 1846–1856: From Hamlet to City. (The Urban Life in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xxii, 406. \$12.50.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, largely as the result of the California gold rush, a modest trading hamlet, Yerba Buena, suddenly became a dynamic, spectacular, cosmopolitan city, renamed San Francisco. Roger W. Lotchin describes the tumultuous and often traumatic events of the first decade of this "instant city." It is a story that should be of great interest to all devotees of the Bay City and could be of considerable value to many students of American urbanization.

As might be expected of a student of Richard Wade, Lotchin draws on a wide variety of contemporary sources to detail the development of the local population, economy, society, government, institutions, and attitudes. Within each of the topical chapters the evidence is presented narratively, with little conceptualization or interpretation. Through this comprehensive portrait of early San Francisco, however, run several important themes: metropolis-hinterland conflicts, the tension be-

tween centralization and decentralization in urban growth, and the perennial search for community. "The attempt to reconcile the rights and interests of the individual and the community," Lotchin concludes, "was probably the single most important thread in the fabric of urban life in San Francisco during the years 1846 through 1856." This is, indeed, one of the central problems in cities, and one appearing most dramatically in boom towns like Lotchin's San Francisco. His analysis, that while people were "very reluctant to act as a community, there was a strong tendency to feel like one," is, however, not very new or useful.

In these "hard times" it is heartening to see published a monograph dealing with a single decade of one city's history; and it is perhaps necessary to have a conclusion drawing the contemporary relevance of the subject. It is unfortunate, however, that Lotchin emphasized the antithetical relationship between San Francisco and contemporary "instant cities," like Irving-Ranch, at the expense of a more detailed examination of the similarities with Carl Bridenbaugh's colonial cities and Wade's river cities.

WALTER S. GLAZER
University of Pittsburgh

JONATHAN KATZ. Resistance at Christiana: The Fugitive Slave Rebellion, Christiana, Pennsylvania, September 11, 1851. A Documentary Account. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1974. Pp. viii, 359. \$7.95.

On September 11, 1851, a Maryland slaveowner, accompanied by a federal marshal and a posse, tried to capture several of his fugitive slaves at a rented farmhouse near Christiana, Pennsylvania. Standing against this posse were a group of free and fugitive blacks. In the melee that followed, the slaveowner was killed and several blacks and whites were wounded.

Jonathan Katz has ably captured the drama of this resistance and its aftermath. The hero of the piece is William Parker, a Maryland fugitive who had organized the Christiana blacks into a selfdefense organization for protection against kidnappers as well as slave hunters. Katz convincingly minimizes white participation in this organization and in the later resistance. At the inquest and trial following the battle, three Quakers were charged with inciting the fugitives to riot and indicted for treason. Katz argues that the Quakers' commitment to pacifism prevented them from sanctioning violent resistance. They would help the blacks to run, but not to stay and fight. The Quakers' trial took nearly a month. The jury was more decisive. In fifteen minutes, it returned a verdict of not guilty. Two weeks later the local

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district attorney dismissed charges against the blacks arrested after the battle on the grounds of insufficient evidence. Meanwhile, William Parker and several other resisters had fled to Canada. There they remained.

The book is mistakenly subtitled "a documentary account." Katz actually strings together lengthy quotations with his own narrative. While this technique may give the reader a feeling of objectivity as well as evoke "an immediate sense of this historic event," it often confuses and disturbs the flow of the story. Katz tells us more than we need to know. There are too many quotations and too much undigested information. When he is on his own, Katz's prose is vivid and the tale absorbing.

This is an important book. Painstakingly researched, it is obviously a labor of love. One can feel in reading it the terrible desperation of the fugitives and their incredible determination to be free. Katz sees them as authentic heroes, and he is absolutely right.

PETER M. MITCHELL Seton Hall University

DONALD R. WARREN. To Enforce Education: A History of the Founding Years of the United States Office of Education. Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1974. Pp. 239. \$11.95.

"Resolved, that the Joint Committee on Reconstruction be instructed to inquire into the expediency of establishing in this capital a national bureau of education, whose duty it shall be to enforce education without regard to race or color, upon all such States as shall fall below a standard." This House resolution, moved in December 1865 by Ignatius Donnelly, well exemplifies the minor, but revealing national movement that is the subject of Donald Warren's book on the founding and early years of what is now the United States Office of Education (USOE). The movement reflected the classic paradox, and the American response to it, that underlies compulsory education: we must compel citizens to learn in order to make them free. For men from Benjamin Rush to Donnelly, the paradox had political meaning: free republican society would endure only if its young were taught the values of that society. It is no surprise that Donnelly's resolution and the creation of a national bureau followed the Civil War. "Enforce," however, was strong medicine, and while it had the blessing of influential educators, the resolution went beyond what Congress could in fact tolerate. In the educational domain states' rights were yet paramount. Warren's book traces the idea of a national responsibility for education and the efforts to translate this into a federal institution. National education found its earliest form in the informal association of practicing schoolmen. Though by 1867 these men may have wished for some nationally enforcible school standards, the bureau, which Congress finally created for them, was little more than an extension of their association—an office to collect statistics and publish reports.

Warren has taken what at first blush could be considered a yawningly bland topic and makes it a useful addition to the growing number of studies that show how nineteenth-century Americans endeavored to create a "top-down" educational system-one which reflected and reinforced majoritarian values. Fortunately the self-righteousness all too common in current revisionist educational history is pleasantly absent from this study. Unfortunately though, the sections on the early years of the bureau are somewhat repetitious, and the final chapter is a strained attempt at relating the early history of the bureau to the current struggles of USOE and the National Institute of Education. In all, however, To Enforce Education usefully shows the early handling of the classic educational paradox. It is a story that has poignant meaning for school systems and colleges, which today are faced with various kinds of federal enforcements.

THEODORE R. SIZER
Phillips Academy

R. GORDON KELLY. Mother Was a Lady: Self and Society in Selected American Children's Periodicals, 1865–1890. (Contributions in American Studies, number 12.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1974. Pp. xx, 233. \$12.50.

This is a study of major themes of stories in the famous American children's magazines of the Gilded Age. After a prosaic discussion of the "institutional matrix" of post-Civil War magazine publishing and an awkward presentation of "formulas" for cultural and content analysis come five better chapters on key moral problems of American life that were reflected in fiction for youth. Kelly's main hypothesis is that the precarious position of an American gentry under industrialization and urbanization led to a search for a moral order that would act to deny dangers or would reassert the power of older ideals. The analysis of the stories themselves from Saint Nicholas, Our Young Folks, The Youth's Companion, and others, is most engaging and suggests how much a sensitive imagination can still contribute to the writing of social and cultural history. Kelly, however, seems under such strong obligation to discuss methodology that, inescapably, he must be judged on his constructs as well as his sensitivity. Concepts drawn, hither and yon, from sociology, content analysis, and other disciplines are used with ungraceful self-consciousness and often seem intrusive and too much at odds with his considerable talent for condensing and analyzing the stories.

Use of the term "gentry" further confuses scholarly debate about its rise and fall. Kelly adds to this problem by recurrently using words like "gentility," "gentleman," and "genteel" as interchangeable with "gentry." His own evidence suggests that moral and psychological concerns transcending class underlay these stories, and his attempt to link the general anxiety of an age to a social and political entity like gentry weakens his analysis.

Kelly seems to pull in such large-scale phenomena as industrialization and urbanization to explain the sense of fear and danger about gentry ideals. Insofar as a sense of crisis for character or for the self has been almost continuous throughout American history, urbanization and industrialization may not explain as much as Kelly seems to think they do. His references to Darwinism and changes in moral beliefs and religious and family life seem more fruitful for understanding the dilemmas and ideals that were depicted for children. Kelly's study has most value as a reading of these tales rather than as an explanation of the meaning of their appearance.

BERNARD W. WISHY
North Carolina State University

HANS-ULRICH WEHLER. Der Aufstieg des amerikanischen Imperialismus: Studien zur Entwicklung des Imperium Americanum, 1865–1900. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 10.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1974. Pp. 426 DM 49.

In this stimulating analysis of the rise of American imperalism, Hans-Ulrich Wehler, a leading German historian, applies to the United States the interpretive framework that he has used in his study of Germany. He views modern American imperialism, like Bismarck's, as the attempt by the ruling elite to escape from the social and economic, and consequently political, problems inherent in industrial capitalism. Although noting other factors such as racial and religious beliefs in the ideology of American expansion, he emphasizes the economic motivation of what he calls social imperialism. He interprets the American drive for markets in Latin America and Asia as the response by Americans to the depressions and social unrest of the late nineteenth century. This interpretation is not altogether convincing. The American desire for foreign markets, especially for agricultural products, existed before the development of industry; it was more traditional, and less the product of a highly industrialized society, than Wehler admits. The American economy, moreover, never depended upon foreign trade to the extent that he claims; overseas markets, although highly prized, were not always the controlling factor in American foreign relations even after the closing of the frontier and the emergence of industry.

Although frequently noting that the United States reacted to British, German, and Japanese activity in Latin America and the Pacific, he does not adequately account for this information in his interpretation of American motivation. Wehler's belief in the primacy of internal politics guided his research as well; he examined numerous American manuscripts and archives but neglected foreign sources for this book. Rather than exploring the complex interaction between international and domestic influences on foreign policy, he views imperialism-whether German or American-from a nationalist perspective. Despite these limitations, Wehler's book is a subtle piece of scholarship that deserves the attention of American historians. It is a major contribution to the revisionist literature on American foreign relations.

LLOYD E. AMBROSIUS University of Nebraska, Lincoln

ALAN HYNDING. The Public Life of Eugene Semple: Promoter and Politician of the Pacific Northwest. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 195. \$10.00.

Historian Daniel J. Boorstin has described him as the man with the "go-getter" spirit, symbol of late nineteenth-century America. Professor Alan Hynding's well-researched, well-written biography of Eugene Semple once again confirms how central to that period was the role of the impetuous businessman-promoter. Farmer, journalist, lawyer, politician, and speculator, the entrepreneur Semple followed a well-worn path.

Most such Beriah Seller figures never arrived at even the ephemeral prominence gained by Semple. In this instance, as the biographer Hynding readily concedes, "The Eugene Semple Papers constitute the most important single source for the study, and indeed, its justification" (p. 175). This extensive collection at the University of Washington documents almost every phase of Semple's varied career from the time of his arrival in Oregon in 1863, at the age of twenty-three, until his death in 1908. Like Mark Twain, Semple was among those Americans who preferred the smell of Far West adventure to Civil War battle smoke.

The Pacific Northwest's lush farmlands, forests, and especially its burgeoning port villages invited the frontier dreamer to "grow with the country."

United States

y 1866 Semple had inaugurated Portland's first Democratic party daily. Across his columns he hased Negroes, Chinese, and monopolists. His ntry into Washington Territory business and polics was well launched by the time his Oregon Paily Herald collapsed in 1873. Lumber mill opertor, amateur engineer, governor of Washington erritory during the tempestuous late eighties, nd forever with an eye out for a rewarding compercial venture, Semple personified the educated vic booster whose accomplishments fused public relfare with private profit.

Hynding has tightly woven his colorful subject to the regional garment. Certainly both Pacific lorthwest labor and conservation historians will ish to examine this study. In particular, urbanolgists will benefit from the biographer's detailed nalysis of how Seattle's city fathers shouldered way hills, tidelands, and each other in building uget Sound's pre-eminent city.

On his death Semple left his family no tangible gacy. Indeed, in his late years he had to confess, I am willing to endure almost anything in the nape of danger or deprivation in order to make ome money" (p. 172). Never as powerful as Washigton's Thomas Burke or as flamboyant as eattle's Erastus Brainerd, Semple's campaign to onnect Lake Washington to the sound with a ship anal, his sensible if visionary views to develop the eattle waterfront, as well as a number of other ublic-spirited activities entitled him to a more erene old age. Happily Professor Hynding's skill as supplied the promoter-politician an immortally that his contemporaries could not gauge.

TED C. HINCKLEY
San José State University

AMES EDWARD WRIGHT. The Politics of Populism: Dissent in Colorado. (Yale Western Americana eries, 25.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 974. Pp. xii, 314. \$16.50.

Despite Colorado's importance as a mining, agriultural and urban center in the late nineteenthentury West, the state's politics have not received. ystematic treatment. With figures like Henry M. 'eller, Edward O. Wolcott, and the Populist govrnor Davis H. Waite on the scene, this neglect as puzzling. James Edward Wright has now exmined the political culture during the four decdes after Colorado joined the Union in 1876 to emonstrate that "Populism had roots deep in the ocial and economic development of the state." Vright's study presents much valuable material n the behavior of voters in the Centennial State, ut the narrow focus of his research in manuscript ources limits the book's usefulness as a guide to ne history of Colorado's political parties.

Wright is most comfortable and assured with election data, and the careful work in these chapters indicates strongly that Colorado residents found economic issues more salient influences than the ethnocultural forces so powerful in the Midwest. Unlike Karel Bicha, whose article of early 1973 he does not cite, the author did not find Colorado Populists conservative but rather advocates of "a strong exercise of power by the federal government." Critical of the failings of the major parties, Wright is generally sympathetic to Populist programs and leaders like Waite. "Colorado Populism," he concludes, "clearly was not a retrogressive force seeking to halt progress and industrial development."

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Because Colorado politicians between 1877 and 1901 left relatively sparse manuscript collections, it is necessary to go beyond the state's borders and the material local archivists have preserved. Wright did not do this and, accordingly, his account of political maneuvering is thin. The Grover Cleveland Papers and the Justice Department Appointment Papers in the National Archives, for example, would have confirmed his surmise about a Populist-Democratic arrangement on fusion in 1892 and the subsequent reprecussions on the Democrats between 1893 and 1895. There are Colorado letters in the William Jennings Bryan Papers about 1896, and evidence on Populist relationships in the Ignatius Donnelly and Marion Butler Papers. Edward O. Wolcott corresponded with Eastern Republicans like Henry Cabot Lodge and William E. Chandler; the Benjamin Harrison Papers have a good deal on GOP factionalism in the early 1890s. The absence of Thomas Dawson's biography of Wolcott from the bibliography is odd. Without such manuscript research, Wright's account of party activity in key areas often has to rely on newspapers and, in many instances, older dissertations about the state.

Wright's book is a competent start on Colorado politics in the Gilded Age, particularly for the electoral evidence. It would have been better had he taken the time to consult the available primary sources in national repositories and to integrate their information into his story. As it stands, this volume is more than the dissertation from which it derived, but less than a well-researched, carefully drawn analysis of a significant Western state in the midst of Populist turbulence.

LEWIS L. GOULD University of Texas, Austin

GERALD P. FOGARTY, S. J. The Vatican and the Americanist Crisis: Denis J. O'Connell, American Agent in Rome, 1885–1903. (Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae, volume 36.) Rome: Università Gregoriana Editrice. 1974. Pp. x, 357. L. 7,000.

American Catholicism has never been the influence in national life that might be expected from its size, centralized organization, and wealth. Forced on the defensive by nineteenth-century nativism, it entered a long external struggle to overcome animosity and prejudice. The Church weakened itself, however, by an equally long struggle concerning a policy of adapting itself to the American traditions of pluralism and separation of Church and state. The result of both struggles was a Catholic ghetto mentality, which still lingers on well past the mid-twentieth century. Occasionally, bold efforts were made to break this pattern and to effect a broader outlook on American society. These efforts engendered a bitter debate among the Church's hierarchy, which weakened effective leadership and scarred the careers of its participants. With issues never really resolved, the entire debate was silenced by Leo XIII's encyclical Testem Benevolentiae, ending what has since been called the "Americanist crisis." Historians have not fully analyzed the deep-seated impact of the total debate on the Catholic contribution to American life. Thomas McAvoy's The Great Crisis in American Catholicism (1958) carefully presents the debate at its height in the 1890s. A few biographies, most notably John Tracy Ellis's The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons (1952), offer glimpses at the depth of the resulting bitterness. Fogarty here clearly underscores this aspect.

Denis O'Connell, considered a liberal among late nineteenth-century clerics, was never really a leader of that position. A protégé of Cardinal Gibbons and a confidant of Archbishop John Ireland, O'Connell was appointed rector of the American College in Rome and thus became the unofficial spokesman for the American clergy at the Vatican. His role in the Americanist debate was significant, however, for through him the liberals' views were channeled to proper authorities, while those of the opposition were filtered out.

Fogarty's treatment of O'Connell is, however, disappointing. Admitting his unwillingness to present a total biography, the author focuses his attention on O'Connell's years in Rome. This could have been most satisfactory if he had adéquately understood the major issues causing the crisis. But, with confusing chronology, he quickly gets lost in clashes of personality, minimizing the broader context of meaningful and valid differing points of view. At best, he finds the chief source of difficulty to be an irreconcilable German-Irish conflict. Futhermore he almost entirely ignores nonreligious documentary collections and lay authors and thereby writes another piece of institutional history from a narrow perspective. This also is unfortunate, for too much Catholic

historiography has already been offered from this perspective. Despite limited success in achieving its potential, the Catholic Church in the United States has made a rich, meaningful contribution to American society. Fogarty's book adds little to the understanding of that contribution.

> FRANK T. REUTER Texas Christian University

LOUIS R. HARLAN et al., editors. The Booker T. Washington Papers. Volume 3, 1889-95. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1974. Pp. xxx, 618. \$17.50.

In 1889 Booker T. Washington's personal life was in its severest crisis because of the death of his second wife and closest co-worker, Olivia A. Davidson. In 1895 his public life reached its climax when he delivered the "Atlanta Compromise" speech. By choosing 1889 and 1895 as the terminal points of volume 3 of The Booker T. Washington Papers, Louis R. Harlan emphasizes both Washington's achievement and the roles he had to play to become America's most famous black leader from 1895 to 1915. These papers show that both the images and ideas in the Atlanta speech were present in Washington's mind long before 1895. If Washington first heard the "separate as the fingers" metaphor in 1880 (p. 582), he certainly practiced and preached the doctrines of accommodation, self-help, and "industrial" (vocational) education as the proper strategy for racial advancement from Tuskegee's start in 1881. While Washington expanded the circle of his acquaintances among America's leaders from 1889 to 1895, he centered his efforts on developing Tuskegee. His letters show his ability and determination always to oversee the minute details in Tuskegee's operation.

Harlan's comprehensive, exhaustively researched biographical annotations and detailed index seem destined to make this series of edited papers both a model for historians and a basic source for any study of American culture from 1856 to 1915. Ironically Harlan's editorial excellence causes some minor concern. In making this volume so readable he omitted several items that social historians would find useful. Harlan's focus on Washington justifies almost all omissions except perhaps I. Garland Penn's letters of July 8 and 17, 1895, seeking a job at Tuskegee, which might help explain Penn's diligence in securing Washington's invitation to speak in Atlanta. The quality and quantity of this edition of Washington's papers, and Harlan's biography of Washington, might cause some readers to overstress the influence of Washington and his philosophy. To provide a balanced view of the "age of Washington" historians should treat Harlan's outstanding achievement as a challenge to prepare works of similar quality on other black and white leaders who espoused opposing opinions.

> ROBERT G. SHERER Wiley College

THOMAS S. HINES. Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xxiii, 445. \$19.50.

"Make no little plans," said Daniel H. Burnham; "They have no power to stir men's blood." Whether designing the innovative Montauk, Monadnock, or Reliance buildings, serving as director of works for the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, or preparing comprehensive plans for the rebuilding of large parts of Washington, Cleveland, San Francisco, and Chicago, Burnham followed this credo throughout a diversified and extraordinarily productive life. At the time of his death in 1912, he was the most famous architect in America and a city planner of international renown; as a builder and shaper of urban communities, his only rivals in the past century are Frederick Law Olmsted and Robert Moses.

Since 1912, however, Burnham's reputation has been somewhat in eclipse, in part because the human costs of redevelopment have soured our taste for grand designs and in part because architectural critics have recognized the superior genius of Frank Lloyd Wright and Louis Sullivan. To his credit, Thomas S. Hines does not claim that Burnham's artistry exceeded that of his Chicago contemporaries-Sullivan himself disliked Burnham and Wright refused his offer of a job. But Hines makes a convincing case for the proposition that Burnham was a "great" man whose achievements as an architect, planner, administrator, and philanthropist were both original and distinguished. Burnham also seems to have been a good and decent man who was helpful and loyal to dozens of causes and individuals.

Aside from the illustrations, which though numerous did not reproduce well, Hines has provided an intelligently organized, well-written, and fascinating account of Burnham's entire career. The analysis of Burnham's much discussed relationship with his brilliant partner, John Wellborn Root, is perceptive and well balanced, and the criticism and comment on the various buildings and plans are sensible and readable. Many of the individual chapters in the volume have been or could be the subjects of entire books—the Columbian Exposition, the rise of the skyscraper, the plans for Washington and Chicago, for example—and thus it cannot be said that Hines has offered the last word on these topics. But Burnham of Chi-

cago is an excellent book and a model of scholarship, good judgment, and literary grace that satisfies a long-felt need.

KENNETH T. JACKSON Columbia University

J. NOEL HEERMANCE. Charles W. Chesnutt, America's First Great Black Novelist. [Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1974. Pp. xiii, 258. \$12.50.

Chesnutt was a Negro who appeared white. He spent fourteen youthful years in North Carolina, then worked a half-century in Cleveland. He wrote some eighty stories and at least nine novels, three of which were published. Concurrently he produced essays, speeches, and correspondences with prominent persons on racial topics, a legacy of nonfiction that is still largely unpublished. This output was devoted to advancing the interests of black people; it should be known in a nation beset with racism. Heermance provides an introduction to a neglected figure of historical importance.

The title suggests that Heermance intended to focus on Chesnutt's novels, but the opening review of some of the scholarship on racial questions is insufficient as background for literary comment. Nor does the writer indicate familiarity with Sylvia Render's 1962 dissertation on Chesnutt's fiction. If the intent was psychohistory or biography the author needs further research, partly to fill gaps between 1905 when the third novel appeared and 1932 when Chesnutt died. In a sense Heermance terminated Chesnutt's career with the third published novel. Chesnutt was a force in Cleveland for much longer; through memorable stands he subsequently attained national significance.

So the book is an overview of some high points in Chesnutt's 'career. It deals with Chesnutt's fiction, mentioning peripherally, often unchronologically, the nonfiction. Heermance suggests Chesnutt's commitment was basically nonracial. He relies heavily on the sentimental biography by Chesnutt's daughter and derives most of his footnotes from the Fisk Collection. But even in these materials there is much evidence supporting Chesnutt's early racial commitment.

Had Heermance explored papers at the Western Reserve Historical Society and other sources in the community where Chesnutt lived he might have revised his interpretations that Chesnutt ever "chose and staked out a position of nonracial isolation." W. E. B. DuBois disagreed too. In 1928 he nominated Chesnutt for the NAACP's Spingarn Award.

FRANCES RICHARDSON KELLER California State University, San José THOMAS B. TURNER. Heritage of Excellence: The Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions, 1914–1947. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 648. \$17.50.

In 1943 Dr. Alan Chesney published the first of three volumes dealing with the history of the Johns Hopkins Hospital and Medical School from its origins to 1914. Dr. Thomas Turner's Heritage of Excellence carries this history forward to 1947. Turner, like Chesney before him, is a distinguished microbiologist and dean emeritus of the Johns Hopkins Medical School.

Although Turner's history focuses on such institutional developments as the organization and growth of the School of Hygiene and Public Health, the Wilmer Opthalmological Institute, and the Institute for the History of Medicine, he also examines in detail the inauguration and maturation of the full-time teaching system and its effect on specialization, as well as various aspects of the life of medical students, interns, and young physicians. Turner is especially acute in delineating the administrative and financial history of the various Hopkins medical institutions, and reveals the internal history of major medical school and hospital departments in a series of informed biographical sketches of many Hopkins notables. While Turner celebrates the achievements of the Johns Hopkins Medical School and Hospital, he does not shun critical examination of administrative mistakes, from important developmental plans that died a-borning, to the shoddy, pre-emptory dismissal in 1926 of Dr. Ralph Bowers, a talented surgical intern caught smoking in the lunchroom.

Despite its general excellence, Turner's history is not without fault. It would have been helpful, for example, if he had given more precise references to the archival documents he used and quoted. Problems of a more substantive nature are to be found in some of Turner's interpretations, particularly in his treatment of the later career of Dr. Henry Sigerist, the doyen of medical history in the United States. There can be no doubt that Sigerist was a trial to the administrators of the Johns Hopkins Medical School for his outspoken observations on the social problems of medicine. Turner, who appreciates Sigerist's genius, nevertheless sees Sigerist's concern with such problems as alien to his function as a medical historian, and more darkly, as the result of his trips to the Soviet Union.

Actually, Sigerist's concern with the social problems of medicine came less from his trips to the Soviet Union than from his vision of the function of medical history. He expressed those views most clearly in his talk "Medical History in the United States," which he gave to the Johns Hopkins Medical History Club in May of 1947. "The history of medicine is both history and medicine. It is one aspect of the history of civilization and part of the theory of medicine. The historical analysis is a method that can be applied profitably in medicine as in other fields, to clarify concepts to make trends and development conscious so that we may face them openly and may act more intelligently. When you pursue your historical studies into the present, you imperceptibly enter the field of sociology and begin to see that an infinite number of non-scientific factors, social, economic, political, philosophical, religious, may well determine success or failure of medicine, factors which must be investigated."

Such criticism aside, Dr. Turner's history is an earnest of the important contribution that physicians and scientists can make to the writing of the history of medicine.

SAUL BENISON
University of Cincinnati

MIRA WILKINS. The Maturing of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from 1914 to 1970. (Harvard Studies in Business History, 27.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1974. Pp. xvi, 590. \$22.00.

In this second volume of her history of American multinational corporations, Mira Wilkins has undertaken an awesome task. American business abroad has grown tremendously in the present century, and the nation's role in international affairs has changed in numerous and complex ways—most of which have influenced the affairs of our multinational businesses. Moreover, the quarter of a century since the end of the Second World War is still an open frontier of research. Diplomatic and business historians are just beginning to churn out the carefully documented monographic studies that exist in abundance for earlier periods in our history.

Despite the difficulties of her job, the author has written a creditable survey. This is the best single volume I have read on this important subject. The book is based on careful research in primary as well as secondary materials; the author also conducted numerous interviews in an effort to fill the gaps in the documentary record. Even those scholars who feel oppressed when they find footnotes at the end of a book will discover that Wilkins's elaborate notes are worthy of their attention.

Intellectually this study is more venturesome than was the author's previous volume, The Emergence of Multinational Enterprise (1970). Wilkins acknowledges that the activities of American corporations overseas have aroused various, conflicting responses. Not all have been enamored of the behavior of Standard Oil, and even the performance of ITT has sometimes invited suspicion. New Left

analysts, in particular, have proclaimed that our foreign policy has all too often yielded the public interest to the private needs of multinational enterprises. Wilkins carefully considers these arguments and debates the issues in her text and notes. Her conclusions are, for the most part, consistent with those advanced in her previous book and are not likely to disturb the sleep of many corporate executives. Nevertheless, we can be grateful for her willingness to meet head on these difficult questions.

On balance, however, most readers will probably find the information in this volume more useful than its interpretations. As Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. points out in an editorial introduction, the author's major contribution is "getting the chronological record straight" (p. vi). She has not developed any startling new insights, nor has she offered us any general synthesis. She has surveyed important ground and cleared away a bit of the brush, leaving to others the job of tilling the soil and harvesting the first crop of new historical knowledge.

LOUIS GALAMBOS
Johns Hopkins University

ZOSA SZAJKOWSKI. Jews, Wars, and Communism. Volume 2, The Impact of the 1919-20 Red Scare on American Jewish Life. New York: Ktav Publishing House. 1974. Pp. 398. \$20.00.

This book attempts to consider the impact on American-Jewish life of the wave of zenophobic hysteria at the end of World War I. Szajkowski gives particular attention to how Jewish radicals fell under attack during the "red scare," and how Jewish spokesmen of all shades of opinion responded in debates over labor relations, Americanization, the proper defense against growing anti-Semitism, and the communal self-examination that the hostile climate forced upon American Jewry.

Not surprisingly, this second volume of Szajkowski's work shares many characteristics with the first. He is once again eager to do battle with "the Jew-Bolshevik myth"—the dangerous notion that untold numbers of Jews were committed radicals, busily plotting against the nation. Once again he insists that "there was no monolithic Jewish attitude either to the war in general or to various anti-liberal measures adopted by the Washington or local administrations" (p. 4). And once again readers are left wondering what serious student of American-Jewish attitudes has ever posited a monolithic Jewish view.

The book also, unfortunately, shares with its predecessor a set of annoying weaknesses. There are numerous small and inconsequential errors. The book is poorly put together and repetitious—

in one memorable instance, the same quotation appears twice within the same paragraph (pp. 8-q). It is a scissors-and-paste collection of undigested research notes, loosely tied together by introductory sentences; between pages 58 and 68, the author contributes fewer than forty original lines, leaving his dozens of quotations to account for all the rest. It is a rare and restful chapter that actually discusses, systematically and without interruption, exactly what the chapter title promised. But above all, it is all combined without judgment or evaluation—the views of Felix Frankfurter, for example, will be blithely counterbalanced by the views of someone named Isse Koch, as if discovering Jewish attitudes was simply a matter of lining up all the Jews who ever expressed an opinion and quoting one after the next. It is the lack of judgment, the unwillingness to decide what is important and what is trivial, that kills the book.

But there are treasures in it too—marvelous quotations, moving stories, fascinating episodes. colorful personalities. They are gathered from Szajkowski's relentless digging into a wide range of documentary materials, and readers will doubtless be less disappointed if they approach the book as an absorbing collection of research materials rather than as an enlightening or useful scholarly interpretation.

DAVID W. LEVY
University of Oklahoma

THOMAS B. BUELL. The Quiet Warrior: A Biography of Admiral Raymond A. Spruance. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1974. Pp. xviii, 486. \$15.00.

The Quiet Warrior is an apt title for this highly readable biography of Admiral Raymond A. Spruance, leader of the U.S. Navy's decisive drive across the Central Pacific in the war against Japan. A modest man, Spruance defied the efforts of contemporary journalists to glamorize his performance as hero of Midway and commander of the U.S. Fifth Fleet from the capture of Tarawa to the invasion of Okinawa. It is to Commander Buell's credit that, despite the sparseness of the written record, he has pieced together enough details about his subject's personal life and naval career to produce a scholarly full-length biography.

To do so Buell has relied heavily, perhaps too heavily, on interviews with surviving family and friends and on oral histories, especially the lengthy memoir of Spruance's wartime chief of staff, Carl Moore, in the Columbia University Oral History Collection. Whatever his sources, Buell's judgments on Spruance as fleet commander are his own and are not uncritical. He faults the admiral for his failure to launch search planes on the first afternoon of the battle of Midway, and, more tell-

ingly, for his refusal to allow Marc Mitscher's fast carriers to pursue the Japanese carrier fleet in the early stages of the battle of the Philippine Sea for fear of an end run that might endanger the landing operations on Saipan. In general the author tends to agree with Admiral Mitscher and other naval aviators that Spruance, a battleship sailor of the old school, was too cautious and did not fully appreciate the potentialities of carrier aviation.

Nevertheless, Spruance's reputation as one of the naval greats of World War II is reinforced by this volume. His was a greatness composed of professional expertise, sound intuitive judgment, skill at picking subordinates and willingness to delegate responsibility to them, personal integrity, bravery, and above all imperturbability. The quiet warrior ran a quiet bridge. Only a professional sailor like Buell could fully appreciate the significance of this fact. In this as in other matters, the author's own experience as a naval officer serves to lend authenticity to this admiring, though not adulatory, biography.

PHILIP A. CROWL

Naval War College

MARTIN BLUMENSON. The Patton Papers: 1940–1945. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company: 1974. Pp. xix, 889. \$20.00.

This has to be as fascinating a book on a military figure as has been printed. The core of it is a diary kept by George S. Patton with letters to and from him wound around that core and with perceptive comments inserted by Martin Blumenson. The end product is so candid that the reader can only be proud of Patton's descendants for agreeing to make it public. Patton, like most diarists, used his diary to ease his own frustrations. This he achieved, as the rest of us do, by scaling down the people who produced his tensions. Of Montgomery he wrote, "I can outfight the little fart any time" (p. 359). He was often hard on Eisenhower, too, since Eisenhower, who had been his junior for many years, soared past him to the top. At all times Patton considered Eisenhower a parlor-style officer who had never known combat. "I wish to God he was more of a soldier and less of a politician" (p. 417). Walter Bedell Smith never rose above the s.o.b. level in the diary. Recording the few meetings he had with FDR, Patton spoke only good of the president and had nothing to say against General Marshall except that he, like Eisenhower, had never known war down where the blood flowed. Patton resented the managers who had replaced the heroes in the forefront of war.

Nevertheless, being through and through a soldier, he always carried out orders, whatever he thought of their issuers. Moreover, being ambitious, he took pains to keep on the good side of

his commanders. The contrast between what he recorded in his diary about people and what he said to them personally reveals hypocrisy, but no more than the average content of it. The hypocrisy stands out because Patton's private opinions are here placed in print beside his public utterances. Hardly any public figure could pass such a test untainted. In Patton's case, history is the richer.

So human is this personal story that the reader can hate almost everything Patton stood for, yet, knowing how he felt, yearn for him to achieve fame and glory, which he sought above all. I am personally revolted by his continual exhortation to his troop to kill. The noblest work of God, he told them, was the killer, and his diary entry on Christmas 1944 said, "A clear cold Christmas, lovely weather for killing Germans" (p. 606). In the next clause he recognized the incongruity of this, but was in no way upset. He often read the Bible, and his God was Jehovah of the Old Testament. To him he prayed, "I am the best there is, but Lord give us the victory" (p. 191).

Belief in a supreme being undergirded Patton's almost unwavering conviction that he was destined to do great things. When his juniors got three or four stars before he did, when he was in danger of losing the chance to fight—he loved fighting—because of having slapped a hospitalized enlisted man, he kept going only because of the conviction that God still wanted him to perform a great mission. Once the war was over he knew that his luck had run out and his usefulness was finished.

He was right. Before he died on December 23, 1945, his worst qualities surfaced. Racism showed glaringly. Even though the British were white, Patton mistrusted them and felt that they had used the United States for their own selfish purposes. To him the Russians were Mongols, "a scurvy race, and simply savage" (p. 712). He believed that the postwar policy of the United States was dictated by a conspiracy of Jews, Communists, international bankers, and labor leaders, whose real aim was to destroy the United States.

War was his medium, and Patton thrived in it. There was no better combat commander in World War II. His toughness was an advantage to him in war, but he had suppressed the scholarly and poetic sides of his nature to achieve it. The scholarly emerged in the astonishing memory he had of military history. Patton was often witty and always a romantic. He received more adulation from the public, his wife, and himself than is the lot of most men, and he soaked himself in it. In sum Patton was a complex human being who is presented virtually entire and lifelike in this remarkable book.

JOHN K. MAHON
University of Florida,
Gainesville

H. ESSAME. Patton: A Study in Command. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1974. Pp. x, 280. \$8.95.

CHARLES B. MACDONALD. The Last Offensive. (United States Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations.) Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army. 1973. Pp. xvii, 532, 18 maps. \$15.20.

Although both these books deal with military operations in Europe during World War II, they are quite different in format, in time frame, scope, and emphasis. Essame's book focuses its attention upon Patton as a military commander. The first two chapters provide background information relating particularly to Patton's military training and experience prior to World War II. Patton's association with the cavalry and his early interest in, study of, and experience with tank warfare receive emphasis. Thereafter, the book treats, in some detail, Patton's activities as a military commander during World War II. During the training era in the United Sates, he commanded the Second. Armored Division and the First Armored Corps. His first operational command was the U.S. Task Force that invaded North Africa in November 1942. After the Second Corps had experienced some difficulties he briefly commanded it in Tunisia. Then followed his command of the Seventh U.S. Army in the successful invasion and conquest of Sicily. It was during the course of this operation that the slapping incidents occurred which threatened to end Patton's career as a military commander. Yet, in less than a year he appeared in France as the commanding general of the Third U.S. Army, the army that he successfully led across France and Germany, that contributed so significantly to the surrender of Germany, and the leadership of which greatly magnified his image as a military commander. With the war over Patton was unable to function successfully within the occupational command structure so he was given command of the Fifteenth Army, the unit charged with compiling the record of military operations since D-Day. A few months later, in December, he died as a result of injuries received in an automobile accident, a tragic ending for a man who preferred a soldier's death.

The Last Offensive is one of the volumes in the United States Army in World War II series and is the ninth to be published in the subseries the European Theater of Operations. In keeping with the pattern established in the earlier volumes, this book is a carefully written and detailed account of the military operations along the western front from January 1945 until the surrender of Germany in May 1945. The action of the military units is followed on the division level and, in special instances, on a lower unit level as various military operations, normally in relation to area or objec-

tives, are treated. Selective examples of such operations are the Ardennes, the Roer River dams, the Saar-Palatinate, the Rhine River crossings, and the Ruhr.

In both of these volumes Patton as a military leader is treated sympathetically. Yet, in my judg ment, the evaluation of the general by Essame borders on glorification. Essame disregards completely the disastrous Hammelburg mission that Patton approved, and his treatment of the slapping incidents appears to be an apologia for the general. Both books view Patton as a highly capable but nationalistic army field commander who was a stickler for discipline and highly conscious of showmanship and personal image. They also reveal Patton's shortcomings in the international military, political, and diplomatic realm.

Patton: A Study in Command, written by a general officer with considerable experience, should have a broad appeal. It is interesting and generally well written. Although it lists a respectable bibliography, the book has no footnotes or documentation. Of special interest are the comparisons and contrasts of Patton and Montgomery.

The Last Offensive will appeal to a more restricted group of readers—army officers, military historians, and veterans of units referred to in the military operations. The book is excellently documented, with its contents being drawn from many sources. Several features deserve mention: careful and orderly organization and presentation, especially fine maps, a variety of photographs, personalization introduced via footnotes relating to the awarding of Medals of Honor, helpful appendixes, and a comprehensive index. This book compares favorably with the earlier fine volumes of the series.

ROBERT A. GARSON. The Democratic Party and the Politics of Sectionalism, 1941–1948. (London School of Economics and Political Science.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 353. \$12.95.

Weber State College

This objective, extensively researched study traces the growth of Southern discontent within the Democratic party from the unity of the early New Deal to the Dixiecrat rebellion of 1948. The author, an English scholar who teaches at the University of Keele, asserts that the Southern disaffection reflected the section's sense of its progressively declining influence within the party. Dominant in the days of Woodrow Wilson, the South became a peripheral force in the Northern, urban-based Democracy of Roosevelt and Truman. Garson finds several themes in the Southern insurgency—among them, states' rights conservatism, faith in

private enterprise, and a general belief in the region's traditional way of life—but he argues that the revolt took its major impetus from the threats to white supremacy in the policies pursued by national Democratic administrations in the 1940s. Using a term coined by V. O. Key, Garson asserts that the vote of 1948 represented a "critical election" that began a long-term pattern of Southern independence in presidential contests.

Any survey contains some omissions and debatable propositions; this one is no exception. Jesse Jones appears in neither the book's account of Texas Democratic conservatism nor its discussion of the South's role in national politics, although he was important in both. The author moves well beyond the evidence to proclaim Harry S. Truman's most private opinions on the substance and tactics of racial issues with much more confidence than I could muster. For example, there is simply no solid support for the assertion that the report of the president's civil rights committee "was far bolder than Truman had expected" (p. 233).

This book is more successful as an account of events than as an explanation of them. Its efforts at analysis are weak and limited. An important chink in its otherwise thorough research is its failure to exploit the extensive political science literature that touches on its topic. Garson cites V. O. Key's monumental Southern Politics in State and Nation (1949) and some other political science studies, but he fails to make effective use of them. By providing a well-organized and decently written, if somewhat unimaginative, survey of an important theme in recent American political history, Garson makes a significant contribution. But historians seeking the whys of Southern congressional and electoral behavior must still consult Key and those who have followed the path he laid out.

ALONZO L. HAMBY Ohio University

EDWARD W. CHESTER. Clash of Titans: Africa and U.S. Foreign Policy. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books. 1974: Pp. ix, 316. \$12.95.

I finished reading this book on December 19, 1974, in revolutionary Ethiopia. The U.S. Embassy in Addis Ababa, while interested in Ethiopia's future, was more concerned about its budgetary chances for the next fiscal year and was therefore taking no action that would jeopardize its public relations stance before Congress. Embassy officers talked about the status quo ante in glowing, nostalgic terms; the image of a wise, old emperor—the very one who stood before the League of Nations to warn the world about the future—seemed immeasurably better to them than the specter of a sharply leftist Ethiopia, perhaps even in cooperation with Mao's myrmidons. To me it seemed as if official

America again was playing ostrich about the real needs of a terribly poor country that needed a sharp break with the past in order to progress toward modernization. Oddly enough, through inadvertance and sheer analytical misconstruction, Dr. Chester's book clearly defines the status quo nature of American foreign policies toward African countries and Washington's almost negligent misreading of the continent's needs.

If I am mystified by the title of the book-just look up "titan" in any dictionary-then I am bewildered by the author's decision to write such a study. Not a trained Africanist, he is bound by data derived primarily from the more obvious secondary works—this approach is also for the American side. In any case he is sublimely unaware of those facts that are the intimate stock in trade of the Africanist. He does not know, for example, that the American Society for African Culture was funded, in part, by the CIA. He does not realize that there were private U.S. loans to Liberia before the famous Firestone transaction of 1925. He shows little understanding of Ethiopian foreign policy toward the United States, and, for that matter, he has great difficulty clarifying U.S. foreign policy objectives in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa because he fails to make his analysis within the idea of the Red Sea-Indian Ocean-Persian Gulf strategy. Worst of all, Chester has not fully exploited the many M.A. and Ph.D. theses—there are at least ten at Howard University, for exampleavailable on the subject of U.S.-African relations.

These criticisms, which may derive from my specialized knowledge or my biases, do not, by themselves, totally discredit this book. The author himself accomplishes this act of destruction by the very shallowness of his analyses. He informs us that there is no uniform U.S. policy in Africa and that in treatment there are many country-by-country disparities. He overwhelms us by claiming that Washington will remain concerned about Africa "at least to a limited degree" because of U.S. need for raw materials and its fear of a Communist takeover. If these tautologies were not enough, Chester strikes a blow for understanding by arguing very seriously that "the average white American experiences difficulty in identifying with a continent whose goals and aspirations are somewhat different from those in the United States"-very heady stuff indeed! The triviality of such analyses unfortunately matches the trivial nature of U.S.-African relations. Chester has written a book whose time has not come.

HAROLD G. MARCUS
Michigan State University

LYNN H. MILLER and RONALD W. PRUESSEN, editors. Reflections on the Cold War: A Quarter Century of Ameri-

can Foreign Policy. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 207. \$10.00.

RAYMOND ARON. The Imperial Republic: The United States and the World, 1945–1973. Translated by FRANK JELLINEK. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1974. Pp. xxxviii, 339. \$10.00.

The essays edited by Miller and Pruessen give the reflections of a number of historians, political scientists, and others, most of whom are well-known revisionists. They are worth reading for their interpretive content, but the reader should not expect to gain any significant new information. Miller's own essay, dealing with the United Nations, argues that the United States has sought to build up and use the UN primarily when it was in its selfinterest to do so. He notes that the place of the UN in American policy reached its lowest point with the Nixon administration. Pruessen's essay focuses on 1947 and concludes that non-cold-war factors, namely economic considerations, were predominant in the determination of United States policy in that year. The reader is, however, left in doubt as to the exact nature of those economic considerations. Harrison E. Salisbury, writing on the origins of the cold war in Asia, speculates that the Russian move in Korea in 1950 was directed more against China than the United States, and that the Sino-Soviet split might have occurred in 1950 had the United States not driven the two communist rivals together. Walter LaFeber's selection, "Crossing the 38th," Barton J. Bernstein's "The Cuban Missile Crisis," and Richard J. Barnet's "The Cold War and the Arms Race" go over mostly familiar ground. Richard A. Falk's essay, "Counterrevolution in the Modern World," is the most strident of the revisionist selections. He asserts that the counterrevolutionary posture of the United States developed into a counterinsurgency mission with genocidal tactics and effects. "Revision Revisited," by Stanley Hoffman, and "The Asian Boundaries of Coexistence," by Norman B. Hannah, are much less revisionist in tone than the other essays. Hoffman attributes the beginning of the cold war to misperceptions on both sides. Hannah, while obviously favoring coexistence, observes that coexistence is not the opposite of cold war. It is, rather, the fruit of successfully waged cold war.

Raymond Aron's prize-winning volume, which has been much acclaimed in Europe, is a rebuttal to "para-Marxists" such as Claude Julien, William Appleman Williams, and Gabriel Kolko. Aron, a professor at the College of France, has written more than a dozen books. This one, as was said by Le Nouvel Observateur, has "rigor of thought combined with clarity of expression," but it is not a work of original historical research. Like the essays reviewed above, it is valuable chiefly for its inter-

pretive content. Aron argues that in saddling the United States with causal responsibility for the cold war the revisionists have succumbed to the national myth of American omnipotence. He defends the policy of the Truman administration right down the line-not so the Eisenhower administration. The inflexibility of Dulles's diplomacy he regards as wide open to criticism. As for the later period, he gives high marks to Kennedy in the Cuban missile crisis, and to Nixon and Kissinger in the Vietnam negotiations. Fully half of Aron's book is devoted to a discussion of the United States in the world market. Though he agrees with revisionists on some points, he rejects outright the theory that American diplomacy since 1945 has been governed by the American economy's place in the world market.

Since neither of the two books under review present important new evidence, it is doubtful that either will bring a noticeable shift in the battle lines between the revisionists and the nonrevisionists.

RAYMOND A. ESTHUS
Tulane University

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1948. Volume 4, Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union. (Department of State Publication 8743.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1974. Pp. xv, 1161. \$10.80.

These documents cover the period of intense cold war, the period of respective American and Soviet containment policies. (Documents related to the Berlin blockade are not included.) The civil war in Greece was still going on, while Eastern Europe was in that year fully integrated within the Soviet zone of influence.

The Truman Doctrine of 1947 led the National Security Council to declare on January 6, 1948, "The security of the Eastern Mediterranean and of the Middle East is vital to the security of the United States" (p. 2). The United States in its new quality of a Mediterranean power offered support to the Greek government, which was engaged in a protracted struggle against the Communist insurgents who were helped in turn by the Soviet bloc, including Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia ended its assistance only in 1949 following its quarrel with the Cominform. It is interesting for a better understanding of the present American policy toward Cyprus to read the opinion by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1948: "Turkey is strategically more important than Greece" (p. 191). The United States adopted a cautious but hopeful attitude toward Yugoslavia after the Yugoslav excommunication by the Cominform (pp. 1054-1118).

The documents related to the Belgrade Conference on the regime of navigation on the Danube River (pp. 593-732) demonstrate the nature of So-

viet policy in a situation where the USSR was able to muster the majority of votes. The Soviet draft convention was adopted by the majority vote of the Soviet bloc over the vain protests of the United States, Britain, and France. The new convention prohibited the use of the river by the nonriparian vessels (p. 647) and restricted the composition of the Danubian Commission to the riparian states, including the USSR. The United States, Britain, and France were excluded (p. 646).

The most dramatic event of 1948 was the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia. Here as elsewhere in Eastern Europe the United States could only register its protest (pp. 733-58). In spite of the Berlin blockade Secretary of State George Marshall thought that "the Kremlin does not intend to mount any action in Europe proper which would carry the risk of actual hostilities" (p. 840). The British secretary of state, Ernest Bevin, shared this view (p. 844). Dispatches from the American embassy in Moscow noted Stalin's policy of tightening the isolation of Soviet population from all Western contacts (pp. 890-96).

The usual American reaction to the events in Eastern Europe remained the same regarding the Romanian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian violations with the Soviet approval of the 1947 peace treaties. It consisted in dispatching protest notes (pp. 279-395). The United States, however, reinforced in 1948 its restrictions on trade and in the civil aviation relations with the USSR and Eastern Europe (pp. 436-592).

The exception was made for Finland once it became clear that Stalin was ready to grant that country a treatment more favorable than that given the rest of Eastern Europe. The State Department correctly attributed Stalin's leniency to his fear that a harsher treatment of Finland would have had pro-Western repercussions among the Scandinavian states, in particular Sweden (pp. 780, 785). The other documents in this volume relate to such controversial issues as the lend-lease settlement (pp. 950–1023) and the fate of teachers at the Soviet school in New York who sought refuge in the United States (pp. 1024–53).

w. w. Kulski Duke University

IRWIN UNGER, with the assistance of DEBI UNGER. The Movement: A History of the American New Left, 1959–1972. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1974. Pp. viii, 217. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$3.75.

This concise, comprehensive volume is apparently intended for a general audience and for use in the classroom, but it is a pleasant surprise to one who has in mind the interests of AHR readers. Unger has obviously digested a long shelf of relevant liter-

ature, and he utilizes the holdings of the Social Protest Project, Bancroft Library, Berkeley—especially valuable since in this instance Richard Armour's doggerel applies: "So leap with joy, be blithe and gay, / Or weep, my friends, with sorrow. / What California is today, / The rest will be tomorrow."

Unger discusses the origins of "the movement" among young intellectuals, to whom Mills gave a role and Marcuse a rationale, and the reasons for its spread among the children of the affluent in the universities. What follows is a tight, well-written narrative of organizational and doctrinal developments on the road "from reform to revolution" (Edward J. Bacciocco's subtitle) or "from Port Huron to Peking" (John P. Diggins's phrase). Regarding the radicals' motives. Unger is judicious and precise in weighing environmental factors (society's ills) and psychological factors (the protesters' personal problems). He is also perceptive on the "tangled interconnection" between cultural and political dissent. Factionalism, Unger believes, had far more to do with the movement's failure than repression, but the main difficulty was that the New Left "had left the rest of America so far behind that it had lost cortact with the national reality." Foreign policy was another story. "I think it [the New Left] forced the United States out of Vietnam," Unger declares, while citing the military prowess of the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese as an indispensable element in this result and pointing out that there was a responsive chord to be struck in the form of growing popular disillusionment with the Vietnam War.

In Radical Paradoxes (1973) Peter Clecak, who, unlike Unger, is a veteran of the movement, concludes that the present order can "not be changed as a whole all at once." One who is interested in such judgments as well as the basic facts about the New Left will find Unger's book an excellent introduction to the subject.

BERNARD STERNSHER
Bowling Green State University

Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States. Richard Nixon. Containing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the President. [Volume 4,] 1972. (Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1974. Pp. xlix, 1161, 28, 21, 7, 3, 25, 2, 80. \$18.55.

This volume of the *Public Papers* is particularly fascinating, as it captures well the developing campaign strategy and diplomatic ploys of an administration bent on retaining political power at home while promoting stability and détente abroad. Needless to say, many of the proposals and prob-

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lems found in the earlier volumes of this series are carried over into 1972: Vietnam, the state of the economy, racial politics, the "New Federalism," executive reorganization, environmentalism, welfare reform, and the quest for detente are once more on the presidential agenda. And each of these issues is worthy of extended comment.

But in a brief review only items of major importance can be mentioned. Of particular significance for students of the Nixon presidency are the State of the Union Address (pp. 34-41) and the accompanying State of the Union message (pp. 41-74) that spell out the administration's program for the new year-an election year. And not to be overlooked is the comprehensive statement on the subject of American foreign policy that the White House submitted to Congress (pp. 194-346). It is an important document, since it provides a philosophical base and operational guide to what the administration called the "New American Foreign Policy" (p. 196). Material covering the president's trip to China-which Nixon felt was "the week that changed the world" (p. 379)-is prominently featured, as is his later visit to Moscow, where accords were signed further to advance détente (pp. 633-44).

The central issue in the realm of foreign policy still remained Vietnam. On that subject Nixon made it clear, time and again, that American honor would be preserved and American interests protected. His speech on May 8, announcing the mining of Haiphong harbor and the continuation of the bombing of North Vietnam, could be viewed as an act of desperation or a shrewd and ruthless move to end the hostilities (pp. 583-87).

Tied to his Vietnam stance was Nixon's carefully organized campaign to achieve re-election. Attempting to establish a "new American majority," by unifying under fresh leadership what were once major elements of the Roosevelt coalition, he celebrated the work ethic, attacked quotas, evangelized on the subject of patriotism, supported the neighborhood school system, opposed busing, offered help to parochial education, and endorsed efforts to stimulate the development of "black capitalism." Furthermore, whenever appropriate, he reminded his audiences that the economy was booming and that inflation, thanks to his policy initiatives, was very much under control (p. 1059).

Thus garbed in his Peking pinstripe, the mandarin president awaited the election returns with keen anticipation; as predicted, the landslide developed to vindicate what he called the "American system" (p. 789). So 1972 was indeed Richard Nixon's apotheosis; his year of glory and redemption had given him the opportunity to serve another four-year term as president of the United States.

Like its predecessors in this series, volume 4 is superbly edited, handsomely printed, and is accompanied by a well-organized appendix that provides additional information, trivial or otherwise.

WILLIAM C. BERMAN University of Toronto

CANADA

H. V. NELLES. The Politics of Development: Forest, Mines & Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849–1941. [Hamden, Conn.:] Archon Books. 1974. Pp. xiii, 514. \$21.00.

This volume is more original than might be suggested by the author's assertion that his work belongs in the Innis-Lower-Creighton tradition of studies of the political economy of staple production in Canada. It does indeed belong there, and worthily, but at the same time it opens up new territory. While Nelles disclaims any attempt to write a full-scale economic and political history of Ontario or the business history of any industry, his thoroughly researched and well-written examination of the interplay between government and business in the development of the forest and mineral staples and hydroelectric power that has dominated the economy and politics of Ontario in the twentieth century is a major contribution to the neglected history of the wealthiest, most industrialized, and most populous province of Canada.

The early Crown ownership of natural resources in preindustrial Upper Canada formed a firm basis for a concept of the positive, interventionist state in Ontario and for proprietary control over the three most important natural resources of the province. Yet the book describes the growth of relationships between the state and business very like those discerned by Gabriel Kolko, James Weinstein, Ralph Miliband, and others in the United States where natural resources were early handed over to the control of private interests. Although public ownership of the production and distribution of hydroelectric power in Ontario represents a deviation from "the North American norm," the author considers the influence of Ontario Hydro negligible in affecting the general pattern of industrial capitalism.

Challenging the view that in Canada state intervention owed much to a "red Tory" tradition, Nelles contends that in Ontario as in the United States business interests cooperated actively with the state because they needed the power of government to further their projects for resource development and were never seriously restrained by attempts on the part of government to put public over private interest. It is difficult to refute Nelles's

conclusion that the result was a severe limitation on the practice of responsible government in Ontario. It is to be hoped that this conclusion will be put to the test of comparison with equally impressive studies of the politics of resource development in other Canadian provinces.

MARGARET PRANG
University of British Columbia

GENEVIÈVE LALOUX-JAIN. Les manuels d'histoire du Canada au Québec et en Ontario (de 1867 à 1914). (Histoire et sociologie de la culture, 6) Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval; distrib. by International Scholarly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1974. Pp. 250. \$10.00.

For several years in the decade of the sixties, Canadian history, historians, and social scientists drank deeply of the milch cow known as "The B&B Commission," the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. It was established by the Pearson government in reaction to the quiet and not-so-quiet Quebec Revolution that unleashed divisive forces within the Canadian Confederation. One of the studies undertaken for the B&B, by Marcel Trudel and Geneviève Laloux-Jain, concerned history textbooks used in Canadian schools. Laloux-Jain undertook, as a Ph.D. thesis, a narrower study of those texts used in Quebec and Ontario schools. Her results are now presented in a series devoted to the History and Sociology of Culture (of Quebec) published by Laval University.

The author has used a very traditional approach, a theory of nationalism—which is not a theory but a straight and somewhat shallow survey of a few books on nationalism. (The very title of her book is somewhat misleading. Although not mentioned in the title, the basic theme of the book is the teaching of nationalist sentiment by means of history.) Laloux-Jain goes on to present "official programmes" and the "cultivation of national sentiment" in the two provinces. This is followed by the criteria used to select the history books imposed on the teachers and pupils. Well over halfway through the book, selections from history books on specific events and their interpretations are presented.

The author, in her conclusion, informs us that it is generally accepted that history textbooks are directly responsible for an increase in nationalist sentiment and that the books used in Ontario and Quebec indicate a close relationship between the aims of the individuals in charge of the programs and nationalist objectives, although the latter was "neither the unique nor predominant objective" (italics added).

There are any number of ways that a study such as Mrs. Laloux-Jain's can be undertaken. The one

chosen and imposed, that is, history and nationalist sentiment, while valid as part of a study concerned with the inquiry of the B&B, is less useful as an analytical tool in a series devoted to the History and Sociology of Culture—whatever that means. The author indicates that words and concepts such as civics, ethics, morality, and patriotism, among others, as well as concepts of nationalism were encountered in her study. It might have been more fruitful to use word and content analysis to establish their weight and role in the books she has examined rather than to be led to an unsatisfactory conclusion on the basis of the evidence presented.

CAMERON NISH
Sir George Williams University

TERRY COPP. The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal 1897–1929. (The Canadian Social History Series.) [Toronto:] McClelland and Stewart. 1974. Pp. 192. \$3.95.

Until recently Canadian historiography has been dominated by economic and political history. Professor Copp's volume is one of a series of in-depth studies of social history designed ultimately to portray "the context in which Canadians have lived and interreacted with one another." As such it rests upon and includes significant amounts of quantitative data, designed to illustrate and to account for the economic and social conditions of the working class of Montreal between 1897 and 1929.

In general the first three decades of the twentieth century were a period of sustained growth in the Canadian economy. Montreal, Canada's largest city, shared in this development, but the benefits did not accrue to its wage workers, who constituted two-thirds of the population of the city. Their position was and continued to be precarious in the extreme. Low wages and frequent unemployment were accompanied by a high incidence of child labor, poor housing, inadequate schools, and high mortality rates. If revolutions were born of misery, Montreal should have been a prime candidate for social upheaval throughout most of the period examined by Copp.

More important, perhaps, is the author's explanation of the phenomena he has described. He contends that the source of the problem was not the "alleged cultural differences" between Quebec and English-speaking Canada. Montreal was a city like others in America, exposed to the impact of a free-market economy and in which the workers paid "the price for industrial growth." Conditions in Montreal were relatively worse because of locational factors, the structure rather than the ideology of French-Canadian society, and the failure of the city to develop a tax system adequate to its needs.

This is a brief but carefully written study based upon a solid knowledge of the relevant materials. It throws an important sector of the social history of Canada into harsh and comprehensible relief. It should stimulate further investigations into the social effects of industrialization in Quebec and comparative studies of those effects in Quebec and other parts of Canada.

G. S. FRENCH
Victoria University

ANDRÉ-J. BÉLANGER. L'apolitisme des idéologies québécoises: Le grand tournant de 1934-1936. (Histoire et sociologie de la culture, 7.) Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval; distrib. by International Scholarly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1974. Pp. 392. \$13.00.

The era of the Great Depression has been of great interest to Canadian historians in recent years. Among outstanding contributions are the general overview of Blair Neatby, The Politics of Chaos (1972) and Michiel Horn's collection of documents and essays, The Dirty Thirties (1972). A significant reason for this interest is stated by Neatby, who claims that the attention of thoughtful observers was shifting "from the frontier to the metropolis, from the challenges of geography to the tensions between regions, classes and cultures. It would have been a period of controversy and confrontation even without an economic crisis." The obvious analogies between the economic problems of the thirties and those of the present era heighten interest even further.

Bélanger's study is a preliminary report on this period as viewed from Quebec. In successive chapters he analyzes and appraises various individuals, groups, and publications that represent the views of the intellectual elite of Quebec. In his introduction Bélanger strives to place his subject into the broader context of North American and European political "turning points," but the main body of his work more often demonstrates the intellectual isolationism of French-Canadian thought from the rest of Canada along the classic lines once set forth by Michel Brunet: "agriculturalism, messianism and anti-statism," the last noted comparable to the apoliticism of Bélanger's title. The consistency of these themes demonstrates to the author the validity of Louis Hartz's characterization of Quebec society as a feudal fragment of Europe.

The first half of the book is different from the second in both approach and subject matter. Here the author deals with the influential Montreal newspaper, *Le Devoir*. This section contains quantitative analyses of editorial content as well as the author's summaries of and commentaries on the leading writers of the paper. He describes a portion of articulate Quebec opinion that at times

related to the problems of the depression in an industrialized, urbanized society with significant agricultural, mining, hydroelectric, and other sectors. Like many other Canadians, these writers may not have had many answers to the problems of the times but they chose to grapple with some of the questions.

By contrast, in the rest of the book the author turns to the more generally consistent traditional expressions of Quebec thought. The most important single individual in this section is Abbé Lionel Groulx. Here the apolitical and antipolitical viewpoints are reflected more often, the mystique de la terre emphasized as well as the messianism of Groulx and others. One of Groulx's particular talents was his promotion of historical heroes of the French-Canadian past. His models for a heroic leader for his own time and place were Salazar of Portugal, Dollfuss of Austria (while he lasted), and others of the type mussolinien.

The leader Quebec got was Premier Maurice Duplessis, who rose to power after two significant election campaigns—in 1935 and 1936—in which the press gave him much indirect aid by publicizing the corruption of the ruling Liberal regime. These less transcendental developments return us to the first section of Bélanger's book. Actually, he has written two valuable studies within the binding of a single book.

JOSEPH A. BOUDREAU
San José State University

LATIN AMERICA

FREDERICK P. BOWSER. The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 439. \$16.50.

Bowser has given us the most complete, reliable, and informative book yet to appear on blacks in any Latin American country during the colonial period, and that includes Brazil. In a sense, he tells us all we need to know about the role of blacks in Spanish America, or in any Latin American situation where the sugar industry was not the base of the economy. The special attributes of the black population of the early period in Peru-intensive or skilled work, proximity to Europeans, an intermediate or auxiliary function in the Spanish-Indian context, a slow absorption into the lower levels of Spanish society-extend forward unchanged to 1650, more than enough time to demonstrate that we are dealing with Hispanic American universals. The author covers his topic in many different aspects, from the slave trade to hard statistics on prices and population to governmental-ecclesiastical action and policy debates; but at the core of the book are the impressive chapters on the patterns of activity of the blacks themselves, both slave and free—patterns taken from an overflowing wealth of individual lives and cases. Bowser demonstrates that it is possible, for colonial Latin America, to do the social history of a special group over a long time span without sacrificing the depth and subtlety of insight that come from large-scale use of fresh individual examples. This single book contains more lives of blacks, more organized, re-created reality from the world of the Latin American black, than the rest of the historical literature put together. The accomplishment is all the more admirable because blacks were such a diversified group, attached to every sector of the European population.

The study includes both social and institutional history. If the space devoted to the organization of the constabulary or the hysterics of official correspondence tends to elevate these matters wrongly to the same level of importance as the social-economic functioning of a major population group, nonetheless Bowser ultimately reinterprets or discounts the utterances of officials and interest groups in the light of the social reality he has so deeply studied, with a large net gain for knowledge. In one case this is not possible. The borders of modern Peru, on whose coast the black population was concentrated, set the geographical framework of the study, so that the great highland silver mines of Potosi fall outside it. Thus the Peruvian debates over Indian versus African labor at the mines are reported in a vacuum. As a corrective, one might read Inge Wolff's substantial article on blacks at Potosi, "Negersklaverei und Negerhandel in Hochperu, 1540-1640," in Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas, 1 (1964): 157-86: an item somehow not in Bowser's bibliography. Wolff reveals the presence of a sizable minority of blacks in the Potosí area, working in refineries, crafts, domestic service, and intensive market agriculture; she thereby handily confirms and extends Bowser's main analysis and shows how far removed the labor controversies in Lima were from the demographic and economic realities. The latter, in conjunction with established Hispanic social practices, had already determined that in the Andean silver mines as elsewhere, blacks would be a skilled minority rather than the main labor force.

The riches of Bowser's study deserve many hours of a reader's attention and many pages of a reviewer's comments.

JAMES LOCKHART
University of California,
Los Angeles

DONALD J. MABRY. Mexico's Acción Nacional: A Catholic Alternative to Revolution. [Syracuse:] Syracuse University Press. 1973. Pp. xiv, 269. \$15.00.

In re-creating the origins and development of Mexico's most important opposition party, the Acción Nacional (PAN), Donald Mabry has organized his narrative into two parts. The first is a chronological and political history of PAN from its beginnings in the 1930s to the Echeverria administration of the 1970s. The second section is topical and contains most of the socioeconomic, electoral, and budgetary data from which Mabry generalizes about PAN's doctrines, structure, leadership, and membership. One problem resulting from this organization is that the historical section has been reduced to a narrow electoral history with very little substance and too many repetitious details, such as the never-ending examples of election fraud in Sonora, Baja California, and the Yucatan. (The latter is more a criticism of the editors than of the author.) In any case, the study taken as a whole is a worthwhile and scholarly introduction to the topic, worthwhile in its pervasive thesis and scholarly in its thorough research—for instance, Mabry had access to secret party files rarely seen by outsiders.

Mabry's thesis, amply demonstrated, is that PAN evolved from a conservative Catholic lay movement, led by wealthy industrialists and bankers who opposed the socialism of Cardenas's educational reforms in the 1930s, to a secular political party, led by urban-based professionals, intellectuals, and businessmen who, following the Christian Democratic model, sought to apply to Mexican society a social reform model derived from Catholicism. As the Party of the Institutionalized Revolution (PRI) moved to the right after 1946, PAN evolved from a right-center coalition to a left-center party of opposition. While PAN's counterparts in Latin America are readily recognizable as Christian Democratic, the peculiar traditions of anticlericalism in Mexico along with PRI's monopoly on all revolutionary jargon has left PAN with a conservative, clerical, and counterrevolutionary image that it does not deserve.

Mabry has no illusions about the limits of PAN's power in what is essentially a one-party system. Although not exactly a "kept" party, PAN exists and succeeds only at the pleasure of the Revolutionary Family, an oligarchy that prefers to project the image of a liberal, democratic state. Lack of patronage, limited finances, fraudulent elections, manipulation of the party deputy system by PRI authorities—all of these factors prevent PAN from not only being a Catholic alternative to revolution, but, even within the context of the rules of liberal, middle-class, "bourgeois" politics, a reasonable alternative to the Party of the Revolution.

WILLIAM DIRK RAAT State University of New York, . College at Fredonia

Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication of such a communication or of any part of it is solely at the editors' discretion. Limitations of space require that a communication concerning a review be no longer than the review to which it refers and in no case longer than 500 words. Communications concerning articles or review articles may be no more than 1,000 words, and the editors reserve the right to impose a lower limit. The schedule of publication and the time needed to send a communication to the author of the article or review in question for such reply as he may care to make virtually preclude the possibility of publication in the issue following that in which the original article or review appeared. Unless, in the editors' judgment, some major scholarly purpose is served, rejoinders will not be published.

TO THE EDITOR:

In reviewing my book, Art and Politics: Cartoonists of the Masses and Liberator (AHR, 80 [1975]: 521-22), Professor Louis Filler has little to say except that I tend to agree with the artists' critical view of established social values, while he believes "that the basic values of society [are] right." That scarcely fulfills a reviewer's obligation to say something illuminating about a book and its subject matter, rather than wishing it were another book on a different subject. Beyond that, his snide remark about my acknowledging assistance from people who are employed by certain privately endowed institutions is pointless. Where was I supposed to obtain materials and suggestions, from transcendental beings? We all have to live in the world that is, whatever attitude we take toward it, critical or

I only wish to express my disappointment that my reviewer's ideological commitments prevented him from coming to grips with the book I did write.

> RICHARD FITZGERALD Laney College, Oakland, California

PROFESSOR FILLER REPLIES:

One of Mr. Fitzgerald's problems as a historian is that he does not understand the role of irony in scholarly debate. It is ironical that sweeping revolutionary statements can emanate not out of revolutionary milieus, but conventional ones. I do not say this is bad—it is cause for pride—but it is worth noting among scholars. Irony is related to art and even to scholarly statement. Fitzgerald's interest in his artists' "critical view of established social values" can use broader frameworks. He can remark, in my forthcoming "Appointment at Armageddon," the hard political point Robert Minor made as a patriotic American in 1912 before he ioined his great crusade. It might inform Fitzgerald on the dynamics of Minor's art, before as well as after his political commitments turned to

The reader will be interested to note, if he happens not to have read my review, that I did not say I believed "that the basic values of society [are] right." I quote my relevant sentence: "The author is not aware that there are those who think, or thought, that the basic values of society were right, and that to demonstrate their invalidity, and the proved rightness of his alternative values requires greater subtlety and a sounder grasp of artistic and human principles than is here indicated" (p. 522). Although I would not put this sentence beside the better ones of T. B. Macaulay, I still suggest it merits Fitzgerald's thoughtful consideration.

LOUIS FILLER
Antioch College

TO THE EDITOR:

Professor Stromberg's étude, "Some Models Used by Intellectual Historians," was very pleasant reading and a useful composition of contrapuntal themes in the history of ideas. Two sentences toward the end affirm his view of the historian's role as a bringer of order out of chaos. "We can proceed to a more complex historiography, which is not necessarily a chaotic one"; and, "It is up to historians to show that we can restore order" (AHR, 80 [1975]: 573). He neglects the view that reality, including the history of ideas, may, au fond, be chaotic, and that our abstractions may be but attempts to make that frightening prospect tolerable. This casts the historian, and others who deal with ideas and perceptions of the condition of man, in a rather more religious role as reconcilers of man to reality.

WILLIAM W. MOSS

John F. Kennedy Library

TO THE EDITOR:

The review by Carleton S. Coon of Cyrus Gordon's Riddles in History (AHR, 80 [1975]: 610-11), contains a number of errors. The reviewer states, "The use of cryptograms (riddles) goes back to ca. 700 B.C., was lost during the Middle Ages, and rediscovered in 1969." Yet Alf Mongé, to whom Gordon's book is dedicated, claimed in Norse Medieval Cryptography in Runic Carvings (1967) that he had found many. In a paper published in Minnesota History (41 [1968]: 34-42) Aslak Liestøl, one of Norway's leading authorities on runes, wrote that cryptograms are certainly not unknown in runic writings and that even runologists have been aware of the fact for centuries. The review accepts Gordon's claim that he and Mongé have authenticated four texts generally called forgeries. One of these is the "Kensington Stele," better known as the Kensington rune stone. Every expert runologist in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and the United States agrees that the inscription cannot be from the fourteenth century but is, in the words of Konstantin Reichardt, "a genuine rune stone, to be sure, but a clever work of the late nineteenth century." (For a summary of the opinions of runic experts, see my article, "The Kensington Rune Stone" [Minnesota Archaeologist, 26 (1965): 97-115]). The testimony about the finding of the inscribed stone is uncertain and often contradictory. In Norse Medieval Cryptography in Runic Carvings, in cooperation with Ole Landsverk, Mongé tried to show that the Kensington inscription should not be read literally but is really a cryptogram. This attempt, as Abram Sinkov, an acknowledged expert in cryptography, wrote in a letter to me, was demolished by Aslak Liestøl in his article in Minnesota History. I have seen an exchange of letters between Mongé and Sinkov in which the latter explains the defects in Mongé's procedure. The finder of the stone, Olaf Ohman, may have been "almost illiterate" in English, but as Theodore C. Blegen, in his book on the rune stone, and others have established, he was not illiterate in Swedish. He knew something of runes and one of his close friends, Sven Fogelblad, knew a great deal about them.

It is unfortunate that the reviewer of a book that includes discussion of the Kensington rune stone is apparently not acquainted with the state of that question.

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL University of Minnesota

Gloucester, Massachusetts

DR. COON REPLIES:

My answer is: I stand by my guns.

CARLETON S. COON

TO THE EDITOR:

ization.

Professor Orlow's review of my book, Mittelstand, Demokratie und Nationalsoziaiismus (AHR, 80 [1975]: 675-77), is very flattering. There are a few judgments, however, that I would like to contradict. I am not of the opinion that "the Mittelstand in the twentieth century is an obsolete social grouping" that "has been objectively bypassed in the linear progress of history." What I describe as obsolete is the "social protectionism" of Imperial Germany and the mentality it reinforced within the ranks of craftsmen and shopkeepers. As far as the economic position of the Mittelstand is concerned, I rather stress a long-range trend toward stabil-

The "revisionism" of my book has more than one target: I question, first, the proposition that the rightward movement of the Mittelstand was a more or less spontaneous reaction to the economic crash of 1929; second, the well-known interpretation of nazism as an "extremism of the center" as developed by Seymour Martin Lipset, a theory that ignores the striking continuity between the vulgar conservatism of the late nineteenth century and the Nazi ideology; third, the Marxist scheme according to which the final disappearance of small-scale production is a necessary outcome of the economic process; fourth, the vulgar Marxist identification of fascism with the politics of certain groups of monopoly capital. I therefore do not think that my approach can be properly described as part of a "neo-Marxist framework." In spite of all the merits of Marx's analysis of class conflicts and ideologies, which no historian should be allowed to ignore, I am fully aware of some of the ahistorical assumptions on which his theory of the historical process is based. I have discussed these shortcomings of Marxist analysis in my article "Zum Verhältnis von bürgerlicher und proletarischer Revolution bei Marx und Engels" (in Hans-Ulrich Wehler, ed., Sozialgeschichte Heute, Festschrift für Hans Rosenberg [Göttingen, 1974], 326-53). My book on the Mittelstand is a more

practical example of that kind of historical revisionism.

HEINRICH AUGUST WINKLER University of Freiburg

PROFESSOR ORLOW REPLIES:

Professor Winkler and I are not really in disagreement on the merits of his book. The targets of his superb analysis are indeed multiple. At the same time, I did feel obligated to point out what seemed to be a discrepancy—if not an inconsistency—between the tone of the introductory passages of his book and the detailed analyses in the individual chapters. I am delighted to have him confirm that my impression of his working hypothesis was incorrect.

Boston University

TO THE EDITOR:

So long as a reviewer does not falsify in his description of a book, an author's response to negative commentary ought to be silence, leavened by whatever humility, stoicism, or contempt is appropriate. But Professor Howe's review of my The New Heavens and New Earth: Political Religion in America (AHR; 80 [1975]: 709-10; charges me with an unspecified derivative dependence on secondary authorities, which is quite unjustified. A close reader would have seen, for example, that while I have learned much from Richard Bushman, Alan Heimert, and Mark DeWolfe Howe, my interpretations of the Great Awakening, the Revolutionary clergy, and the Supreme Court's reading of the First Amendment's religious clauses amplify and revise their formulations through original research; forty-five out of sixty-four footnotes in my chapter on the Whig Calvinists cite primary sources. Furthermore, in linking up generational statistics with Eriksonian concepts to explore the Great Awakening, in applying sociological sect typology to the abolitionists, in comparing Black Muslims with Mormons, and in using and criticizing Tocqueville's theory of political religion, for example, my book follows in nobody's footsteps. I would welcome criticism of any of these interpretations, but Howe has ignored them all in a dismissive denigration that never comes to terms

with the fact that my book is organized "in dialogue with Tocqueville," as its rationale. Even on small matters Howe is not a scrupulous reader, accusing me of omitting the Transcendentalists, even though my index cites seven references to them. In all objectivity, not to mention gloomy irritation, is it unreasonable to expect more rigor and fair-mindedness than this from an AHR review?

CUSHING STROUT Cornell University

PROFESSOR HOWE REPLIES:

My review criticized Professor Strout's latest book for lack of originality, remarking that it recapitulates the writings of others too much. The first dozen pages, for example, discuss nine secondary authorities. Even the "Calvinist Whigs" chapter, where Strout shows familiarity with the sources, is cast principally as a commentary upon Heimert. Elsewhere Strout repeats existing literature too uncritically, as in his disparaging treatment of the women's suffrage movement and progressivism in general. I also pointed out the book's erratic coverage. Why are we told about the Protestant clergy's support for World War I-via a summary of a forty-year-old monograph—but not about the churches' stands on war in 1812, 1846, or 1898? As for American Transcendentalism (no "small matter") the "seven references" to it are all in passing. Strout should either have addressed the movement directly or made clear why he did not.

Professor Strout's letter offers four examples to show his originality, but only the application of sect typology to abolitionism lends real support to his defense. The Great Awakening has been related to Eriksonian psychology by Richard Bushman (1969), Philip Greven (1972), and Gerald Moran (1973). The parallel between Mormons and Black Muslims is only briefly stated and not pursued. And how can Strout possibly claim originality for engaging in a "dialogue" with Tocqueville?

I respect Cushing Strout and feel sorry about his present mood of "gloomy irritation." His previous writings have set a high standard, by which his latest one suffers.

DANIEL WALKER HOWE University of California, Los Angeles

Recent Deaths

Professor Emeritus Marshall W. Baldwin, who died July 3 in Roosevelt Hospital, New York, was a distinguished authority on medieval European history. During nearly forty years at New York University he was a steadily productive scholar, an exceptionally effective teacher, and a friend and associate whose singular modesty and sweetness of character subtly but profoundly influenced all who had the privilege of knowing him. He was born on March 30, 1903, in New Haven, Connecticut, to Charles Sears Baldwin, professor of English successively at Yale University and Barnard College, and Gratia Eaton Baldwin, an authority on Dante.

Upon graduation from Kent School, Marshall Baldwin entered Columbia College in 1920 from which he obtained his B.A. degree and election to Phi Beta Kappa in 1924. Spare and athletic, he had spent his summers boating, swimming, and winning tennis trophies. He was oarsman with a winning crew during a period of study at Cambridge University. From Princeton University he received his Ph.D. degree in 1934.

Thereafter, neither the crisis of war nor personal tragedy interrupted scholarly production. Contributions to symposia, scholarly journals, and encyclopedias were accompanied by the regular publication of major works or volumes in collaboration with other scholars, such as his coeditorship with Kenneth Setton and contribution to the five-volume Pennsylvania History of the Crusades (1955) and, with Carlton J. H. Hayes and Charles Cole, in A History of Western Civilization (1949). In 1940-41 Baldwin served a term as president of the American Catholic Historical Association.

Although from infancy Marshall Baldwin's environment was that of college and university, his interests were in no sense narrow or confined to scholarship. In response to a questionnaire he listed his hobbies as bird watching and carpentry, but his major love was music. He played the piano, violin, viola, and French horn and sang in the faculty glee club, mastering each new instrument as its lack made itself felt in either the University Heights Symphony or, later on, in the

Bronx Symphony and Bronx Opera orchestras. In retirement, during the last spring season of his life, he performed with both the latter organizations, continued to enjoy a daily swim from his home on City Island, and just before entering Roosevelt Hospital sent off a final scholarly work to the Princeton University Press.

JOSEPH REITHER
New York University

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE died on May 14, 1975. He was born on December 27, 1883, in Franklin County in Virginia, where his father was a miller. Although he attended county schools, his early education was largely informal. He entered Washington Christian College in 1904 apparently with the intention of becoming a Campbellite clergyman, an intention that he carried out for a number of years. After receiving a bachelor's degree in 1906, he entered the Johns Hopkins University to study history. In 1909 he received the degree of doctor of philosophy with a dissertation entitled, "England and the French Revolution, 1789–1797."

In the same year, Laprade was appointed instructor at Trinity College in Durham, North Carolina. He was probably the first full-time teacher of European history in North Carolina and made a reputation with innumerable undergraduates as an inspiring lecturer. When Trinity College became Duke University in 1924, he introduced a graduate seminar that required a research paper more demanding, the student's thought, than a master's thesis. Although denying any philosophy of history, Laprade believed that history could bring perspective to contemporary problems. He thus wrote articles on topical subjects, served as a "four-minute man" in local theaters during the First World War, and taught a special course designed to give newly drafted doughboys some idea of what that war was all about.

At Trinity College and then at Duke University, Laprade served in several administrative capacities. He was active on committees and worked with the departmental chairman of many years, William K. Boyd, and then as chairman himself from 1938 to 1953, to build up the history department from a faculty of two or three prior to 1920 to one of more than twenty in 1953. He was an editor of the Trinity College and Duke University Press from its beginning in 1922 to 1926 and then was acting director of the press from 1944 to 1956, while also serving as managing editor of the South Atlantic Quarterly.

Laprade's scholarly reputation rested upon studies of eighteenth-century England-articles in leading professional journals and four books: England and the French Revolution (1909); an edition of The Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson, 1774-1784 (1922); British History for American Students (1926); and Public Opinion and Politics in Eighteenth Century England to the Fall of Walpole (1936). Laprade never thought that history was easy to understand, and both his literary style and his argument reflected the lack of pattern that he tried to explain to his students. Yet his conclusions helped reshape the interpretation of English history and, according to Herbert Butterfield, were of "strategic importance" before "the emergence of the Namier school."

In the 1930s Laprade became active in the American Association of University Professors. He was chairman of Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure from 1937 to 1942 and was then elected president of the association. In 1948 he again became chairman of Committee A, a position he held through the McCarthy era until 1953. Over the years his annual reports reflected a faith in the principles that freedom in an academic institution was an "indispensable condition" for seeking truth and that freedom could not "be maintained without security of tenure."

After "retiring" in 1953 Laprade continued to edit the South Atlantic Quarterly for four years and to read, speak, and write. He completed three booklength manuscripts with the intention, if they should not be published, of leaving them in his papers. His wife, Nancy Hamilton Calfee, whom he had married in 1913, died in 1968. On March 4, 1975, he was taken to Duke hospital with pneumonia. On April :2, during the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary, Duke University awarded him the honorary degree of doctor of literature. His only child, Nancy Laprade Hamilton, represented him on that occasion. Laprade interpreted this honor as a recognition of those members of the faculty of Trinity College who had helped transform that small college into an internationally respected university.

RICHARD L. WATSON

Duke University

GERHARD MASUR, professor of history emeritus at Sweet Briar College, died suddenly in Lynchburg, Virginia, on June 21, 1975, in his seventy-fifth year. Born in Berlin in 1901, Professor Masur studied with Friedrich Meinecke at the University of Berlin, where he received his Ph.D. summa cum laude in 1925. While teaching at that university in 1935 he left Germany for Switzerland. From there he went to Bogotá in 1936. While adviser to the commissioner of education in Colombia he produced his great biography of Simón Bolívar, which was published in English by the University of New Mexico Press in 1948; a German edition appeared in Constance, Switzerland, in 1949. Meanwhile Masur had come to the United States in 1946 and was appointed professor of history at Sweet Briar College in 1947, where he taught until 1966 when he resigned to accept an appointment at the University of California, Berkeley.

In addition to his definitive biography of Bolívar, Masur wrote several other notable books. Among them are his dissertation on Julius Stahl; Prophets of Yesterday: Studies in European Culture, 1890-1914 (1961); and Imperial Berlin (1971), commissioned by the Berlin Historische Kommission. He is also well remembered for his many articles and his papers delivered at meetings of historians in both the United States and Germany. At the time of his death he was working enthusiastically on another volume in European culture to be the sequel to Prophets of Yesterday. A lively thinker and writer, a fascinating teacher, and a good and loyal colleague and friend, Gerhard Masur will be greatly missed by his many students, colleagues, and friends throughout the United States and Europe. He is survived by his wife, Helen Gaylord Masur.

> LYSBETH W. MUNCY Sweet Briar College

EARL SWISHER, professor emeritus of the University of Colorado, Boulder, who died on June 5, 1975, belonged to the pioneer generation of American academic specialists on China. He was a student at Lingnan University at Canton in 1924 in time to interview Dr. Sun Yat-sen as a young American journalist, and he also met Chiang Kaishek and Mao Tse-tung. He spent several years studying in Peking as well as teaching at Lingnan and later at the Academia Sinica on Taiwan, where he represented the Asia Foundation for two years. During World War II he served with the marines in the Pacific. His Harvard Ph.D. dissertation of 1938, published as an AAS monograph, China's Management of the American Barbarians, made available a body of translated docu-

Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the AHR between July 15 and October 1, 1975. Books that will be reviewed are not listed, but listing does not preclude subsequent review.

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ASHE, GEOFFREY, et al. (eds.). The Quest for America. New

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BOYNTON, G. R., and KIM, CHONG LIM (eds.). Legislative Systems in Developing Countries. Publications of the Consortium for Comparative Legislative Studies. Durham,

N.C.: Duke University Press. 1975. Pp. 286. \$11.75. BRAIVE, GASTON, and LORY, JACQUES (eds.). L'église et l'état à l'époque contemporaine: Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Mgr Alois Simon. Publications des facultés Universitaires Saint-Louis, no. 3. Brussels: Facultés universitaires Saint-Louis. 1975. Pp. 612.

CACCAMO, DOMENICO. Eretici Italiani in Moravia, Polonia,

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DENHARDT, ROBERT M. The Horse of the Americas. New ed., rev. and enlarged. Norman: University of Oklahoma

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DOBSON, E. J. Moralities on the Gospels: A New Source of Ancrene Wisse. New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford.

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EAST, W. GORDON, and PRESCOTT, J. R. v. Our Fragmented
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GOODALL, VANNE (ed.). The Quest for Man. Preface by SIR JULIAN HUXLEY. New York: Praeger. 1975. Pp. 240.

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MITCHELL, B. R. European Historical Statistics 1750-1970. New York: Columbia University Press. 1975. Pp. xx, 827. \$50.00.

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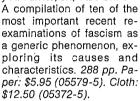
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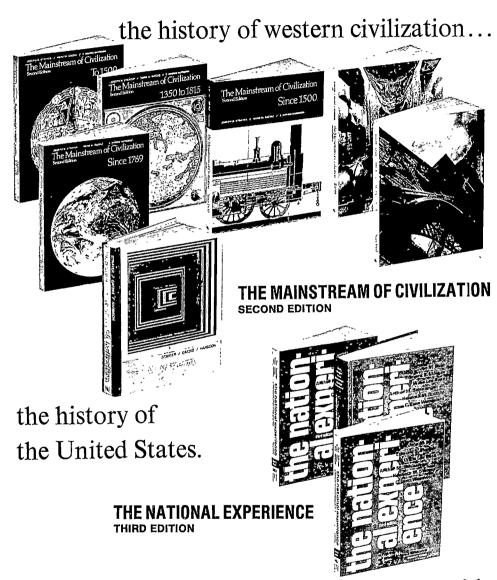
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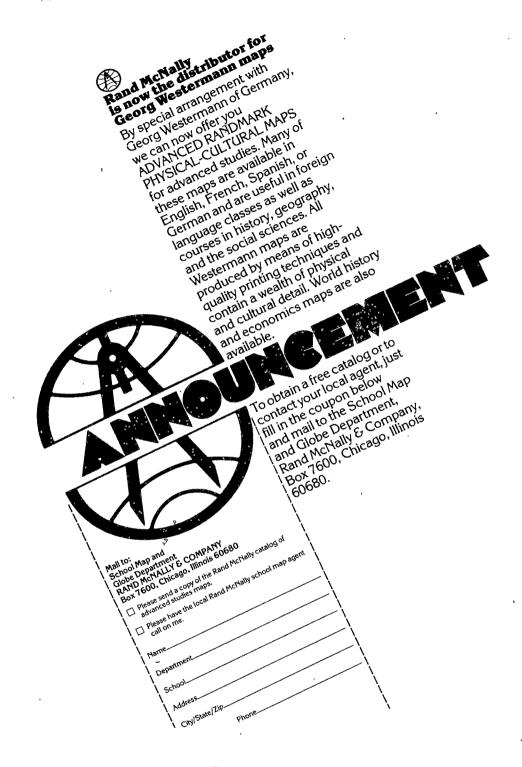
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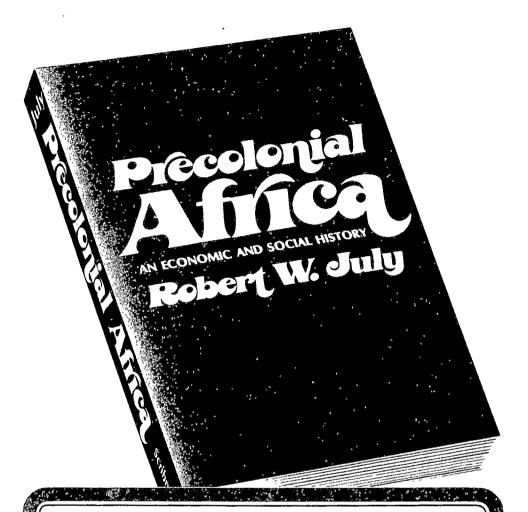
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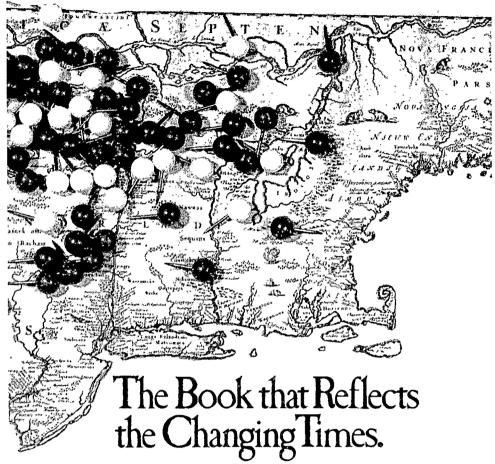
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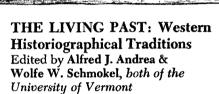
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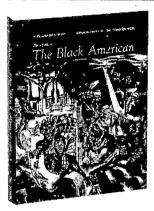
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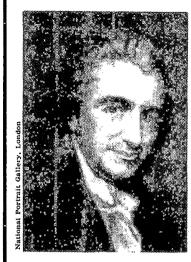
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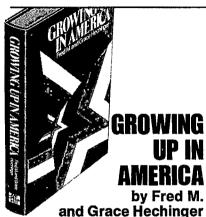
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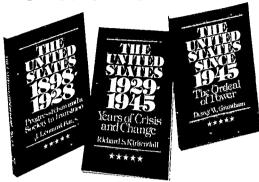
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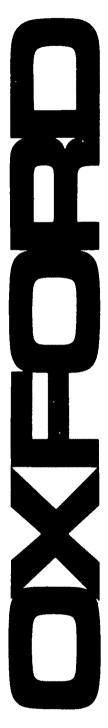
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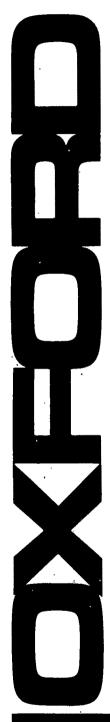
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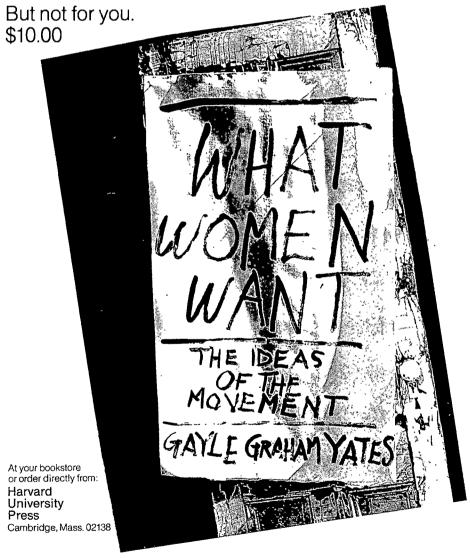
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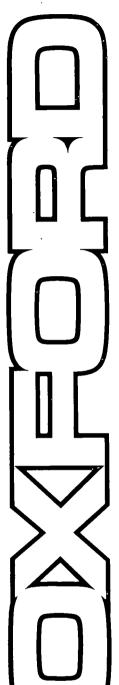
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Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach

PAULA SUTTER FICHTNER

Since the eighteenth century most Western historians have dismissed the court and family practices of European royalty as unworthy of study. Voltaire and the Encyclopedists campaigned relentlessly to shift the interest of scholars away from narrowly dynastic concerns and toward the development of societies and cultures as a whole.¹ Such work has stimulated a more pluralistic view of the forces at work in historical processes, thereby minimizing the significance of rulers and their activities. To investigate "the unimportant details of battles, genealogies, and court pageantry" has been to confess intellectual mediocrity, lack of scholarly integrity, or both.² Accounts of sovereign houses have been largely uncritical, particularly when conducted under official or familial auspices. At least one writer has seen them as pandering to the megalomania of a public that likes to imagine itself in the places of kings and queens.³

It is therefore not surprising that historians have given little sustained attention to the customs of royalty. Such has been the fate, for example, of dynastic marriage. Indeed, the indifference of a modern researcher to this institution might have received acclaim from colleagues in the sixteenth century. In an age which witnessed the creation of that spectacular matrimonial conglomerate, the Habsburg Empire, some observers denied that such royal intermarriage served any useful and serious purpose at all. Leading humanists found their moral sensibilities offended by the practice and may

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John Brumfitt, Voltaire Historian (Oxford, 1958), 105; Eberhard Weis, Geschichtsschreibung und Staatsauffassung in der französischen Encyclopédie (Wiesbaden, 1956), 69, 73, 77. Cf. Nelly Noémi Schargo, History in the Encyclopédie (New York, 1946), 176-77; Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "Politics and History in the Age of the Enlightenment," Journal of Politics, 5 (1943): 366; R. N. Stromberg, "History in the Eighteenth Century," Journal of the History of Ideas, 12 (1951): 301; Günther Pflug, "Die Entwicklung der historischen Methode im 18. Jahrhundert," Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte, 28 (1954): 455-56.

² John Brumfitt, introd. to Voltaire, The Age of Louis XIV and Other Selected Writings (New York, 1963),

³ Philip Bagby, Culture and History (London, 1958), 44-45.

therefore have been unwilling to examine it in detail. Thomas More criticized the impersonal marriage arrangements of his age in his *Utopia*, and his close friend, Erasmus of Rotterdam, was even more censorious in *The Education of a Christian Prince*, which he dedicated to the future Emperor Charles V and later to his brother Ferdinand. Curiously enough, both of these young Habsburgs were the chief beneficiaries of matrimonial alliances contracted by Emperor Frederick III, their great-grandfather, and Maximilian I, their grandfather. At least in part because of these arrangements, the two youths were able to claim sovereignty over a territorial complex that ran from Hungary and Bohemia in the eastern reaches of Europe to Burgundy, Spain, and the Americas in the west.

Nevertheless, considerations both humane and political prompted Erasmus to object to the far-flung royal matches of his time. He deplored the callous treatment of the girls involved in these marriages who were frequently sent to live with total strangers in unfamiliar surroundings. His major objection to the custom, however, was that it failed in what he thought was its basic purpose—the keeping of peace. Though marital agreements often accompanied treaties that ended wars, the level of international hostility had not dropped. The Dutch humanist saw little value in an institution that, in his view, failed to accomplish its main goal. He admitted that such alliances could increase the influence of a prince but did not elaborate on this judgment, possibly because of his distaste for the entire process, possibly because such an opinion was too much a part of the conventional wisdom of his age to require explanation.

Modern historians of Renaissance diplomacy have not devoted much more effort than did Erasmus to analyzing the role of dynastic marriage in contemporary state relations.⁵ At least one writer admitted to being mystified by the institution. While he could see that in the Habsburg case succession provisions in marriage agreements led to an enormous expansion of power, such arrangements did not characterize all nuptial contracts. Searching for some other advantage in the custom and finding none, he concluded that sovereigns and their representatives thought such marriages were effective instruments of diplomacy only because they underestimated their opponents!⁶

However, such casualness toward dynastic marriage on the part of modern writers, not to mention Erasmus's belittling of its diplomatic significance, is wholly inconsistent with the general attitude of sixteenth-century rulers who pursued these alliances avidly. Unquestionably, human motivation is not as uniform as many historians appear to believe. Nevertheless, a disturbing

⁴ Thomas More, Utopia, in The Complete Works of Thomas More, ed. Richard Sylvester (New Haven, 1965), 4: 187, 189, 478, 480; Erasmus, The Education of a Christian Prince, tr. Lester K. Born (New York, 1968), 242-

<sup>43.

&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See, for example, R. A. de Maulde-la Clavière, La Diplomatie au temps de Machiavel (1892-93; rpt., Geneva, 1970), 1: 412; Gaston Zeller, Les Temps modernes de Christoph Colomb à Cromwell, vol. 2 of Pierre Renouvin, ed., Histoire des relations internationales (Paris, 1953), 25; Garrett Mattingly, Renaissance Diplomacy (London, 1955), 125

⁽London, 1955), 125.

6 Isaak Bernays, "Die Diplomatie um 1500," Historische Zeitschrift, 138 (1928): 11-12.

⁷ For some thoughtful observations on this point, see Robert Waelder, "Psychoanalysis and History: Application of Psychoanalysis to Historiography," in Benjamin Wolman, ed., The Psychoanalytic Inter-

anomaly appears when one finds otherwise shrewd and ruthless princes troubling themselves to conform to a custom that a sophisticated contemporary critic saw fulfilling its main purpose badly.

It is, of course, possible to find sixteenth-century Habsburg rationalizations for the practice or to infer them from a variety of situations. At a time when the family's territorial responsibilities were expanding enormously, the production of legitimate heirs was a cardinal function of dynastic marriages. A successor was a visible symbol of authority who could be used as his father's representative throughout the Habsburg possessions.8 The ruling family was popularly a more acceptable source of officials. Charles V gave voice to this attitude in 1549 when he reminded his son, the future Philip II, that it was his duty to sire offspring who would be a ready supply of royal governors and viceroys. According to the emperor, native populations were not always dependable breeding grounds for such authorities, and, while all his subjects were willing to accept princes, they did not want foreigners.9 Such unions were regarded as ways of curbing the international influence of a rival state or religious persuasion. In asking Philip II to promote a match between Archduke Charles, Ferdinand's son, and Elizabeth of England, Ferdinand predicted disaster for "our house and our family" if the match did not take place. The kings of both Denmark and France were interested in Elizabeth, thus opening the possibility that either a Protestant or a confirmed enemy of the Habsburgs might eventually rule England. 10 In an age when accurate information from abroad was at a premium, a child at a foreign court could keep one apprised of events there. Ferdinand's daughter Catherine reported to her father regularly about dealings between her husband, King Sigismund Augustus of Poland, and Muscovy without obligating her father to return information and favors as did his native Polish informants. If one were an ambitious prince with multiple territorial responsibilities, it was useful to have a wife whose private resources could be used in meeting one's commitments. Ferdinand received frequent loans from his consort, Anna of Hungary, to further his military ventures against the Turks. 11

Such rationalizations, however, are not without their weaknesses. All of the aforementioned functions of dynastic marriage, with the exception of continuing a legitimate line of succession, could have been, and sometimes had to be, realized through other means as well. Failing a large family, Charles V did in fact use "foreigners" as viceroys or governors among his subjects. For example, the Netherlander Charles de Lannoy and the Spaniards Pedro

pretation of History (New York, 1971), 8-9; Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," in Felix Gilbert and Stephen Graubard, eds., Historical Studies Today (New York, 1972), 126.

⁸ Ferdinand to Charles, June 29, 1556, in Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V, ed. Karl Lanz (Leipzig,

<sup>1844-46), 3: 705-07.

&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Karl Brandi, "Berichte und Studien zur Geschichte Karls V," pt. 2, Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, nos. 3-4 (1930): 272.

¹⁰ Ferdinand to Georg von Hellfenstein, Mar. 29, 1559, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv (hereafter HHS),

Vienna, Familienakten, carton 21, fasc. 2, fols. 48-49.

11 Catherine to Ferdinand, Aug. 19, 1563 [?], HHS, Familienkorrespondenz, ser. A, carton 1, fols. 151, 155; Bertold Picard, Das Gesandischassesen Ostmitteleuropas in der frühen Neuzeit (Graz, 1967), 154; Karl Oberleitner, "Österreichs Finanzen und Kriegswesen unter Ferdinand I," Archiv sür Kunde Österreichs Geschichtsquellen, 22 (1860): 80, 92.

Alvarez de Toledo and Ramon de Cardona served as Habsburg viceroys in Naples; a Spaniard, Juan de Vega, was in the same position in Sicily; and Spaniards were used by the emperor as viceroys in Mexico and Peru. Nor could all the children of Habsburg dynastic marriages be equally acceptable in this role. One can hardly imagine Charles employing a son of his archenemy, Francis I, as a viceroy in Italy or America, despite the union of the emperor's sister Eleanor with the French king. Informants and ambassadors probably told Ferdinand more than did his somewhat hysterical daughter about negotiations between Sigismund Augustus and the Muscovites, not to mention Polish affairs in general. Ferdinand used a wide variety of sources for loans, not just his wife; to finance his military activities. The English match did not materialize, with the result that Habsburg relations with that state had to be cultivated with other diplomatic devices. ¹²

Thus, dealing with the problem of dynastic marriage solely from the perspective of apparent or even announced rationale yields at best partial answers to our inquiry. Given the existence of viable alternatives to the practice and the frequent use of them to accomplish the ends for which matrimonial arrangements were supposedly made, one could legitimately conclude that such matches were only one among several instruments in Habsburg diplomacy and statecraft and therefore endowed with no special significance despite the extraordinary care with which they were arranged. For example, Maximilian I and Charles V's Burgundian advisers debated so long over the proper match for their charge that when Charles became king of Spain in 1516 his marital future had not yet been settled. One is impelled, therefore, to look for some structure underlying the custom of dynastic marriage which, while not ruling out any of the preceding reasons given for it, would account more completely for the importance apparently assigned to the usage by ruling houses.

To answer this question, the work of structural anthropologists and sociologists seems promisingly helpful, if only because both disciplines have analyzed extensively the institutions of kinship, marriage, and the family—all basic building blocks in dynastic politics. Claude Lévi-Strauss has observed that members of complex as well as primitive societies are frequently unable to give satisfactory explanations for their customs. ¹⁴ Others concerned with the relationship of history to anthropology have urged historians to use socioanthropological concepts as a way of illuminating the structures that may be beneath the surface of actions and events and that might possibly interconnect them. ¹⁵ Such an approach might enable us to understand the relationship of dynastic marriage and sixteenth-century Habsburg diplomacy not

Dberleitner, "Österreichs Finanzen," 80, 92; Picard, Gesandtschaftswesen Ostmitteleuropas, 53, 137.
 Karl Brandi, Kaiser Karl V.: Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches (7th ed.; Munich,

¹⁸ Karl Brandi, Kaiser Karl V.: Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches (7th cd.; Munich, 1964), 41-43.

¹⁴ Claude Lévi-Strauss, "History and Anthropology," in his Structural Anthropology, tr. Claire Jacobsen and Brooke Schoepf (New York, 1967), 19.

¹⁵ Ernst Gellner, "Our Current Sense of History," Survey, 17 (1971): 24; E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Anthropology and History," in his Essays in Social Anthropology (New York, 1963), 25, 29.

through the inadequate rationalizations of contemporaries but through the nature of the institution itself.

Having elected to go down this road, I must add one methodological note: throughout this study I have used as my chief examples the marriage arrangements concluded by Ferdinand I rather than Charles V because the former had more children, thus providing more documentary material with which to work. I have also used as basic texts not the final contracts but the betrothal agreements made by the negotiating parties. These were the arrangements that were actively concluded by the families of both bride and groom and that committed both houses to the marriage. Down to the Council of Trent, betrothal was the actual marriage contract of canon law, the act by which marriage was begun and came into being. Where appropriate, I have also cited instructions to those participating in negotiating and implementing these engagements in order to understand as clearly as possible the feelings about these practices held by those concerned.

It is clear that Ferdinand I's marriage arrangements were closely associated with alliances, peace treaties; and the maintenance of cordial diplomatic relations; and, furthermore, that he quite consciously made this connection.¹⁷ His daughters, Maria and Anna, became the brides of the dukes of Cleves and Bavaria, respectively, as part of a web of alliances through which Charles V hoped to secure the support of both rulers before embarking on the Schmalkaldic Wars. In the case of Cleves, the treaty, which included the marriage, ended a bitter territorial dispute between that prince and the Habsburgs. Sigismund Augustus of Poland agreed to marry Ferdinand's daughter Elizabeth in 1543, as part of a Polish-Habsburg alliance against the Turks and France; the monarch's second union with a Habsburg princess—Elizabeth died in 1545-took place in 1553, four years after a mutual defense pact had been signed between the king and Ferdinand. The wedding of Ferdinand's daughter Catherine and Francis II, the youthful heir in Mantua, followed a long series of mutual political and military favors exchanged between the Gonzagas and the Habsburgs. 18

The diplomatic significance of dynastic unions for the Habsburgs can be inferred from the family's general marriage pattern over the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries as well. Indeed, a close examination of this pattern and a comparison of it with other marriage systems support the

¹⁶ Rudolph Sohm, Das Recht der Eheschliessung aus dem deutschen und canonischen Recht geschichtlich entwickelt (Weimar, 1875), 115, 145.

¹⁷ Ferdinand to Georg von Hellfenstein, Jan. 24, 1559, HHS, Familienakten, carton 21, fasc. 2, fol. 5.

18 On the Habsburg difficulties in Cleves and the solution, see Paul Heidrich, Der geldrische Erbfolgestreit, 1537-1543 (Kassel, 1896), and Franz Petri, "Landschaftliche und überlandschaftliche Kräfte im habsburgisch-klevischen Ringen um Geldern und im Frieden von Venlo (1537-1543)," in Aus Geschichte und Landeskunde: Franz Steinbach zum 65. Geburtstag gewidnet (Bonn, 1960), 92-113. For the Polish alliances, see W. Pociecha, "Zygmunt (Sigismund) I," in W. F. Reddaway et al., eds., The Cambridge History of Poland (Cambridge, 1950), 1: 317, 349-51, and Hans Uebersberger, Österreich und Russland seit dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts (Vienna, 1966), 257-58, 287. On Mantua, consult Leonardo Mazzoldi, Da Ludovico Secondo a Francesco Secondo, vol. 2 of Mantova: La Storia (Mantua, 1961), 289-319, passim.

conclusion that it was diplomatic interests, above all, which both dictated Habsburg nuptial arrangements and served to differentiate them from those of their lesser contemporaries.

The Austrian dynasty's marriages were a variation upon the practice of preferential marriage common to many cultures throughout the world—and by no means exclusively confined to royalty. In such systems, matches are made between two people of a specific status, and, whether they are conceived as such or not, they tend to operate as alliances between the groups involved in the marriage. Looked at either in a cross-cultural perspective or within the framework of contemporary Austrian marital customs, the Habsburg system was characterized by a strikingly diminished degree of randomness over an extended period of time. In contrast to the Ramah Navaho preferential marriage, for example, where marital alliances tend to disperse throughout the whole group over three or four generations, and unlike their Austrian subjects, noble and non-noble alike, whose unions were also comparatively haphazard, the Habsburgs were remarkably limited in their selection of partners even given the restricted class from which their choices could be made.¹⁹

Information on the Austrian peasantry and petty bourgeoisie for the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries is difficult to obtain, and where it is available, it is frequently incomplete. The lower one moves down the social scale, the more irregular the reporting of family names of wives becomes. However, out of the seventeen marriages recorded with family names of both partners in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the Styrian peasant family of Hollinger in Weng, no union took place between them and any other single family more than once.20 The Kurz family, millers in Upper Austria, displayed the same lack of selectivity. Fourteen out of twenty-one marriages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries-for which names of both partners are available-indicate there were no instances of Kurz intermarriage with another family more than once. 21 As one moves into the ranks of the petty nobility, free knights, and ennobled civil officials, the tendency of families to marry into one another repeatedly begins to appear. Of the fourteen houses examined—reporting a total of 311 unions during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries—seventeen marriages, or five per cent, involved one family marrying into another more than once.²² Of houses that produced counts, princes, and Habsburg field marshals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the Katzianers, Cobenzls, Sauers, and the

Castelcorno," *ibid.*, 21 (1911): 5-75; Anton von Pantz, "Die Gewerken im Bannkreise des steirischen Erzberges," *ibid.*, 27-28 (1917-18): 1-396. Percentages are to the nearest round number.

¹⁹ Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Statistical Marriage Preferences of the Ramah Navaho," American Anthropologist, 61 (1959): 474, 489.

²⁰ Friedrich Fiedler, "Bauern-Adel," Jahrbuch der k.k. heraldischen Gesellschaft "Adler," n.s. 18 (1908): 97-110.

²¹ Gerhard Gessner, ed., Österreichische Familienarchiv (Neustadt an der Aich, 1959-69), 3: 95-103.

²² Ibid., 1: 216-20 and 3: 54-55, 153-58; Genealogisches Taschenbuch der adeligen Häuser (Brünn, 1893), 18: 283-90; Albert Schlippenbach. "Die Praunfalk'sche Familien-Bibel," Jahrbuch "Adler," n.s. 10 (1900): 66-78; Sigmund Kripp, "Die Kripp von Freudeneck und ihre Familienchronik," ibid., 121-92, and "Die Kripp von Prunberg," ibid., 22 (1912): 1-150; Karl Ausserer, "Die Herren von Schloss und Gericht

numerous lines of the Lambergs and Puchheims, the tendency toward repeated intermarriage among a restricted number of families becomes somewhat more marked. Out of 545 marriages reported for these names, seventy-two, or thirteen per cent, were marriages between the same two families beyond a single generation.²³

In ruling dynasties, however, the percentage of repetition is genuinely striking. Marrying into their own cadet lines as well as outside of them, the Saxon Wettins, with fifty marriages from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, chose the same families and their associated secondary members forty-two times, or eighty-four per cent of their total marriages. Following the same pattern, the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg, from about the middle of the fifteenth to the close of the seventeenth centuries, married into the same families fifty-one times, or seventy-two per cent of their seventy marriages. The Austrian Habsburgs show the same heightened selectivity. Of the fifty-seven marriages concluded by the dynasty from the reign of Frederick III through that of Leopold I—again roughly from the middle of the fifteenth century through the end of the seventeenth—fortytwo, or seventy-three per cent, took place with the ruling houses of Portugal, Spain, Mantua, Tuscany, France, Poland, and Bavaria. Of these, twenty-four unions, or forty-two per cent, were with the sovereign houses of Poland, Spain, and Bavaria. If one compares the percentage of marital repetition shown by these three ruling houses with that of those three Austrian noble families found in this study to display the highest percentage of the same pattern, the difference between the two groups is still very wide.24

Such a narrow range of choice over several generations exhibited by the Habsburgs—and their royal colleagues—suggests that their marriage policies were shaped by considerations other than those of simple preferential association within a select group. Genealogical tables show that from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries the Austrian dynasty had more Polish marriages than French ones and no unions with England or with German ruling houses other than the Wittelsbachs, even when all those sovereigns were Catholic. Turning back to the Middle Ages for a moment, one finds that there were no Habsburg marriages into the Portuguese royal family from the thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth and, down to the end of the

²³ Johann Baptist Witting, "Beiträge zur Genealogie des krainischen Adels," *Jahrbuch* "Adler," n.s. 4 (1894): 89-146 and n.s. 5-6 (1895-96): 162-264.

²⁴ Festschrist zur 800jährigen Jubelseier des Hauses Wettin (Dresden, 1889), 36-41; Julius Grossman, Genealogie des Gesamthauses Hohenzollern (Berlin, 1905), 13-32; Michel Dugast Rouillé, Les Maisons Souveraines de l'Autriche (n.p., 1967), 79-135; Witting, "Beiträge zur Genealogie des krainischen Adels," Jahrbuch "Adler," n.s. 4 (1894): 119-24 and 5-6 (1895-96): 177-82, 256-60. It is perhaps of some interest to note in passing that such patterns may not be characteristic of Germanic areas alone. With a total of thirty marriages from approximately 1400 to 1589, the Valois kings of France married into the same families twenty-four times, or eighty per cent of their total number of unions. Over a similar period of time, this contrasts sharply with the practices of influential and important noble houses such as the d'Albrets and the de Rohans, who were pairs, or even the Bourbons as princes of the blood. Out of fifty marriages concluded by these three houses, nineteen, or thirty-two per cent, represented repeated intermarriage into the same families. W. K. Prinz von Isenburg, Stammtaseln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten (Marburg, 1953), vol. 2, tables 16, 17; and de la Chenay-Desbois et Badier, Dictionnaire de la Noblesse de la France (3d ed.; Paris, 1866), vol. 1, cols. 279-81; vol. 3, cols. 753-58; vol. 8, cols. 500-04.

fifteenth, none with the heirs of the various Spanish Crowns or their sibs. In view of the aforementioned association of these marriages with treaties: of peace and friendship, one can argue that the consistency of Habsburg marital targets derived from the constancy of their diplomatic spheres of interest in which

Table I. The Frequency of Intermarriage among Austrian Upper Nobility as Compared with German Sovereign Dynasties

	Family	Number of Marriages	Number of Repeated Intermarriages	Percentage	Average Percentage
	Katzianer	42	8	19	
Upper Nobility .	Lamberg (princely)	55	12	22 -	
	Sauer	40	9	23	
	Total	137	29		22
	Wettin	50	42	84	
Sovereign	Hohenzollern	70	51	72	
Dynasties	Habsburg	57	42	73	
	Total	. 177	135		76

Poland, Bavaria, and Spain played major roles over an extended period of time, and England and the other German states more minor ones. Conversely, the absence of such a high degree of repeated intermarriage among other orders of society in early modern Austria signals the lack of such concerns on the part of these groups. Having established that Habsburg dynastic marriages were matters of state to the degree that the family's entire preferential range was prescribed by them, one is thus logically returned to the question of what it was in marriage that made it an instrument of international relations. It is here that the work of the anthropologists is especially suggestive.

Taking their 'departure from Marcel Mauss's seminal Essai sur le don (1906), Lévi-Strauss and Robin Fox have concluded that such marital unions are one of the ways in which the parties to an agreement express, through mutual exchange of gifts, the rule of reciprocity that lies beneath all alliances. Without a foundation in joint obligation, treaties can be neither made nor maintained. Fox contends, although briefly, that this process is operative in international relations as well as in familial and tribal ones. The origins of the use of marriage to express these mutual commitments are obscure. One suggestion is that primitive tribes may have associated tribal exogamy with more general alliances because of the dependence of these groups upon one another for the marriage partners without which neither could have survived. Fox asserts that the royal dynastic alliances of Europe are a continuation of this practice, though he does not present evidence to support this claim. In any case, the observance of local exogamy among the warriors who would

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later become Europe's aristocracy and royalty seems to have been customary by the tenth century if not earlier.25

The significant element in this process of reciprocal exchange is less the marriage itself than the giving and accepting of gifts by which both sides incur obligations to one another. Mauss described this system among primitive tribes as consisting of the obligation to give, the obligation to receive, and the obligation to return.²⁶ The marriage is both the setting for the exchange and part of the act of exchange itself. In Germanic custom these prestations were elaborations of the original bride price paid by the groom and various contributions to the marriage by the girl's father. Though there seems to have been some fusion of these elements in the marriages Ferdinand arranged for his children, by and large the terms for these gifts retained their original and distinctive meanings. The bride brought with her into the marriage a Heiratsgut for the use of her husband or his family, a Heimsteuer, a gift by the bride's father directly to her in return for her renunciation of any claims she had to her father's estate, and the Besserung, an increment upon the Heimsteuer. Where the latter two gifts are mentioned in the marital unions concluded by Ferdinand, they are treated as one donation.²⁷

The gifts of the groom and his family were also three in number: the Wiederlegung, at first given either to the bride or her family, but by the sixteenth century only to the bride; the Wittum, presented by the husband from his family territories or possessions to the bride for her maintenance throughout her life; and the Morgengabe, paid upon consummation of the marriage by the husband to his wife in reward for her virginity. To these elements were added the person of the bride herself, her capacity to bear potential heirs, and promises on the part of both bride and groom that limited or rullified any claims each could make on the territories of their respective inlaws.28 On an international level this pattern of gift, countergift, and reciprocal countergift appears in the exchange of marriage letters, a Heiratsbrief, sent by the heads of the two states whose children were involved in the marriage and a Schuldbrief sent subsequently by the father of the bride alone.²⁹ Table 2 illustrates the system.

²⁶Marcel Mauss, The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies, tr. Ian Cunnison (London, 1969); Claude Lévi-Strauss, Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté (Paris, 1949), 185, 592, 594; Robin Fox, Kinship and Marriage: An Anthropological Perspective (Harmondsworth, 1967), 202-03, 176, 178-79; Robert Anderson, Traditional Europe: A Study in Anthropology and History (Belmont, Calif., 1971), 84.

²⁶ Mauss, Gift, 18, 37; see also Lévi-Strauss, Structures élémentaires, 81.

²⁷ Rudolf Huebner, A History of German Private Law, tr. F. S. Philbrick (Boston, 1918), 623-26. The following sets of betrothal documents have been used in this analysis: "Vermahlung der Erzherzogin Anna . . . mit Herzog Albrecht von Bayern" (hereafter "Anna . . . Albrecht"), HHS, Familienakten, carton 20, fols. 29–33, 39, 47–50; "... Vermahlung Erzherzogin Maria mit Herzog Wilhelm von Cleves" (hereafter "Maria ... Wilhelm"), *ibid.*, fols. 1–11, 25–31, 35–41; "... Heyrathstractats zwischen Catharina ... und Franciscum Herzogen zu Mantua" (hereafter "Catharina ... Franciscum"), *ibid.*, fols. 2–5, 8, 11-12, 19, 23-24, 31-32; ". . . Catharina mit Konig Sigismund August [sic] von Polen" (hereaster "Catharina . . . Sigismund August"), *ibid.*, fols. 4, 14, 45-51, 55.

28 On the role of the bride in marital exchange, see J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, *Lévi-Strauss's Theory on*

Kinship and Marriage (Leiden, 1952), 11.

²⁹ A separate Schuldbrief is missing from the negotiations for the marriage of Catherine and Sigismund Augustus. Rather, it is incorporated into the end of the Heiralsbrief. "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fal. 50.

Table 2. The Pattern of Gift, Countergift, and Reciprocal Countergift a =father of bride b =bride

	ľ			£.		ئ		f
	State*	a and d	$a \rightarrow d$	Herratsbrief	$d{\rightarrow}a$	Heiratsbrief	p←p	Schuldbrief
ial	ilial	b and d	$p \leftarrow q$, potential heirs	. <i>q</i> ← <i>p</i>	Wittum	$p \leftarrow q$	promise to renounce Wittum on remarriage
c = groom $d = groom's family$	c = groom $d = groom's family$ $Familial$	a and c	<i>a</i> → <i>c</i>	bride	<i>p</i> ←2	confirmation of bride's renunciation of rights in paternal estate		usufruct of Heiratsgut
a = father of bride $b = $ bride		b and c	9←-2	usufruct of Wiederlegung	9→6	virginity	<i>q</i> ←2	Morgengabe
Perso	a and b	<i>q</i> ← <i>p</i> .	Heiratsgut	<i>b</i> → <i>q</i>	renunciation of immediate rights in paternal estate	$a \rightarrow b$	Heimsteuer and Besserung	
				Gift		Countergift		Kecıprocal Countergift

governments are identical. In Ferdinand's negotiations the groom, rather than representatives of his house, frequently directed his own marital affairs. In such situations his position was equivalent to Ferdinand's, that is, chief political figure in his lands as well as head of his dynasty. *Since all the states studied here are dynastic ones, heads of sovereign families and heads of

The marriages Ferdinand negotiated for his daughters in Cleves and Bavaria followed this pattern exactly with the exception that the term Wittum seems to have dropped out of use to be replaced by Widemsitz. In the Polish and Mantuan agreements there is no mention of a Heimsteuer and Besserung, only of a Heiratsgut, or dos as it is called in the Mantuan documents, which are in Latin. However, whether dealing in terms of a Heiratsgut, Heimsteuer, and Besserung, or merely a Heiratsgut, the total amount of money involved on Ferdinand's part was 100,000 gulden. One can only assume that since the brides and their husbands in all four cases were expected to renounce any territorial claims in the Habsburg lands as long as there were no male heirs to these, the enlargement of the Heiratsgut in the cases of Poland and Mantua could only have been due to the silent addition of the Heimsteuer and Besserung. The Mantuan agreement, concluded in the minorities of both bride and groom and therefore unusually sketchy, unfortunately makes no mention of the fate of the dos. Since, however, Ferdinand said that this gift served the same function as did the Heiratsgut in the Polish marriage, which follows the paradigm closely, one can justifiably conclude that the Mantuan union did so as well.30

The closeness with which the elements a, b, c, and d in table 2 interlock with one another through their various exchange relationships can perhaps be better appreciated by examining table 3.

Table 3. The Interlocking of Relationships Symbolized by the Exchange of Gifts

	= father of the = bride		= groom = groom's fa	mily
	a	ь	с	d
a		X	X	X
ь	X	***************************************	X	X
с	X	X		*
d	X	X		

^{*} The groom was either actual or potential head of the state and lands of his family in all Ferdinand's marital negotiations.

In view of Lévi-Strauss's remarks about peoples' lack of awareness of the underlying structure of their own customs, it is not surprising that Ferdinand was oblivious to the levels upon which this exchange of gifts took place. He seemed, however, to sense clearly the gift and obligatory response pattern underlying these agreements. In betrothing his daughter Anna to the future Albrecht V of Bavaria, he indicated unambiguously that he understood the *Wiederlegung* to be a response to his own contributions by requesting that Duke William, who was negotiating in Albrecht's name, present a sum that

³⁰ Ibid., fol. 46.

exactly matched Ferdinand's offer.³¹ An even more compelling illustration of the understanding that obligatory returns were entailed in these gifts appears in Ferdinand's private instructions to his second son, also Ferdinand by name, who represented his house at the nuptials between his sister Catherine and Francis II, duke of Mantua. The father directed the young man to present the duke's advisers with the letter or *Schuldbrief* in which Ferdinand obligated himself and his heirs to pay Catherine's wedding gift. For this promise he asked his son to demand a renunciation from Catherine of any hereditary rights in the Habsburg lands and recognition of such a renunciation from Francis. He noted that the dukes of Cleves and Bavaria had done this in similar circumstances.³²

In support of his contention that this exchange of gifts was done in a spirit of cooperation rather than in order to secure economic advantage, Lévi-Strauss remarks that the contributions offered by both sides were frequently equal. Thus the parties involved in negotiations would leave them no richer than they were before. Though one cannot deny that there was a strong element of cold calculation in Ferdinand's agreements, this pattern of matching prestations exactly, or at least balancing off disadvantages, emerges from them as well. The most obvious instance of this is in the relationship of the Heiratsgut on the one hand and the Wiederlegung on the other. Both sides usually committed themselves to giving one another the same amount of money—50,000 to 100,000 gulden. That the formalities of this ritual of exchange could also encompass political advantage is well illustrated by Ferdinand's willingness to absolve Elizabeth I of England from paying her own dowry if she would only agree that his son, Archduke Charles, could succeed to the English throne upon her death. A

For all this careful balancing and counterbalancing of gifts, however, it would appear from a superficial examination of these agreements that the groom and his family would eventually have paid far more into the marriage than the relatives of his wife. Depending on the longevity of the bride, the territories and incomes assigned for her support in her husband's lands could have brought her exceptionally large sums of money. In a couple of instances

^{31 &}quot;Und die obangezaigten fünffizig tausendt gulden heuratguet, söllen and wellen wir Herzog Wilhelm, anstat und in Namen obbemeltes unsers Sones Herzog Albrechten, mit funfzig [sic] tausendt gulden reinish . . . weerung widerlegen." "Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 30. A similar sense of obligatory response appears in a passage of an agreement negotiated by Granvelle, Charles V's secretary of state, betrothing Ferdinand's daughter Catherine to Duke Francis II of Mantua: "Quod dotem recipiendo prefatus . . . Franciscus dux eam assignabit in emptionem ditionum seu alioris certoris imobilium honoris in ducatu Mantue." "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 3.

³² "Inen [Francis II's advisers] auch damit der Ro. Khun. Mt. verfertigte obligation umb das heiratguet zuestellen, und vleiss furwennden soliche renunctiation [sic] gegen beruerter obligation gleich yezo zuerlangen denmassen dann baide fursstin von Baiern und Julich mit gunnst, willen und ratification zuer Eegemahl auf dergleichen Schuldtbrief, auch alsbaldt nach beschehnem beischlaff erstattet haben." Ferdinand's instructions to Archduke Ferdinand, Sept. 14, 1549, in "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 12. For the Schuldbrief and the letters of renunciation, see ibid., fols. 8, 23–24.

³³ Lévi-Strauss, Structures élémentaires, 68. For further observations of mutual canceling of disadvantages in marriage negotiations, see Walter Goode, "Comment on Marriage," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 3 (1961): 209.

³⁴ A dote nihil erit agendum si filio nostro in regno succendendi spes facta fuerit." Ferdinand to Georg von Hellfenstein, Oct. 16, 1559, HHS, Familienakten, carton 21, fasc. 3, fol. 75.

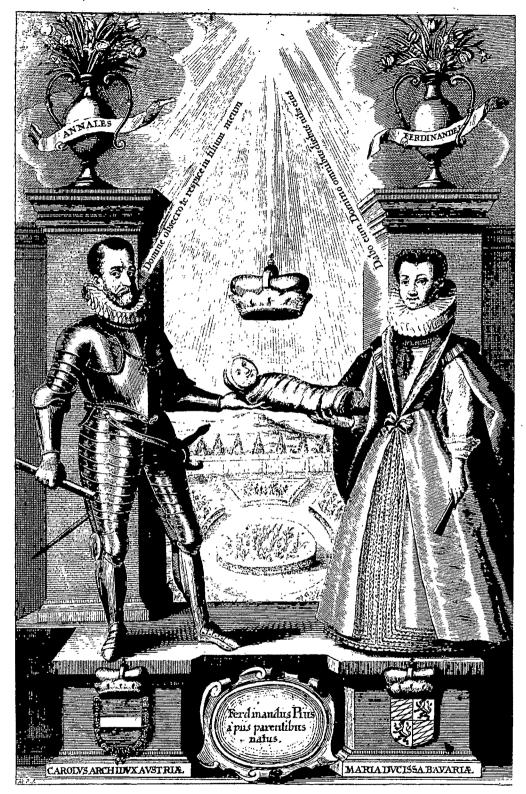


Fig. 1. A potential gift becomes a real one. Frontispiece from Franz Christoph Khevenhueller, Annales Ferdinandei oder wahrhaffte Beschreibung Kaeysers Ferdinandi des Andern (Leipzig, 1721–23). Courtesy New York Public Library.

studied, the groom's family promised to provide the woman with lands and privileges, the total value of which approximated that of all the monetary gifts contributed by both families.35 Upon close study, however, this seeming imbalance to the disadvantage of the groom and his family may not have been that at all. Lévi-Strauss has observed that countergifts may far exceed the original prestations, thus opening up the possibility of even greater returns to come.³⁶ Two opportunities for augmented future gifts come to mind in the case of Ferdinand's negotiations for his daughters. If the groom were fortunate, his bride would be able to realize the potential she brought with her into the marriage and provide him and his house with future heirs. This was a condition of incalculable importance in view of the hereditary character of rule in all the states to which Ferdinand allied his daughters. If the husband were doubly lucky, however, and the Habsburg male line should die out, his wife would have a claim to her father's patrimony according to all the agreements Ferdinand formulated for his daughters.³⁷

Thus the betrothals arranged by Ferdinand strictly followed the pattern of reciprocal gift giving noted by anthropologists in such situations and were closely associated with alliances or peace treaties as well. It is of crucial importance for this argument to note that in the case of one Habsburg marriage where Ferdinand was not interested in encouraging political or military alliance, the element of bifamilial exchange by means of the union was absent. In 1557 Ferdinand's son, Archduke Ferdinand, secretly wed Philippina Welser, daughter of the Augsburg merchant patrician. Stunned to hear that the young prince had taken a wife so beneath his status, Ferdinand, as head of his house, forced the couple to sign a document ex post facto in 1561 whereby they begged his forgiveness and agreed that none of their children would have any rights in the Habsburg patrimony unless the male line should die out. Ferdinand gave nothing to the couple other than the promise of some income for their offspring. Most significant, no mention was made of any contribution to the pair from the Welsers.38

But, like Erasmus, one could question the importance or weight of such gestures of reciprocal obligation in treaties of peace and friendship in view of the frequency with which these collapsed in the sixteenth century. The best examples of this in Ferdinand's case are the results of his alliances with Poland. The first of these, which included a marriage agreement betrothing Ferdinand's daughter Elizabeth to Prince Sigismund Augustus, dissolved acrimoniously in 1545. The occasion for the disagreement was the refusal of the Habsburgs, who as Holy Roman emperors technically controlled Milan as a fief, to recognize the hereditary rights claimed by the Polish queen, Bona Sforza, in the Italian city of her origin. Ferdinand's consistently unfriendly attitude toward Bona and King Sigismund I's daughter Isabella, who was the

^{35 &}quot;Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 7; "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fols. 46-47.

³⁸ Franz Ferdinand von Bucholtz, Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands I (Vienna, 1831-38), 9: 735-40.

widow of the Habsburg rival for the Hungarian Crown, John Zapolya, also heightened the discord. Such treatment of his mother and sister, however, did not prevent Sigismund Augustus, when he came to power, from re-establishing a treaty with the Habsburgs when he saw that it was to his advantage to do so. His first and second wives having died, he was able to include yet another marriage alliance in the pact.³⁹

On the surface of this situation one would probably concur with Erasmus that dynastic marriages not only failed to keep peace but positively exacerbated hostilities. Yet when Ferdinand himself spoke of the purpose of these marriages, he did not describe them as instruments of perpetual peace. Rather, he represented them simply as an adjunct to the strengthening of cordial relations, presumably those embodied in the treaties to which these marriages were a part. The union of Sigismund Augustus and his daughter Catherine was to make Polish-Habsburg friendship "still stronger." The marriage between Archduchess Anna and the future Albrecht V of Bavaria was for "an augmenting and strengthening of friendship."40 Thus, while such unions were expected to aid in knitting friendships together, they were not supposed to remove every conceivable difficulty that could arise among the partners to the wider alliance. If one works from the premise that these marriages and the rituals of exchange associated with them furnished only the occasion and means for expressions of reciprocal obligation essential to the formation of any alliance, the problem of the future integrity of the agreement becomes a secondary issue, as it seems to have been with Ferdinand. Anthropologists have observed that intergroup treaties continually dissolve because of unanticipated antagonisms, misunderstandings of provisions, and countless other snags. Yet such disruptions are not signs that the structure of reciprocity which lies at the core of all alliance systems has itself been broken. Such difficulties merely indicate that the arrangements designed to implement these pacts have been inadequate.41

Thus, Erasmus to the contrary, to dismiss marriage as a meaningful device in treaties because treaties disintegrate is to misinterpret the position of marriage in these agreements. Following the theory I have elaborated, I would explain the breakdown of Habsburg-Polish relations and their subsequent re-establishment accompanied by a dynastic marriage in the following way: Ferdinand's unwillingness to gratify Bona Sforza's ambitions in Milan indicated not that a marital union was incapable of preserving the alliance but that the treaty as a whole was inadequate to meet the changing conditions of Polish-Habsburg relations. The remaining possibilities were that the alliance be dropped or that it be readapted. Both sides chose the latter alternative. In reconstituting the agreement, however, appropriate expressions of the reciprocity necessary to conclude the treaty, of which mar-

³⁸ Pociecha, "Zygmunt I," and P. Fox, "The Reformation in Poland," in Cambridge History of Poland, 1: 317-18, 349-51; Uebersberger, Österreich und Russland, 255-57.
⁴⁰ "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fol. 45; "Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 29.

⁴¹ Lévi-Strauss, Structures élémentaires, 96, 102; Fox, Kinship and Marriage, 23.

riage was one, again had to be reactivated. Such unions did not ensure adherence to provisions in any agreement but were among the visible signs of the reciprocal commitment through exchange that had been made by one participant to the other. Such an interpretation would at least help to explain why such arrangements were so consistently a part of alliance systems and why rulers such as the Habsburgs so regularly, willingly, and carefully made them.

But while embodying these basic structural relationships familiar to anthropologists, the marital alliances formed by Ferdinand I appeared at single points in time and within the context of activities that had very specific rather than universal purposes. Ferdinand was in the process of entrenching himself and his numerous children in a far-flung network of territorial states to assure his family of extensive influence throughout the European continent. All this took place after his own territorial holdings had expanded from their original Austrian base to include the kingdoms of Hungary, Bohemia, and, to the southeast, Croatia. In short, he had acquired the beginnings of an empire. To be sure, it was not as spectacular a creation as that of his brother Charles, but the Central and East European conglomerate that Ferdinand assembled and defended remained under Habsburg control far longer than did Spain and her assorted possessions. Eduard Fueter, among others, has pointed out that sheer accident contributed heavily to the Habsburg position in Spain. 42 Ferdinand of Aragon had not contracted a union between his daughter Juana and Philip, son of Emperor Maximilian, in order to provide heirs to the Spanish Crowns, although this was the result. But does this mean that such marriages had no integral relationship to the establishment of empires at all?

One can always say, especially with the Habsburgs, that only through marriages could the family have laid claim to the lands they eventually acquired. While there is merit to this argument, it is still one derived from the occasional results of these arrangements, as in the Spanish case, rather than from an examination of the total content of these agreements and their possible relationship to the process of empire building. It also drastically simplifies the range of concerns evidently involved in such marriage policies. Succession provisions were only a part of all the negotiations which Ferdinand carried on, and sometimes the contingencies which would activate them were so remote that territorial aggrandizement could hardly have been the prime interest of any of the signatories.⁴³ The emphasis on geographical extension also overlooks important implications of the repetitious quality, mentioned earlier, of Habsburg marriages over several generations. Such a pattern

Korrespondenz Ferdinands I, ed. Wilhelm Bauer and Robert Lacroix (Vienna, 1938), 253.

⁴² Eduard Fueter, Geschichte des europäischen Staatensystems von 1492-1559 (Munich, 1919), 96.

⁴³ There were, of course, cases in which marriage negotiations were pursued in the hope of acquiring new crowns. Through the union with Ferdinand's daughter Anna, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs hoped to acquire some part of the Habsburg patrimony. Ferdinand himself contemplated a marriage between his sister Mary and the king of Scotland largely because the latter had a claim to the English throne, and it appeared unlikely that Henry VIII would have any legitimate heirs. Heinrich Lutz, "Das konfessionelle Zeitalter: Die Herzöge Wilhelm IV und Albrecht V," in Max Spindler, ed., Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte (Munich, 1966), 2: 328; Ferdinand's instructions to Joseph von Lamberg, June 29, 1528, in Die

suggests that the function of these unions in empire building may not have been primarily to pave the way for new acquisitions but to encourage the friendly relations with neighboring states necessary to protect and preserve earlier territorial gains. Any claims to titles in these areas could have been seen as a way of maintaining one's present holdings rather than simply a way of controlling more land. Certainly Ferdinand viewed his winning of Hungary in such terms, and figures would suggest that his ancestors and successors felt the same way.44 It is interesting to note, for example, that from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, when the Austrian lands had no contiguous borders with Poland, out of a total of sixty-one Habsburg marriages, only two-or four per cent-were with members of the ruling dynasty in Poland. After Habsburg acquisition of Hungary and Bohemia, both of which were immediately adjacent to Poland, eight out of twenty-seven marriages or approximately thirty per cent—were with the various families ruling in Cracow and, later, Warsaw. Finally, by assigning such importance to territorial expansion in the establishment of empires, one minimizes questions of control and management of these conglomerates. Yet these concerns are as fundamental to the existence of any imperial structure as is size. It would seem, then, that if dynastic marriage significantly influenced the development of empires, it was not exclusively in the area of geographical growth but also in matters that were essentially domestic in scope.

Perhaps the most ambitious and certainly one of the more suggestive treatments of the creation and direction of imperial structures has been S. N. Eisenstadt's *Political System of Empires*. The Israeli sociologist has compared the institutional composition of a diverse group of historical empires, among which are the Habsburg territories in both Western and Eastern Europe. He finds a noteworthy similarity in policies implemented by the heads of all these states in that each of them attempted to dominate the process of political decision making through centralization of their governments and administrations. The chief victims in this process were various institutions in their territories of an aristocratic, tribal, or patrician nature.⁴⁵

Eisenstadt stresses the efforts of rulers in this process to bring under their command the goods, money, and state property that would free them from the restraints of "ascriptive" bodies such as the estates found throughout Europe. 46 Such procedures were certainly characteristic of Ferdinand, who consistently attempted to circumvent restrictions that representative assemblies in his territories exercised over him. 47 Eisenstadt emphasizes the role played by the control and direction of social stratification in the creation and man-

⁴⁴ Ferdinand to Charles, Sept. 22, 1526, and Ferdinand to Margaret, Nov. 24, 1526, in Korrespondenz Ferdinands I, 461, 494.

⁴⁵ S. N. Eisenstadt, *The Political System of Empires* (New York, 1969), 11, vii-viii. His discussion of the Habsburgs in Central and Eastern Europe concentrates chiefly on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 118.

⁴⁷ Paula Sutter Fichtner, "Dynasticism and Its Limitations: The Habsburgs in Hungary, 1542," East European Quarterly, 4 (1971): 389, and Fichtner, "When Brothers Agree: Bohemia, the Habsburgs, and the Schmalkaldic Wars, 1546–1547," Austrian History Yearbook (1975–76), forthcoming.

agement of empires, and it is here that his analysis impinges directly upon the concern of this article. It is his conclusion that by becoming the chief sources of "social prestige," rulers were increasingly able to supervise access routes to political power and to open and close them at will.⁴⁸ As a necessary concomitant of these endeavors, sovereigns attempted to formalize status systems through monopoly of titles and control of political office.⁴⁹

Marriage in general and dynastic marriage in particular appear to conduce toward all these ends. Students of marriage and the family agree that these institutions tend to reflect and reinforce divisions peculiar to any society. Marriage is the instrument which sets the rules governing the relationship that will produce the family, defines the personnel that will participate in that relationship, and establishes behavior and obligations to be current in it. The higher the reach of society, the more important and restrictive matrimonial ranges become, since at these levels, questions beyond a simple choice of partners are at stake. These matters are especially significant for the extended family, of which the dynastic organization is an example, where a sense of common familial purpose is strong and where the group exercises broad social controls over the child.⁵⁰ From an anthropological point of view, the Habsburg version of the extended family may be described as one in which a form of patrilocal residence prevailed but where lines of descent had both bilateral and unilateral features. That is to say, brides left their own families upon marriage to take up residence either near the parents of their husbands or in lands that had come to their husbands through the latter's fathers. Incorporation of the child into a kinship group came through the line of the father, and it was from him that children received their names, titles, and the bulk of their property. The mother, however, could transfer certain personal holdings to her children that could be of considerable material advantage to her offspring, though the more children she had, the more such gains would be diluted.⁵¹ Let us see, then, if the marital agreements negotiated within such a kinship system by Ferdinand I for some of his children conduced to the social stratification that Eisenstadt claims to have been of such significance in the rule of the empires he studied.

⁴⁸ Eisenstadt, Political System of Empires, 132. Eisenstadt at one point contends that institutions such as royal families impeded this consolidation of resources since traditional groups sometimes opposed these policies with the claim that such measures served only to enhance the position of the ruler and his dynasty. Ferdinand encountered this attitude in the German diet when members of that body sought to justify their refusal or grudging willingness to participate in the Habsburg-organized defense of Eastern Europe against the Turks. Ibid., 23; A. von Kluckhohn and A. Wrede, eds., Deutsche Reichstagsakten (Gotha, 1893–1905), vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 614; Johannes Kühn, Die Geschichte des Speyerer Reichstags 1529 (Leipzig, 1929), 14, 169–70. However, Eisenstadt seems to have overlooked the possibility that kinship retainons can further as well as hinder political consolidation. See Georges Balandier, Anthropologie politique (Paris, 1967), 39, 61. Ferdinand was well aware of the advantages his familial connections gave him and exploited them thoroughly to realize his political objectives. The Magyar prelates and noblemen who chose him king of Hungary did so largely in the hope that the far larger resources of his brother, the Emperor Charles, would be brought to bear in the Hungarian struggle against Ottoman expansion. Fichtner, "Dynasticism and Its Limitations," 389.

Eisenstadt, Political System of Empires, xxiv.
 Walter Goode, Die Struktur der Familie (Cologne, 1960), 36, 39-40, 48; George Murdock, Social Structures

⁵¹ Murdock, Social Structures, 16, 33, 44, 59; Raymond Firth, We, the Tikopia (2d ed.; London, 1957), 345, 596.

VIEWED THROUGH THE EYES of sociologists and anthropologists, there are a number of ways in which marriage arrangements serve as instruments of social differentiation. Control over, and limitation of, bearing of coats of arms and titles has been proposed as a symbolic but nevertheless important means of maintaining boundaries between groups and classes and solidarity within them.⁵² Ferdinand made certain that disposition of this matter was clearly stated in negotiations where the question arose, as it did in the marriage of Archduke Ferdinand and Philippina Welser. He ordered the young couple to agree that no child of theirs would bear a coat of arms with any Habsburg royal or princely insignia on it.53

Open use of these arrangements to make status classification precise, thereby preserving the exclusiveness of a certain ruling group, is fairly easy to document. Assuring control over office has been described as one of the most direct ways to indicate possession of both political power and of a special position in the hierarchy affected by that power.⁵⁴ Both Ferdinand and Charles V desired and received assurances that their daughters would be married to men whose official position was such as to fit them to be the husbands of princesses. In the Bavarian negotiations, Ferdinand asked for a guarantee that after his death his future son-in-law would be the single reigning ruler in Bavaria, where there had been a long history of Wittelsbach family factionalism. In Mantua, where a regency was governing in the name of Duke Francis II, who had not yet reached his majority, Charles V's secretary of state, Granvelle, concluded a match for Ferdinand's daughter Catherine which provided that Francis and his heirs would have primogenital rights in the city-state. In the marriage between his daughter Maria and Ferdinand's son, Maximilian, Charles insisted that the latter be recognized as crowned king of Bohemia by his father. A negative example of the significance of nuptial arrangements for the reinforcement of social and political status, one need only turn again to the agreement signed by Archduke Ferdinand and Philippina Welser. Both formally acknowledged that she was not the equal of her husband, either in class or in ancestry, and that neither they nor their children would lay claim to anything in the Habsburg patrimony.55 Ferdinand also used marriage diplomacy to deal with a related problem—the clarification of lines of succession and disposal of any other problems that might arise over possession of Habsburg titles. Thus, as noted before, he required his daughters to give up their hereditary claims to the Austrian lands of their house and what he considered their corresponding rights in Hungary and Bohemia.⁵⁶ His prospective sons-in-law had to accept formally such

⁵² Anderson, Traditional Europe, 3.

⁵³ Bucholtz, Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands I, 9: 737.

⁵⁴ Balandier, Anthropologie politique, 105.
55 "Anna . . . Albrecht," fols. 32–33; "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 2; "Matrimonialia Maximiliani . . . cum Maria Hispanarum Infanta" (hereafter "Maximilian . . . Maria"), HHS, Familienakten, carton 20, fol. 131; Bucholtz, Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands I, 9: 736.

^{56 &}quot;Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 3; "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fols. 23-24; "Anna . . . Albrecht," fols. 32-33; "Maria . . . Wilhelm," fol. 30; Ferdinand's instructions for negotiation of a marriage between William of Mantua and Archduchess Leonora, Apr. 2, 1561, HHS, Familienakten, carton 22, no folio number. The Hungarians and the Bohemians denied the legitimacy of such claims and persisted in their contention that the monarchy was elective.

renunciations.⁵⁷ In dealing with Charles V, Ferdinand made it clear that while he recognized his own son, Maximilian, as his successor in Bohemia, the younger man was not to interfere in the conduct of the office during his father's lifetime.58

Occupying office or being married to someone who does is not necessarily the only sign of political power. Possession of certain economic privileges such as the right of eminent domain or control of certain incomes from lands and markets can also function as indexes of prestige and authority.⁵⁹ Again, such matters were very carefully spelled out in Ferdinand's marriage negotiations. All of the arrangements considered in this article call for the transfer of territorial rights and privileges to the female involved and include provision for the perpetuation and management of these should either man or wife predecease one another. That there was a clear relationship between land privileges and social station can be seen in the agreement between Ferdinand and Duke William of Cleves. The latter consented to give his bride, Ferdinand's daughter Maria, a number of territories, castles, and hunting rights, which she would continue to enjoy "according to her birth and old tradition"60 if she were widowed.

If the combination of land and wealth denoted exclusiveness and political influence, indeed were instruments of these, arrangements for the husbanding of such resources had to be very exact. The sums of money involved in the various categories of gifts could be considerable. As mentioned before, Ferdinand's contributions to each of the matches he concluded for his daughters ran from 50,000 to 100,000 Rhenish gulden. Charles V promised a generous 300,000 gulden for the dowry of his daughter Maria when she became the wife of the future Maximilian II.61 To grasp the meaning of these figures it is helpful to realize that in 1545 it cost Ferdinand 259,824 gulden to maintain an army of approximately 4,300 in Hungary, around 40,000 gulden less than the dowry of his niece. 62 Such funds could be turned to any number of purposes, including the financing of other matrimonial ventures. Ferdinand used the unpaid principle of the sum pledged to his daughter Catherine in her shortlived marriage to the duke of Mantua as part of his contribution to that princess's union with the king of Poland. 63 Thus it was imperative during mar-

⁵⁷ For typical letters of renunciation, see "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fol. 4, and "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fols. 23–24. The latter is undated but was undoubtedly drawn up at the end of October 1549. See Archduke Ferdinand to King Ferdinand, Oct. 28, 1549, "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 19.

^{58 &}quot;Maximilian . . . Maria," fols. 18-19. 59 Balandier, Anthropologie politique, 41.

^{60 &}quot;Maria . . . Wilhelm," fol. 27.
61 "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 2; "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fols. 46-47; "Maximilian . . . Maria," fol. 20. The actual completion of the transfer of these monies was another matter. Dowries were customarily given over a period of time after the consummation of the marriage. In Ferdinand's agreements this was one or two years. See "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fol. 14; "Maria . . . Wilhelm," fols. 25–26; "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 2; "Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 29. 62 "Maria . . . Wilhelm," fol. 25; "Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 29. The imperial gulden and the Rhenish florin had approximately the same value at this time. This data and the cost of Ferdinand's Hungarian

army can be found in Alfons Huber, "Studien über die finanziellen Verhältnisse Österreichs unter Ferdinand I," Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, supp. vol. 4 (1893): 201, 211-12. 63 "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fol. 46.

riage negotiations not only to establish the size of incomes and properties to be transferred but also to fix the blood boundaries within which these exchanges were to take place. Such measures were especially necessary in agricultural economies where conspicuous consumption of wealth by more than a few might dissipate it to a point where it could no longer have any statusconferring effect. 64 Marriage negotiations on these matters, then, aimed as much to conserve money and property as to add a certain amount of it to any given family.65

In settlements that Ferdinand arranged, restricting the flow of wealth became especially problematic in the event one partner predeceased the other. Stipulations for this contingency were not uniform, though the inclination to keep money and property circulating in precisely defined channels was clear. Thus, if Ferdinand's daughter Catherine were to die before Sigismund Augustus, her Heiratsgut and the 100,000 countergift from her husband were to fall to the king and his kingdom. 66 Ferdinand negotiated more favorable terms with William of Cleves. The duke would have the usufruct of his wife's Heiratsgut if she should predecease him, but after he died this would revert to her family. What she had not disposed of in a will of her Morgengabe would belong to William. The remainder of additional monies presented to her by her father, the aforementioned Heimsteuer and Besserung, would, if she had no children, go back to her paternal house, provided that she had made no testamentary provision for these funds. 67

The same careful limitations on the use of money and lands marked arrangements should the male partner be the first to die. If anything, the additional complications for testamentary freedoms that widowhood and possible remarriage created made these stipulations even more detailed than those covering the situation where the wife predeceased the husband. The woman's negotiators wished that she be maintained according to her station throughout her life, but her husband's side wanted assurance that the lands and incomes essential for this condition would be spread no more widely than necessary. Catherine of Poland was to have complete usufruct of all the sums her husband and father contributed to her marriage, but at her death she could only dispose in her will of her Heiratsgut and the other sums given to her by her father, plus her Morgengabe. Sigismund Augustus's Wiederlegung was to revert to the Polish Crown. If Catherine left no direction for disposal of the first three items mentioned, these would go back to her nearest male heirs in the house of Austria or, failing these, to the female members of her family. This provision also applied to whatever she had brought into this marriage from her previous union with the duke of Mantua. 68 Both Anna in Bavaria

⁶⁴ Anderson, Traditional Europe, 41-42.

⁶⁵ Lawrence Stone has already noted the importance of marriage for both these functions in "Marriage among the English Nobility in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 3 (1961): 195.

66 "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fol. 47.
67 "Maria . . . Wilhelm," fol. 28.

^{68 &}quot;Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fols. 47-49.

and Maria in Cleves were given territories, castles, and other rights associated with lands in their husbands' possessions for the duration of their marriage and widowhood. If they were to remarry, however, these were to revert to their husbands' heirs or those of their husbands' families. Ferdinand guaranteed that Maria, the daughter of Charles V, would get 20,000 crowns throughout her lifetime and a good part (sufficenti parte) of the 60,000 crowns that he assigned the couple as an annual contribution to the upkeep of their household. She would also receive the two important and prestigious fortresses of Bratislava (Pressburg) and Buda. If she were to remarry, she would continue to get the 20,000 crown allowance, although she would have to yield the two fortresses to her Austrian relatives before she could collect this sum. If there were legitimate children produced in these unions, some of these provisions were to be altered to take progeny into account. Nevertheless, the basic pattern of these agreements—the attempt to restrict the circulation of wealth to as limited a circle as possible—remained.

THUS DYNASTIC MARITAL ALLIANCES in the case of Ferdinand I were neither devoid of useful purpose, as Erasmus seemed to think, nor accidentally related to the development of empires. The strictly observed pattern of gift-countergift-reciprocal countergift noted earlier, the strong sense of mutual exchange that Ferdinand showed in marital negotiations, and, conversely, the absence of all this in a marriage where a wider alliance was not desired indicate that these arrangements were ways of representing the rule of reciprocity that anthropologists have noted form the basis of alliances. Such customs were especially appropriate to diplomacy in an age where states were still very much regarded as the personal property of kings and without organic identity of their own. As instruments for the perpetuation and enhancement of status, the conservation of wealth, and the maintenance of privilege and power, dynastic marriage and the family system associated with it played a natural role in the ruling of empires. The heavy element of patrilinear control, illustrated so vividly by Ferdinand in his dealings with Archduke Ferdinand and Philippina Welser, over such matters as titles and property prevented extensive dissipation of these key resources. Indeed, all these activities were reciprocally supportive to a remarkable degree. To use marriage and the family structure within which it took place to reinforce and improve one's position, one had to have the land and wealth to conclude these arrangements. Possession of these things came only through inheritance, purchase, or conquest. The expansion of one's territories obviously provided any prince— Charles V and Ferdinand included—with greater wherewithal to embark on these ventures. For example, incomes that Ferdinand gave to Maximilian in the latter's marriage with his Spanish cousin Maria were to come from Silesia and the two Lusatias, territories that were part of the kingdom of Bohemia

^{69 &}quot;Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 50; "Maria . . . Wilhelm," fols. 27, 40. 70 "Maximilian . . . Maria," fol. 22.

and that swore their fealty to Ferdinand after he acquired them following the battle of Mohacs in 1526. Similarly, certain monies and rents that Maria was to bring with her came not from Spain but from Aragonese holdings in Naples.⁷¹

Thus dynastic marriage was tied to diplomacy and the shaping of empires in very specific ways. There is little cause, then, to wonder that the Habsburgs and probably their fellow sovereigns attached such significance to matrimonial alliances and went to such lengths to create and to maintain them. On the one hand, they provided an opportunity for the exchange of obligations without which no treaty could come into being. On the other, they were one way of consolidating and maintaining the political prestige without which no dynasty could expect to manage its territorial holdings for very long.

⁷¹ Ibid., fols. 19-20, 22.

"Made for Man's Delight": Rousseau as Antifeminist

VICTOR G. WEXLER

A CHRONIC PROBLEM IN STUDYING Rousseau is the paradoxical nature of his works. His Emile (1761) is no exception. Officially condemned but widely read, it was a boldly anticlerical and completely anti-institutional treatise on education. The book became an inspiration to both reformers and revolutionaries, but in one area it also disappointed many who embraced much of what Rousseau maintained in *Emile* as well as in his other critiques of society. Because Rousseau slighted the education of women, Emile became a special source of chagrin to contemporary feminists and to many of the women who avidly read Rousseau in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the fifth and final book of *Emile*, where he prescribes an education suitable to the woman in the protagonist's life, the radical Rousseau emerges as a reactionary, both by the standards of his own time as well as by our own. Emile was to be a critical, self-reliant citizen, entitled to an elaborate education and full equality with his peers. Sophie, on the other hand, was to be trained only as a wife to Emile and as a mother to his children. It was in total earnestness that Rousseau uttered one of his most misleading epigrams: "Woman is made for man's delight."2

Mary Wollstonecraft, one of the most vigorous proponents of equality of the sexes in law and education in the eighteenth century, expressed considerable admiration for Rousseau's equalitarianism in praising the achievements of the French Revolution in her Origin and Progress of the French Revolution (1794). But two years before, when she wrote A Vindication of the Rights of Women, she had pleaded with the leaders of revolutionary France to ignore the views of Rousseau on the subject of women and to grant them full equality under the new constitution. She was very direct in attacking Rousseau's conception of female nature and women's rights: "I may be accused of arrogance; still I must declare, what I firmly believe, that all the writers who have written on the subject of female education and manners from Rousseau to Dr. Gregory

² Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile*, ed. François Richard and Piene Richard, Editions Garnier (Paris, 1964), 446.

¹The most thought-provoking survey of these paradoxes is Peter Gay's "Reading about Rousseau," in his *The Party of Humanity* (New York, 1964), 211-61.

have contributed to render women more artificial, weak characters, than they would otherwise have been; and consequently, more useless to society." She explicitly singled out Rousseau

for his character of Sophie, is, undoubtedly a captivating one, though it appears to me grossly unnatural; however, it is not the super-structure, but the foundation of her character, the principles on which her education was built, that I mean to attack, nay, warmly as I admire the genius of that able writer, whose opinions I shall often have occasion to cite, indignation always takes the place of admiration, and the rigid frown of insulted virtue effaces the smile of complacency, which his eloquent periods are wont to raise, when I read his voluptuous reveries. . . . How are these mighty sentences lowered when he describes the pretty foot and enticing airs of his little favorite.³

Thus Wollstonecraft detected a disturbing contradiction in the thinking of one of the most influential minds of the century.

And she was not alone. The passionately republican historian and pamphleteer, Catherine Graham Macaulay, whom Wollstonecraft admired both for her endorsement of the French Revolution and for her Letter on Education (1790), denounced Rousseau for his position on the education of women. Macaulay, having earned the scorn of Dr. Johnson for her "absurd levelling doctrine," insisted that there was no inherent disparity between men and women in their potential for learning, and that, Rousseau's famous book notwithstanding, "the education of the people, in the most extensive sense of the word, may be said to comprehend the most important duties of the government."

On the Continent, where some eminent women formed a veritable cult of Rousseau, criticism of his treatment of female education was muted. Rousseau's influence on Mme Roland was enormous. A well-documented study of this influence maintains that both were "radical bourgeois, hostile to the old order" and shared the same "rebellious religious spirit," "revolutionary sensibility," and "pre-Romantic soul." But it must be stressed that Roland's own literary and political careers are proof that she did not take the word of her idol to heart in regard to female education. Roland appeared to have been too enamored of Rousseau to have ever spoken out against his treatment of Sophie. More obviously disturbed by Rousseau's antifeminism than Mme Roland was Mme de Staël. Although she esteemed Rousseau's works and helped to make them popular among the Romantics in the early nineteenth century, she was aware that her protest against women's lack of

³ Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Women (London, 1792), 35. Wollstonecraft's recent biographers focus on the problem this early feminist had in assimilating Rousseau on the subject of female education; see, for example, the popular biography by Eleanor Flexner, Mary Wollstonecraft (Baltimore, 1972), 154-55, or the more substantial study by Claire Tomalin, The Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft (London, 1974), 109.

⁴ James Boswell, Life of Johnson, ed. George Birbeck Hill, rev. L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1934–50), 1: 448. ⁵ Catherine Graham Macaulay, Letters on Education (London, 1790), 274. There exists no full-length published scholarly study of Macaulay; however, an admirably lucid account of both Macaulay's achievements as well as her personal problems may be found in Mildred Chaffee Beckwith, "Catherine Graham Macaulay: Eighteenth-Century English Rebel" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1953).

⁶ Gita May, De Jean-Jacques Rousseau à Madame Roland (Geneva, 1964), 58, 140, 130-31.

civic and legal rights contradicted the teachings of Rousseau. She ignored the limitations Rousseau placed on women in society and instead focused her attention on what she believed was his portrait of romantic love.⁷

A recent and well-substantiated inquiry of feminism during the period of the French Revolution establishes just how strong a force Rousseau was in retarding the progress of women's rights during this period. While others have, with good reason, condemned Rousseau for his thoughts about women and their education, I shall attempt a more dispassionate exposition of these attitudes and their origins. I hope that my approach will lead to the realization that for Rousseau, at least, "male chauvinism" was not the result of condescension.

It is to be expected that nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars of eighteenth-century feminism and of Rousseau interpreted his dicta about female education in a vein similar to that of his contemporaries. Léon Abensour, in his classic La femme et le féminisme avant la Révolution, which has never been surpassed in the scope or depth of its study of women's social conditions in eighteenth-century France, outlines two schools of thought concerning women's rights. On the one hand, there were the progressives, represented in the extreme by the sensationalist Helvétius, who wrote in De L'esprit, "If women are in general inferior to men, it is because in general they receive an inferior education." But Abensour writes that "Rousseau is the leader of another school. On the nature, aptitudes, and role of women . . . his ideas are in formal opposition to the ideas of the other philosophes. . . . A misanthrope, Rousseau is consequently a misogynist . . . Rousseau who on so many points was innovative, remains on this subject quite traditionalist."

Writing in 1907, Gabriel Compayré, in one of his many books on pedagogy in France, says flatly that "Rousseau who on so many other points anticipated the tendencies and innovations of the modern mind, can in no way be considered an expert on what is nowadays called 'women's rights.' Nothing would have offended him more than to claim to mingle and assimilate the two sexes to the same habits and functions." After having introduced Rousseau as "an initiator, nay more, a revolutionary" in the history of educational theory, 10 Compayré was as disappointed by his observations on Rousseau and the feminist movement as were Macaulay and Wollstonecraft.

As we approach the present, we discover that the typical interpretation of Rousseau's antifeminism has, with one notable exception, neither changed nor become more nuanced or comprehensive. In a well-informed discussion of

⁷ Madelyn Gutwirth, "Madame de Staël, Rousseau and the Woman Question," Publications of the Modern Language Association, 86 (1971): 107. A good example of Mme de Staël's awareness that as a femme auteur she contradicts the teaching of her mentor, Rousseau, may be found in the second preface to her Lettres sur les écrits et le caractère de Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in her Oeuvres complètes, ed. Auguste Louis, baron de Staël-Holstein (Paris, 1820), 1: 7-10.

⁸ Jane Abray, "Feminism in the French Revolution," AHR, 80 (1975): 43-62.

⁹Léon Abensour, La Femme et le féminisme avant la Révolution (Paris, 1923), 362; the quotation from Helvétius appears on page 367.

¹⁰ Gabriel Compayre, Jean Jacques Rousseau and the Education from Nature, tr. R. P. Bart (New York, 1971), 88. 6.

women's rights in the eighteenth century, A. R. Humphreys followed Abensour's lead. He sees the followers of Locke, Encyclopedists such as Diderot and d'Alembert, or sensationalists such as Helvétius or d'Holbach, as advocates of equality, whereas Rousseau represents a reactionary point of view concerning female education. 11 Most recently, this classic oversimplification is presented in an article, "The Political Theory of Male Chauvinism: J. J. Rousseau's Paradigm." Here the author does not hesitate to conclude that "in sum, Rousseau's political ideas, in spite of their equalitarianism, begin with the assumption that women are not equal to men and proceed to the justification of male domination." Present-day critics seem to persist in thinking that Rousseau's obvious denigration of women is simply a manifestation of outright contempt.

Only Pierre Burgelin goes beyond a simple fascination with the apparent paradox in Rousseau's thinking on this subject. Even though Burgelin confines his discussion largely to the fifth book of *Emile*, he suggests that the subordination of Sophie results from an elaborate theory regarding the order of society, which preoccupied Rousseau in virtually all of his writings. 13

Sophie's subjugation is indeed more than a manifestation of a reactionary side of a revolutionary thinker. It is central to Rousseau's conception of a virtuous society, as opposed to the corrupt one he knew and rejected. But beyond that, it is, I believe, an expression not of his disdain for women, but rather of his fear of them, a fear he never conquered. To understand the nature and the origin of Rousseau's apparent antifeminism, his theory of the place of women in society requires some analysis. In addition to discussing theory, we may profit from an examination of how Rousseau expressed his fear of women in his popular novel, Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse (1760) and of how this fear emerges in his autobiographical work. This exploration of theory, fiction, and autobiography should give us insight into why Rousseau chose to educate Emile and keep Sophie at home.

Rousseau first began to put women in their place, as it were, when he launched his first major criticism of Western civilization as a whole. In October 1749 Rousseau pondered the question posed for competition by the Academy of Dijon: "Has the restoration of the sciences and arts tended to purify morals?" His reply won the prize and brought its author fame and recognition as an advocate of what he considered to be the virtuous; natural state of mankind, a state where men and women led segregated lives. He denounced enfeebled and poetic Athens in favor of strong and virtuous Sparta. This theme of the first *Discours* was expanded in the second, where Rousseau

¹¹ A. R. Humphreys, "The Rights of Women in the Age of Reason," Modern Language Review, 41 (1946):

²⁵⁶, ²⁶².

¹² Ron Christenson, "The Political Theory of Male Chauvinism: J. J. Rousseau's Paradigm," *Midwest* Quarterly, 13 (1972): 299.

¹⁸ Pierre Burgelin, "L'Education de Sophie," Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 35 (1959-62):

again showed himself hostile to the artifices and institutions of contemporary society, because they made the natural, strong man weak, fearful, soft, and effeminate. Rousseau's choice of adjectives is revealing. In the society he would reconstruct, nature was to be Rousseau's chief ally. For a man pre-occupied by his own weaknesses, and excessively sensitive to the cricitism of others, nature, or natural virtue, meant strength and autonomy. It was a perversion of nature, he insisted, that made a strong man the servant of a weak one, or of a woman, and it was this perversion, among others, that Rousseau sought to rectify in his later works.

Four years after the second *Discours*, Rousseau lashed out at d'Alembert's proposal to establish a theater in Geneva. The *Lettre à M. d'Alembert* afforded Rousseau another opportunity to praise ancient, stoic virtue and to condemn the corruption resulting in part from a mingling of the sexes. It is, says Rousseau, nature's law that women be educated differently from men and that they lead separate lives. The same precept, ceaselessly argued later in *Emile*, is anticipated in the *Lettre à M. d'Alembert*. Men and women cannot be allowed the same entertainment any more than the same privileges concerning the law or family responsibility. This is not prejudice, Rousseau writes, but a truth all nature proves constantly: "Why, they ask, should what is not shameful for a man be so for a woman? Why should one of the sexes make a crime for itself out of what the other believes itself permitted? As if the consequences were the same on both sides! . . . Nature wanted it this way and it would be a crime to stifle its voice."

There are two images, one of the natural woman at home and another of the woman who has abandoned her family in spite of nature's dictates, that are simply recopied in *Emile*. "Is there a sight in the world so touching, so respectable as that of a mother surrounded by her children, directing the work of her domestics, procuring a happy life for her husband, and wisely governing the home?" And, of course, the picture of the violation of nature: "A home whose mistress is absent is a body without a soul that soon falls into corruption: a woman outside her home loses her greatest luster, and, despoiled of her real ornaments, she displays herself indecently." The theater would lead women away from their "natural" role. It could not be tolerated in Calvin's Geneva, or in Rousseau's.

Besides destroying the fabric of family life, the theater would excite sexual desire in both men and women, a prospect Rousseau feared very much since he believed that men were more vulnerable to excessive and uncontrollable sexual urges. On the basis of what he perceived to be nature's prescription, Rousseau limited the sphere proper to female nature. Yet women were stronger than men in an area that was all-important to Rousseau: the control of sexual passion. If the Genevans began to attend the theater, where plays

¹⁴ Rousseau, Discours sur les sciences et les arts (1750), in Du Contrat Social, Editions Garnier (Paris, 1962), 9; Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes (1754), in ibid., 46.

¹⁵ Rousseau, Lettre à M. d'Alembert sur les spectacles (1758), in ibid., 191.
16 Ibid., 193; for similar images, see Rousseau, Emile, 18.

that exalted the passions would certainly be presented, the influence of women would be expanded at the expense of men. Love and sensuality, the areas where women dominated men, would assume even greater importance and might even influence other aspects of Genevan life: "Love is the realm of women. It is they who necessarily give the law in it, because according to the order of nature, resistance belongs to them and men can conquer this resistance only at the expense of their liberty. Hence, a natural effect of this type of play is to extend the empire of the fair sex, to make women and girls the preceptors of the public and to give them the same powers over the audience as they have over their lovers." Rousseau's fear of women, as well as his vision of a natural, controllable society where the powers of women would be prescribed, is obvious in the Lettre à M. d'Alembert. The establishment of a theater would render these fears all the more vivid, and, at the same time, destroy the order of society.

Rousseau believed that with women away from the home, with the playwright's celebration of sexual passion, the population would be enfeebled and degenerate. The arrival of the theater in Geneva would make it another Paris. Calvin's native city would soon see salons where "harems of men are more womanish than the woman who runs them." Rousseau hated the Parisian salons and displays a certain vindictiveness in the *Lettre*, which he wrote when he was in a quarrelsome mood. He had become suspicious of Grimm, mistrustful of Mme d'Epinay, jealous of Voltaire's literary success in Switzerland, and argumentative with the once-beloved Diderot. In December 1757 he broke with his former friends altogether, left Mme d'Epinay's Hermitage, and settled in Montmorency.

Within four months after his "break," he wrote the Lettre à M. d'Alembert. That Rousseau began to suffer from aggravated retention problems as well as from an inguinal hernia condition at the time he wrote the Lettre may also explain some of its bitterness. Perhaps we should keep in mind what Rousseau himself said about this polemic as he reflected about those unhappy weeks in 1757 when he wrote it: "Full of the lesson I have just read the greybeards in my Lettre à M. d'Alembert, I was ashamed of taking it so little to heart myself." Yet for all of its rancor, the Lettre is a rehearsal of Rousseau's theories about the role of women in society, which he refines and elaborates in Emile.

The epoch-making *Emile* is based on the simple premise that nature is right. From this axiom Rousseau draws several innovative conclusions. The traditional notion that the achievement of the child should be measured by his intellectual precocity is completely reversed. The child is deliberately kept from books and schools that would teach him how to read, and he is forbidden the formal religious education that would inculcate in him the ways of the

¹⁷ Rousseau, Lettre à M. d'Alembert, 159.

¹⁸ Ibid., 205.

¹⁹ Ronald Grimsley, Jean-Jacques Rousseau: A Study in Self-Awareness (Cardiff, 1969), 154.

²⁰ Rousseau, Les confessions (1778), in Oeuvres complètes, ed. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, Pléiade, 1 (Paris, 1959): 543.

catechism. There is more to *Emile* than this program of natural or negative education—it is a handbook on how to be strong, that is, in control of one's emòtions. In examining *Emile* with this program in mind, we will find the explanation of why this inventive educational program was designed for Emile and not for Sophie.

Early in *Emile*, Rousseau sets the scene for the education of independence through control of emotions. He informs us that strength is the most desirable of virtues. Education, such as he describes, should make man stronger in the area he most needs to overcome his endemic weakness—control of the sexual urge. We will later learn that women, whom he confines to the home in order to preserve society, do not need this type of education.

When Rousseau treats the education of the infant in the second book of *Emile*, he defines explicitly how Emile should seek his happiness. Emile must learn to pursue his desires only to the point where he can satisfy them within the restraints placed upon him by nature. Thus, Emile must learn to curb his desires by enduring privation. He must learn to bear pain, to sleep on hard beds, to harden his feet by dispensing with shoes, to grow unafraid of the dark by acclimating himself to it. He is to learn the joys of autonomy by depriving himself of slaves who would otherwise serve him.²¹

Prior to the onset of puberty, Rousseau has Emile learn as much as possible. Emile learns the necessity for law as well as a host of other Rousseauist virtues, such as temperance, patience, and self-reliance, all of which will be necessary for participation in the social contract. But once Emile becomes a sexual being, "he becomes deaf to the voice he used to obey; he is an animal in heat; he distrusts his keeper and refuses to be controlled."22 This means that his keeper's job is more arduous than ever. Rousseau wishes Emile to learn the pleasures of rational love, of love based on esteem, love that is pleasurable without being destructive of reason, love that could be spiritual as well as sensual, love that would consist of both friendship and sexual desire—the type of love that Rousseau yearned for but could never attain.²³ Emile must be taught to achieve what was Rousseau's frustrated aim. The ability to achieve rational love is not bestowed upon Emile by nature but must be developed by reason. The education of self-control that Emile has been receiving for hundreds of pages is designed to develop this ability. Rousseau maintains that reason is the better part of nature's commandments, and he implies that with the proper education, it may hold passion in restraint.24

By the time Emile is an adult he should understand that he will be a free man only when his reason governs his passions and he has accepted the order nature seems to have carved out for society. Emile should be ready to leave his tutor, to join men, and to be happy. Rousseau, however, is not yet ready to have Emile leave the tutor, and for an excellent reason: the most formidable

²¹ Rousseau, Emile, 186.

²² Ibid., 192.

²³ Rousseau, Confessions, 430. Grimsley devotes an entire chapter to Rousseau's failure to combine admiration with sexual attraction in his Rousseau: A Study in Self-Awareness, 85-115.

²⁴ Rousseau, Emile, 337.

obstacle in the path to independence is not yet passed. Sophie represents the tragic finale to Emile's education. Emile may not be consciously aware of this final submission to Sophie, but in the end his independence is a delusion. Sophie's awesome power is her ability, even within her confined place in Rousseau's natural order, to reverse the merely apparent achievement of Emile.²⁵ It is time to introduce Emile to the voice he will henceforth obey.

Rousseau opens book 5 of *Emile*, the one wholly devoted to the education of women, by reiterating that nature has made woman physically weaker than man and the mother of his children. Thus nature has made woman dependent on man and possibly his victim. The laws of nature are just. Rousseau has been repeating this as one of his fundamental maxims since the second *Discours*, and he has emphasized this as an axiom throughout *Emile*. Physical inequality is amoral; it requires dependence on nature but not on men. Emile knows he cannot perform what is beyond his power, he had taught himself to accept this fact with equanimity. The restrictions Rousseau wants to place on Sophie's education arise from adhering to what he observes as the commands of nature. Sophie's natural role in life is to be the object of Emile's pleasure and the faithful mother of his children; all laws that men make must conform to this rule.²⁶

It would be a sin against nature to educate Sophie in a manner similar to Emile. Not only would nature be betrayed, but it would also mean eventual degeneration of all order in society. A woman confined to being a wife and mother is worth more to herself and more to all society. Just as the conscience of the individual who denies his own innate nature is corrupted, a society whose laws and institutions are contrary to the laws of nature is degenerate. Rousseau has created what he believes is the natural man in Emile; he must create the natural woman in Sophie. Emile's companion will excel in that which is proper to her sex; there will be no needlework that she cannot do and she will love to use lace, the most feminine of all materials. Rousseau believed that a man is instinctively repelled by a woman who pays more attention to books than to her children. "If there were none but wise men upon earth, such a woman would die an old maid." 27

Rousseau had expressed admiration for Greek society, particularly that of Sparta, in his earlier writings. He does so again here in his discussion of women in the last book of *Emile:* "As soon as the Greek women married, they disappeared from public life; within the four walls of their home they devoted themselves to the care of their household and family. This is the mode of life prescribed for women alike by nature and reason. These women gave birth to the healthiest, strongest, and best proportioned men who ever lived, and except in certain islands of ill repute, no women in the whole world, not even the Roman matrons, were ever at once so wise and so charming, so beautiful

²⁶ Burgelin stresses the apparent nature of Emile's domination over Sophie in his "Education de Sophie," ¹²¹. I am in agreement with him here and will go further in maintaining that if anyone is dominated in *Emile*, it is the protagonist himself.

²⁶ Rousseau, Emile, 450-51.

²⁷ Ibid., 454, 519.

and so virtuous, as the women of ancient Greece." Nature and reason, as Rousseau interprets them, have fostered in him an idyllic vision of society. He no doubt hoped that the readers of *Emile* would make that vision come to life.

There can be no doubt that in Rousseau's natural society women would have a secondary place. There would be no equal opportunity and no possibility for competition; all this is obvious enough. But when we consider Rousseau's estimation of woman's power to govern her emotions, we discover just how powerful she is, even within a restricted role. Sophie is second to man and "made for his delight" because of her physical weakness, but this is a natural limitation for which she can easily learn to compensate by using her emotional stability to her own advantage in bringing Emile to submission. Her natural physical inferiority never leads to the painful anxiety that is synonymous, for Rousseau, with the tyranny of the passions. Rousseau has not simply slighted woman by devoting himself to the education of the young male. Like a teacher whose supreme compliment to a student is to exempt him from required busy work, Rousseau, awed by woman's natural ability to control her emotions and her talent to make her will dominant over man's, has exempted her from education in self-restraint. Indeed, what Sophie knows by instinct, Emile must learn by living through the most rigorous education ever invented.

Masculine superiority is, in reality, a sham superiority. As a husband Emile seems to be master of his wife, but actually he is her unknowing lieutenant in marriage as well as in courtship. By making her pleasures scarce, Sophie governs Emile; after all, asks Rousseau, "Where is the real lover who is not ready to sacrifice everything, his whole life, for his mistress?" Man commands woman, yet "there is quite a difference between claiming the right to command and managing him who commands." Dependence on Sophie's sexual favors constitutes Emile's unconquerable obstacle to independence.

When finally Emile meets Sophie, falls in love with her, and proposes marriage, we can see the entire education for strength and self-control defeated. In a final speech to Sophie, Rousseau—posing as the tutor—explains Sophie's position in her marriage to Emile:

When Emile became your husband, he became your commander; it is up to you to obey, this is the way nature wanted it. When the wife is like Sophie, however, it is good that the man be led by her; this is still the law of nature; and it is in order to give you as much authority over his heart as his sex gives him over your person that I made you the arbiter of his pleasures. You will have to make painful sacrifices, but you will reign over him if you know how to reign over yourself, and what has happened thus far shows me that this difficult art is not beyond your courage. You will rule over him for a long time if you make your pleasures scarce and precious, and if you know how to make them wanted.³⁰

At last, after his marriage to Sophie, Emile is promoted by his teacher, but this is no commencement. The tutor's lengthy task is now over. He abdicates

²⁸ Ibid., 457–58.

²⁹ Ibid., 495, 517.

³⁰ Ibid., 612-13.

the authority he had over Emile, only to confide it to Sophie.³¹ Emile's independence is illusory, and we can see some irony in this for it seems that nature has provided for this, too. The logical but unhappy conclusion of an education that teaches the acceptance of the law of nature and the necessity of personal autonomy by the perfection of self-control ends in dialectical negation: the natural function of Sophie is the power that annihilates Emile's independence. The final paradox of *Emile* is the defeat of its hero by a heroine who is acting according to her nature.

I believe Emile's failure may be understood as his creator's failure as well. An examination of Rousseau's novel and of his autobiographical work will reveal that Rousseau was never able to establish a wholly satisfying relationship with any woman. Rousseau was no more able than Emile to achieve a rational love, an ability to love physically and spiritually the same woman. Like Emile, Rousseau became overawed in the presence of women to whom he was attracted. When Rousseau—again in the voice of the tutor—addresses Emile toward the end of the treatise, he sadly asks himself: "Do I feel myself being swept away? Emile, what have you become? I can hardly recognize my pupil. Are you undone? Where is the young man so sternly fashioned who braves all weathers, who devoted his body to the hardest tasks and his soul to the laws of wisdom; inaccessible to prejudices and to passions, a lover of truth who listened only to reason? Now crushed in an indolent life, he lets himself be ruled by women, their amusements are now his, their will is now his law."32 Viewed from this perspective, Rousseau's restrictive education of women is a tribute to their strength. Women are already strong enough. Their strength came from their indifference to sexual pleasure, which allowed them to govern what Rousseau believed was the passion-dominated sex.33 He designed an elaborate theory regarding the necessity of a natural society and a natural education in part to keep women at home. He was afraid to extend their inherent powers to areas where men might remain masters of themselves.

IN THE Confessions Rousseau maintains that, although it might seem incredible, "all that is audacious in *Emile* was previously in *Julie*." Rousseau is referring here to the notions concerning natural religion, which he expresses in both his educational treatise and his widely read, lengthy epistolary novel, La Nouvelle Héloïse. But we can apply the relationship between the two works to other areas as well. This novel, which made Rousseau one of the most popular novelists of the century, reveals the author's dream world, a world in

³¹ Ibid., 614.

³³ It should be pointed out that in an unfinished novel, "Emile et Sophie ou les solitaires," Rousseau has Sophie succumb to temptation, and she has a child by another man. But this occurs when the whole structure of the natural society has crumbled. I do not think we can consider this fragmentary piece as illuminating either Rousseau's conception of the nature of women or their role in society. The origin of this fragment is best discussed by Burgelin in his introduction to Rousseau, Oeuvres complètes, Pléiade, 2 (Paris, 1969): clii-clxiii.

34 Rousseau, Confessions, 407.

which he feels the power of women as vividly as he did in real life. It allows us to glimpse the author's fantasy of natural society as well as his understanding of the emotional power of women in contrast to the weakness of men.

Although she incessantly professes her emotional instability, the heroine of the novel, Julie d'Etange, the daughter of a well-established gentleman, emerges in my view as a strong, domineering presence in the novel. After she banishes her lover from her father's household, she helps to govern an idyllic miniature society. Julie comes to live in the type of setting that Rousseau searched for throughout his life, but never found. She is the incarnation of the ideal woman as Rousseau perceived her; moreover, she embodies, as my analysis of the *Confessions* will show, many of the qualities Rousseau himself sought but lacked.

Julie d'Etange manages to control her emotions and is able with the help of her husband to be the queen of the cosmos at Clarens, where everybody—men, women, children, and servants—occupies a fixed place, and does so cheerfully, realizing that the ordered society is most beneficial for all its constituents. By comparison, Saint-Preux, Julie's tutor and lover, is a weak foolish child. He is—indeed he cannot prevent himself from being—the plaything of his emotions. Lest we doubt the obvious association of Rousseau with this "humble adorateur," as Julie calls him, we have Rousseau's letter to Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, where he writes that if Saint-Preux is not what he was in life, he is "what I should like to have been," as well as his statement in the Confessions that his fate was similar to that of Saint-Preux. In addition, the very name "Saint-Preux" is reminiscent of the romantic pseudonyms that Rousseau upon occasion gave himself. But in a manner of speaking, this evidence is superfluous: the identification is obvious page after page, letter after letter.

Each of the six parts of La Nouvelle Héloïse depicts the admirable qualities of its heroine and the subjugation of the love-smitten Saint-Preux. In his first letter of the first and longest section of the novel, Saint-Preux confesses his love for his pupil. He knows very well that in falling in love with Julie, he is initiating torment that can only end in misery; he tries to leave, but like an Aeschylean hero he must live out his fate until it consumes him. But it is not the gods who determine this; it is the beautiful Julie. "I notice with horror what torment my heart is preparing for itself. . . . Dry up, if possible, the source of passion that nourishes me and kills me." He implores Julie to send

³⁶ Rousseau to Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, in de Saint-Pierre, La vie et les ouvrages de Jean Jacques Rousseau (Paris, 1967), 139-40. Jean Guéhenno detects the identification of Saint-Preux with Rousseau but maintains that Saint-Preux was what Rousseau dreamed of becoming because of Saint-Preux's fine-sounding, aristocratic name and his good luck in not being "subjected to the insults and humiliations to which Jean Jacques had been subjected." Jean-Jacques: En Marge des Confessions (Paris, 1962), 344. Rousseau certainly didentify with Saint-Preux and may have dreamed of becoming his fictional embodiment, but it does not seem to me as cheerful a prospect as Guéhenno implies. Saint-Preux suffers because of his weaknesses just as much as his creator did.

³⁶ Rousseau, Confessions, 104.

³⁷ Lester Crocker, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 2 (New York, 1973): 58.

him away and he promises to leave: "Banish me from your presence and you will never see me again."88

Julie, however, has other plans for Saint-Preux. She wants him to stay, to tempt and to seduce him and subsequently to blame him for having defiled her. "Do not think that you have to leave," she replies to Saint-Preux; "A virtuous heart knows how to conquer itself or be silent. . . . You may stay."³⁹

In declaring that Saint-Preux is the "author of her fault," although she planned the seduction herself, having invited Saint-Preux to her bedroom and provided him with good pretexts to visit her, ⁴⁰ Julie manages to inflict a sense of guilt on Saint-Preux. He, in turn, conceives of Julie's fall from virtue as his responsibility, and he assumes the guilt that Julie invites him to bear. Saint-Preux conceives of his guilt as the result of his weakness—his inability to withstand the tug of his libido. Like Emile and like Rousseau himself, Saint-Preux, an otherwise moral man, is undermined by this weakness, this particularly male trait. Despite her technical fall from virtue and her confessed remorse, Julie no more becomes morally inferior to Saint-Preux than Sophie becomes the servant to Emile.

In the aftermath of their lapse, Saint-Preux looks to Julie for guidance. Pitifully he asks her to determine their future because her strength and ability to reason must compensate for his inability to take decisive action. When Saint-Preux asks her to flee with him, Julie refuses, insisting that in spite of him, she is still virtuous. She will not leave her "sweet father and her incomparable mother" whom she has shamed. Saint-Preux, Julie declares, will not debase her further. ⁴¹ Julie has thus called upon her female strength: her ability to resist further temptation to succumb to her sexual attraction for Saint-Preux.

Before banishing Saint-Preux from Clarens, Julie informs him of her decision to marry M. de Wolmar, the suitor her parents have chosen for her. In contrast to the enfeebled Saint-Preux, she is the moral champion in Rousseau's eyes, for she has overcome her passion out of obligation to her parents and her appreciation of the sanctity of the family bond. As Saint-Preux prepares to quit her household, Julie reveals to him how she will educate her children. The girls and boys shall be educated separately and differently, as the laws of nature dictate. In so pronouncing, she not only anticipates one of the main themes of *Emile*, she also demonstrates her own

³⁸ Rousseau, Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse, ed. René Pomeau, Editions Garnier (Paris, 1960), 7, 9.

³⁹ Ibid., 11-12.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 114, 77. I do not agree with Crocker that Saint-Preux is the seducer in this instance. See Crocker, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 2: 59. As I point out, Julie entices Saint-Preux and makes the practical arrangements. Moreover, her introduction of the familiar "tu" form is inflammatory. Rousseau, La Nouvelle Héloïse, 13. While Julie claims to "have neglected nothing to halt the progress of the deadly passion" that is overcoming Saint-Preux, she makes sure he stays around the household. Later she writes to Saint-Preux from her garden, in very seductive language: "Oh my dearest, I imagined that you were with me, or rather I carried you with me in my breast." Ibid., 36.

⁴¹ Rousseau, La Nouvelle Héloïse, 88-89.

⁴² Ibid., 102-30.

moral superiority over the weak and defeated lover. By the time Rousseau completes the first part of his story, he has created a picture of his notion of the ideal woman, one who can control her emotions and who understands the premises of a natural education. He has also created in Saint-Preux a lamentable self-image of a man who aspired to do good but could not, because of his enslavement to his erotic needs.

During his period of exile from Clarens in the second and third sections of La Nouvelle Héloïse, Saint-Preux is made to feel the full weight of moral inferiority. Julie has Saint-Preux placed in the hands of a Milord Bomston, a temperate and rational Englishman, who will guide the banished and rejected defiler of the virtuous heroine in his travels through the Swiss cantons and France, finally reaching that center of sin, Paris. Although he is physically separated from Julie, Saint-Preux feels her strength and listens to her preaching through her letters.

In her marriage to the good but cold de Wolmar, Julie regards romantic love as unnecessary. She sees very little of de Wolmar, going to bed after and waking before he does. Now that Saint-Preux is no longer present, she can dispense with an emotion that still haunts Saint-Preux. She writes that "love is accompanied by the continual unrest of jealousy or denial which is awkward in marriage, which should be a state of delightful peace. . . . Lovers can only see themselves and can care only for themselves, and the only thing they know how to do is to love one another. This is not enough for a married couple who have obligations to fulfill." Julie knows that Saint-Preux could never be capable of such sang-froid, and she is determined to make him feel inferior for remaining the slave to his physical love for her.

By reminding Saint-Preux of his original ambition of loving her and of being virtuous, Julie punishes him for having renounced virtue for lust. Saint-Preux first confessed his love by extolling the honorable quality of his emotion. "Love is deprived of its greatest charm when it is no longer honorable," he writes to Julie; "Take away esteem and love is nothing." But having defiled Julie, Saint-Preux is incapable of pursuing his original goal. When Saint-Preux writes to Julie begging her to leave her family and flee with him, Julie, in a smarting reply, reminds Saint-Preux, whose proposal she

⁴³ Ibid., 351-52. Crocker sees de Wolmar as a projection of Rousseau's rational self or his "anti-image." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 2: 57. In addition, Crocker stresses the influence of de Wolmar in running the household at Clarens, but I believe that he attributes too much importance to de Wolmar. Of course, de Wolmar is the titular head of the household, and as Julie herself remarks, he is "calme de passions." Rousseau, La Nouvelle Héloïse, 348. When we consider the novel as a whole and ponder its drama, however, it is Julie's choice of de Wolmar that is important. De Wolmar remains a somewhat nondescript character. I contend that it is Julie's inner strength that directs the whole novel, even though she claims at times only to be running Clarens according to de Wolmar's precepts. Ibid., 474. If de Wolmar can at all be termed an "anti-image" of the author, it must be one of minor importance in contrast to the image of Saint-Preux, who embodies Rousseau's weaknesses—those traits which fascinated and infuriated him. I must also disagree to an extent with Grimsley who sees de Wolmar as a symbol of moral conscience. See Rousseau: A Study in Self-Awareness, 140-45. "The ordered and innocent world" of Clarens, as Grimsley puts it, is only superficially de Wolmar's doing. Where would de Wolmar's plans be if Julie did not choose to marry him and thus renounce Saint-Preux and all that he stands for? I interpret her "weakness" and subsequent need for de Wolmar's guidance as partially feigned. In rejecting Saint-Preux, she demonstrates all the moral strength necessary to bring our story to its conclusion.

regards as reprehensible, of his very own words, and of his inability to love both her and virtue: "Take away esteem and love is nothing. . . . That is our lesson, my friend, and it is you who dictated it." Saint-Preux's abject humiliation is the result of that all-male quality, weakness. Like Emile, and like Rousseau himself, he tried for virtue and love but was too weak to retain his ability to act morally when threatened by his passions.

Eventually, in the last half of the novel, Rousseau has Julie and Saint-Preux reunite at Clarens. The setting is perfect for the continued defeat and punishment of Saint-Preux. He brings prurient longings back to Julie, whose life at Clarens is meant to show how idyllic, calm, and virtuous life can be where passion is absent. Julie reappears in all her roles: the subtle seducer, the tenacious teacher, the incarnation of the moral ideal.

Saint-Preux has returned to Clarens at Julie's insistence. Julie and Saint-Preux have not been together in eight years; as soon as he arrives, Julie wants him to talk of his adventures and of his bravery. Saint-Preux prefers other subjects. "'Ah, Julie,' I told her sadly, 'I am with you only a moment and you already want to send me to the Indies.' "She has drawn him close to her—to talk of travel. The comment of Julie's cousin, Claire, is to the point: "I notice, Julie, that your slave has been sent back." "45

Life proceeds in its own perfect, orderly way at Clarens, but there is trouble ahead. Julie is not happy and confesses her grief to the impressionable visitor. Julie reminds Saint-Preux that she has every reason to be happy at Clarens; she has a faithful and supremely rational husband, devoted servants, obedient children, but "a secret affliction, a single source of grief poisons this life, and I am not happy." What should Saint-Preux think? In his own uncomplicated way he understands Julie's comment to be an invitation to her bedroom. "This deadly idea [that Julie is unhappy] upset in an instant all my own notions and troubled the peace I was just beginning to enjoy." 46

Julie's last attempt at seducing Saint-Preux in the sanctuary of Clarens has begun. Crossing Lake Geneva with Julie, Saint-Preux experiences what is described in the table of contents as his horrible tentation. In reality, Julie is seducing him, only to reject him at the last moment. The wind blows up a storm, sending the waves on deck; Julie wipes his face. Safely on land, they go for a walk; she catches his hand but quickly changes her mind and decides that she would rather be alone. Back on board the boat going home, Saint-Preux, feeling guilty about his temptation, sighs that once again Julie's virtue has thwarted his evil intentions.⁴⁷

Julie's goodness and understanding of the natural order of society pervades Clarens. Although she learns a good deal from de Wolmar, she emerges as the benevolent sovereign of this society and stands again in contrast to Saint-Preux as the personification of Rousseauist strengths. Her servants are

⁴⁴ Rousseau, La Nouvelle Héloïse, 60, 342-43.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 405-06, 417.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 496.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 499-505.

treated with kindness and affection but are kept, as her children are, in their place. In governing the life of the servants, Julie requires that the women and men live together but be kept apart as much as possible. They never do the same work. Saint-Preux is properly impressed. He writes that "because of the admirable order which reigns here one feels that in a well-regulated house men and women ought to have little to do with one another. . . . Julie maintains that neither love nor marriage results in continual contact between the sexes. According to her the husband and wife are destined to live together, but not in the same way. They must act together without doing the same things. The life that would charm one would be intolerable to the other." In case the order of Clarens does not speak for itself, Julie herself emphasizes to her audience what principles she employs to rule. She consciously invokes the wisdom of de Wolmar whose "only working rule is a natural taste for order. The well-established combination of fun, fortune, and action of men pleases me exactly as the beautiful symmetry of a painting or a well-directed plan." **

Toward the end of part 5 of the novel, Saint-Preux describes a dream in which he is haunted by a premonition of Julie's death. He sees Julie lying quiet and immobile, covered by a veil that has been drawn over her to shut out all life. Saint-Preux is beginning to mourn Julie's death before she dies a few years later—post mortem grief is not sufficient for one so enamored as Saint-Preux. This dream reveals that Saint-Preux's frustrations and torment have penetrated into the unconscious. "I saw Julie at her place, I saw her, I recognized her even though her face was covered by a veil. I let out a cry and rushed forward to push aside the veil, but stretch as I could, I could never reach it; I tormented myself and touched nothing. 'My friend,' she answered in a weak voice, 'calm down, the veil is unmovable, none can remove it.' "49 Julie, in her role as the alluring but unobtainable ideal, enjoys the success that her femininity has brought her.

Julie's sacrificial death, as recounted by de Wolmar, closes the sixth and final part of La Nouvelle Héloïse. All Clarens must listen to Julie preparing for sainthood. On her deathbed, Julie selects Claire as the new mother of her children. Julie wants Claire to keep them from the catechism so that someday they will be Christian and, finally, to teach them to live so that they will know how to die bravely without the morose and horrifying sacraments of the Catholic Church.⁵⁰

Audience terminated, and it was one of her best, she can die. She has seized the noble opportunity of giving up her life to rescue her drowning child. Her exit is an Assumption. The strong and moral Julie is free from her own insupportable preaching, but Saint-Preux has returned to Clarens to join the rest of her bereft admirers. He has returned, no doubt, to torture himself for the evil he symbolized in Julie's life, the evil to which she in fact brought him, but for which he feels responsible because of his own weakness.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 432, 474.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 603.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 705-06.

The character of Julie represents in fiction precisely what Sophie represents as a theoretical ideal in *Emile*. Both figures are able to govern their male counterparts by making their pleasures "scarce and precious."

ALTHOUGH ROUSSEAU INTENDED his Confessions to be a work of unprecedented candor, the biographer cannot accept Rousseau's version of his life story without a good deal of skepticism, for the Confessions, along with the later Dialogues, have long been understood as the products of a brilliant but paranoid mind. Convinced that the philosophes had entered into a conspiracy against him, Rousseau set out to exonerate himself from their blackening accusations and lies. To recount Rousseau's life with some degree of fairness to those who played a role in it and to understand Rousseau as objectively as possible, the biographer must unravel Rousseau's exaggerations and distortions.

For us, however, the *Confessions* can serve another useful purpose. Rousseau's adventures and misadventures with the women he loved, or tried to love, illuminate his personal fear of women—which helps to explain why his theory of education slights women and how his fictional treatment of female nature exaggerates their emotional influence on men.

Early in the recounting of his life, Rousseau insists that the very thought of enjoying a woman's favors engendered such weakness in him that it eventually became impossible for him to "take a journey to her side with impunity." As much as he resisted it, the very thought of total involvement with a woman filled him with fear: "If ever in all my life I had once tasted the joy of love to the full, I do not think that my frail existence could have endured it; I should have died as a result." It is hardly surprising that the unifying pattern of Rousseau's adult relationships with women was his refusal to be totally committed to them, to love and to esteem the woman concerned. He would, in general, either fall desperately in love but isolate himself from a sexual experience or give in to his sexual compulsions, regarding the woman involved as a relative nonentity. Rousseau needed to escape from any total engagement of the passions. Using a variety of excuses, he managed to avoid the very relationship he feared would have killed him.

Perhaps one of the most striking aspects of his relationships with women was his assumption that none of the women he approached or became involved with seem afflicted with the weakness that perennially plagued him. The conflicts, frustrations, and defeats he suffered as a result of his "loving too well," as he sometimes put it, were his own. They were a part of his male character just as Emile's and Saint-Preux's weakness was part of their masculine identity. No matter into which category he placed the women in his life, either as idealized objects of his most ardent desires, whom he could not degrade by loving physically, or as mere vessels for the outlet of his sexual desires, they all appear immune from the afflictions of an overpassionate

⁵¹ Rousseau, Confessions, 195, 219.

heart. I have indicated that the relative indifference of women to their passions is the cornerstone of both the education of Sophie and the portrait of Julie. Rousseau's personality has been given the label "obsessional" and that of other psychic aberrations, and where sexual maladjustment is concerned, a cluster of difficulties is responsible. Rousseau's childhood was far from normal. His mother died within a week of his birth, and he was abandoned at the age of ten by an indifferent father. Moreover, he was the victim of a congenital urinary disorder, which forced him to undergo frequent and painful catheterizations, and he apparently had an abnormally formed penis, which made intercourse awkward. 58

He first experienced sexual pleasure masochistically when he was punished and beaten by Mlle Lambercier at the age of twelve. Rousseau's observation about the beating reveals that he tried to seek his sexual pleasure in some indirect or evasive manner.

To be at the knees of an imperious mistress, to obey her commands, to have to ask for her forgiveness, have been for me the sweetest pleasures, and the more my vivid imagination heated my blood, the more I appeared like a lover in ecstacy. As one may imagine, this way of making love does not lend itself to very rapid progress, and it is hardly threatening to the virtue of the desired object. Therefore I have possessed very few women, but I have not failed to get a great deal of satisfaction in my own way, that is to say, imaginatively.⁵⁴

Rousseau here wishes to remain a punished child, to receive his pleasure masochistically. His proclivity for sadomasochism remains an integral part of his sex life as an adult, most notably with Mme de Warens. He also becomes a voyeur, is constantly an onanist, and sometimes a participant in a ménage à trois—anything to avoid a complete involvement as an adult male with a woman he could both love and know sexually.

Another adolescent experience, which occurred soon after the incident with Mlle Lambercier, establishes a prototypical pattern in Rousseau's reaction to women. He encounters two women at the same time, Mlle de Vulson and Mlle Goton, who represent two "distinct sorts of love" to him. He claims that his whole life has been divided between these separate emotions, although he often experienced them simultaneously, as he does here. He was attracted to Mlle de Vulson and could have had a sexual relationship with her but he did not find his passions aroused to an uncontrollable point. Mlle Goton, on the other hand, excited Rousseau to the point of delirium. "I approached Mlle de Vulson with genuine pleasure, but without fear. But I had only to see Mlle Goton and I saw nothing else, all my senses were turned upside down. With Mlle de Vulson I was familiar without familiarity; but with Mlle Goton I

⁵² His childhood has also been closely studied. There is the classic study by Eugene Ritter, "La famille et la jeunesse de Jean-Jacques Rousseau," Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 16 (1924–25). Ritter's study forms in part the basis of the more psychologically oriented studies by Grimsley, Rousseau: A Study in Self-Awareness, 14–85, and most recently by Crocker in the first volume of his biography, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1 (New York, 1968): 1–37.

⁵³ Crocker, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1: 16.

⁵⁴ Rousseau, Confessions, 19.

trembled with agitation even during our most intimate moments." It is difficult to determine what Rousseau meant by these "most intimate moments." All we know is that she beat him, that he liked it, and that their games had come to a halt soon after they began.⁵⁵

By creating a dichotomy between his relatively calm familiarity with Mlle de Vulson and his intense feeling for Mlle Goton, Rousseau anticipates the escapist pattern of his adult love life. Had the relationship with Mlle Goton continued, he might have renounced any sexual contact with her as degrading; she might have become an untouchable idol, in somewhat the same way Mme de Warens and Mme d'Houdetot were to become. Mlle de Vulson could have been a sexual partner but with no more emotional involvement than that demanded by Rousseau's mistress and companion of more than thirty years, Thérèse Le Vasseur. Rousseau will readily admit that he did not love Thérèse but that she responded well to his sexual needs. Rousseau had to make concessions to his libidinal impulses, but he was too fearful to be able to find a woman he could love spiritually and physically—this would have meant deliberate bondage to a stronger power.⁵⁶

During his teen-age travels, Rousseau finds two alluring women who manage to unnerve him. Although he does not categorize them as he does Mlle de Vulson and Mlle Goton, he insists that he loved them and was attracted to them. He had to find some means of evading the challenge with which they threatened him. Rousseau was seventeen when Mme Basile invited him to her bedroom. He terms the sight of the lace rising on her bosom as "a dangerous spectacle," and he fails to take advantage of his opportunity. He subsequently rationalizes his passivity, maintaining that since she was five years older than he, she should have taken the initiative. His rationalization then takes what will become a typical escapist formulation for him: "My lack of success with women," he protests, "comes from loving them too much." Mlle de Breil, whom Rousseau encountered shortly after Mme Basile, was closer to his own age, and he found her very beautiful, yet he restricted his pleasure to voveurism. Since her parents had employed him as a lackey, he limited his ambition to serving her within the bounds of propriety. He loved to look at her, to hear her speak, but he dared go no further.⁵⁷ Rousseau thus insulated himself from what might have been a humiliating experience.

Rousseau's vision of woman as an idol untainted by degrading passions is exaggerated by the particular disgust he finds characteristic of male sexual response. His description of a homosexual who tries to entice him while he is staying at a hospice in Turin in 1728 reveals a conscious horror of this aspect

⁵⁵ Ibid., 28, 27, 1247.

⁵⁶ Crocker explains this dichotomy in the following manner: "And so Jean-Jacques carried on both erotic games at once, each giving him a different sensation, neither intruding on the other. All through his life, he later remarks with lucidity, he divided himself between these two kinds of love, ethereal and sensual, often at the same time. His abnormal psychological history prevented the proper integration of the various levels of his personality, splitting the components of sexual love and relating them to their objects in an unrealistic way." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1: 29. Grimsley is more succinct: "He was at the mercy of irrational and incomplete emotions associated with his erratic impulses." Rousseau: A Study in Self-Awareness, 114.

⁵⁷ Rousseau, Confessions, 76, 77, 94.

of male sexuality: "Just as he stopped struggling with me I saw something gluey and whitish shoot toward the fireplace and fall on the ground, and I was very upset. I rushed out onto the balcony, more troubled and frightened than I had ever been in my life. I was just about to be sick." Sickened by a man's sexual reactions, he is all the more awed by the absence of such intense passion in women. "Women, by way of contrast, acquired a greater value for me. I seemed to owe them a reparation for the offenses of my sex. . . . Because of my memory of this phony African, the ugliest slut became an object of my adoration." Rousseau made a great fuss about the incident, reporting it to the administrators of the hospice, who promptly told him to calm down. The only other homosexual experience Rousseau relates occurred when he was twenty and in search of a friend of Mme de Warens. He was befriended by a fellow traveler in a square in Lyon, where they were both—because of their poverty—obliged to sleep. When the older man made his intentions clear, Rousseau became alarmed and fled.⁵⁸

It has long been maintained that Rousseau demonstrated all the symptoms of latent homosexuality.⁵⁹ Not only his paranoia, but his sexual passivity, his reference to himself as effeminate, and the fact that he took the place of his mother in his father's affections before the latter remarried⁶⁰ tend to support this contention. Indeed, Rousseau's intense repulsion is in itself suspect: if he were not at all on some level of consciousness attracted by the homosexual overtures, he might not have reacted so violently. But the fact is that he never expressed his homosexuality. In its latent form, it served only to make him consciously loathe male sexuality all the more, and further idealize female sexuality, which seemed to him free of such degrading intensity.

The most important woman in Rousseau's life was Mme de Warens. Some of the time he spent with her—particularly during the summer of 1736 when they repaired to Les Charmettes, a lovely property in a vale within walking distance from her house at Chambéry—was the happiest period of Rousseau's unhappy life. In his last and unfinished promenade of the Rêveries du promeneur solitaire (1778), written just four months before his death, he expressed his desire to return to the "sanctuary, the isolated house nestled in the small valley," where he and the woman he called "maman" lived. 61 "Maman" not only played an essential role in constituting Rousseau's happiness, she also exercised a great influence on the formation of his ideas concerning feminine nature. When talking of Sophie or of Julie, he is often reflecting about the character of Mme de Warens.

Rousseau likens one of his returns to Chambéry to Saint-Preux's at Clarens: "I saw my little bundle carried up to the room that had been picked out

⁵⁸ Ibid., 67, 69, 165-66.

⁵⁹ The conclusion that Rousseau's paranoia resulted from latent homosexuality was first made in the early 1900s by psychoanalysts who followed the classic Freudian formulation that paranoia often arises from the supression of the homosexual wish. The literature on the subject for this period is vast; a survey of it is contained in I. W. Allen, "Thérèse La Vasseur" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1933), 34–36.

⁵⁰ Rousseau, Confessions, 12, 55, 1260.

³¹ Rousseau, Les rêveries du promeneur solitaire, in Oeuvres complètes, Pléiade, 1: 1099.

for me with much the same feeling as Saint-Preux when he saw his carriage put into Mme de Wolmar's coach house." Even the setting of Chambéry is romanticized to the point where it resembled Clarens, when in fact Chambéry was in disrepair. Rousseau soon came to worship Mme de Warens in the same hyperbolic terms as Saint-Preux adored Julie. His legs trembled as he approached her house, and once inside, he became totally absorbed by his attachment to her, who became his "sole passion." Like Saint-Preux, Rousseau acts impulsively and irrationally in the presence of his adored object, and he acts in ways he cannot explain rationally. Rousseau can even excuse his masochism as part of the delirium that overtook him when he was with Mme de Warens. 4

However great the similarities between the intensity of Rousseau's passion and that of his fictional counterpart, the differences in their relationships with the women who stimulated that passion are just as significant. Saint-Preux wanted Julie to be his lover in a normal sexual sense, to live with her as her husband—his motives are obvious, his behavior is straightforward. Rousseau sought feverishly to be loved and accepted, but he unconsciously resisted any relationship that would have called upon him to be totally involved, mind and body, with any woman. The threat imposed by such a relationship was more than he could bear.

Soon after arriving at Chambéry for the first time in 1728, Rousseau, despite his frequent departures and explosions of temper, developed a deep affection for the clever and urbane mistress of the household. He experienced the type of intense feeling for Mme de Warens as he did earlier for Mlle Goton, but with the former this feeling lasted for several years. How would he shield himself from becoming erotically involved with such a woman?

Since Mme de Warens had a lover, Claud Anet, when Rousseau arrived, she did not force the issue. For a while a ménage à trois existed in which Rousseau was not obliged to perform sexually, but he took no chances. He disarmed Mme de Warens by making her his mother. She was twelve years older than he; she took him in when he was a mere vagabond in search of security. It was not difficult for Rousseau to call her "maman." "Little one' was my name, and hers was 'mamma,' and so remained little one and mamma. . . . She was the tenderest of mothers to me, she never sought her own pleasure but only my good. . . . It never entered my mind to abuse her maternal caresses." But Mme de Warens's interest became more than maternal, and Rousseau had to face the moment he dreaded. He avoided the confrontation as long as possible, but "maman" managed to seduce "little one." He felt nothing but remorse as a result, because he had committed

⁶² Rousseau, Confessions, 104.

⁶³ Crocker, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1:89.

⁶⁴ Rousseau, Confessions, 123. See also page 108: "Sometimes in her presence I fell into extravagances that seemed as if they could only have been the result of the most violent love. One day at the table, just as she put some food into her mouth, I cried out that I had seen a morsel of hair on her plate, whereupon I seized it greedily and swallowed it. To sum it up there is only one difference between the most passionate lover and myself and that is that my whole condition is inexplicable in the light of reason."

incest. He now knew what he suspected would be the case, he could not be Mme de Warens's lover. His final rationalization for his failure repeats his excuse for not having been aggressive toward Mme Basile and anticipates the excuse he would later use regarding Mme d'Houdetot—he loved her too much to lust after her. 65 She had become an idol to him.

Rousseau's adoration of Mme de Warens is reflected in both Emile's enfeebling love for Sophie and Saint-Preux's bondage to Julie. Rousseau's notion that women are more in control of their emotions than men reflects his experience with Mme de Warens's seeming lack of sensuality. 66 Rousseau was remorseful after their physical encounter, but she was "neither sad nor excited, she was caressing and tranquil." Her apparent indifference toward sexual pleasure gave her strength, which Rousseau envied. In his eyes, her mastery over her passions permitted her to be promiscuous without being immoral. She could be scarce or generous in giving pleasure to her paramours, Tavel and Anet, with equanimity. There is more than a touch of envy in Rousseau's observation that "she could have slept with twenty men every day and with a clear conscience and with no more scruple than desire. I know that many religious people are no more scrupulous on this point, but the difference is that they are carried away by their passions and she only by her sophistry... She could even interrupt her conversation if she had to, for the act itself, and then resume it with the same serenity as before." For Rousseau, where there was strength or mastery over passion, there was no room for evil. He could only feel inferior over his own inability to possess the emotional stability of a Mme de Warens, and guilty about his comparative

Rousseau's break with Mme de Warens came about in 1737, three years after the death of Anet. When Rousseau returned to Chambéry after one of his excursions to Geneva, he discovered that his "maman" had installed another convert to Catholicism in her house. Jean-Samuel-Rodolphe Wintzenreid, a virile and vivacious young man, would satisfy Mme de Warens where Rousseau had failed. Although he had not objected previously to Mme de Warens's lovers, Rousseau resented Wintzenreid because his presence was a constant and smarting reminder that "little one" could not be relied upon to perform as a man when "maman" deemed it appropriate.

Quite understandably, Rousseau does not dwell on the painful months from February 1738 to April 1740, when he played "the double role of rejected lover and clinging parasite," but he understands why he has been replaced. His only defense is that his adoration of "maman" prevented him from giving her what she wanted. Rousseau writes that as a woman she could not be expected to understand the nature of his affection and of his sacrifice. "Take the most

⁶⁵ Ibid., 106, 197.

⁶⁶ Havelock Ellis, "Madame de Warens," Virginia Quarterly, 20 (1933): 431. Ellis writes that de Warens "in character, tastes, and feelings, corresponds to Julie, although the heroine of the novel lived on a somewhat more magnificent scale" (p. 413).

⁶⁷ Rousseau, Confessions, 197, 230. 68 Crocker, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1: 128.

sensible, the most philosophical, the least sensual of women. The most unpardonable crime that a man in whom she is not otherwise very interested can commit is that of not having sex with her when he may." He quits Chambéry for the last time with the illusion intact that esteem and non-sensual love are incompatible with the physical act of love.

Mme d'Houdetot is the Mme de Warens of Rousseau's mature years. Her visit to Rousseau when he was writing La Nouvelle Héloïse at Mme d'Epinay's Hermitage in late 1757 helped him to arrive at his understanding of female sensuality. Rousseau came to love Mme d'Houdetot in the same way he loved "maman," as an ideal he could not tarnish by becoming her lover. When he approached her as anything other than a noble friend, he insists that it was her decision to recall him "to duty and reason." He seems quite relieved to have the "tenderest of friendships" with this woman whom the philosophes so much admired.

One reason Mme d'Houdetot was content to treat Rousseau as an affectionate friend was that she had an adequate lover in Saint-Lambert, and she never had to make the demands on Rousseau that "maman" had to make. Mme d'Houdetot's solution to the problem of having on the one hand a potent lover and on the other an adoring friend was to create a ménage à trois. She spoke to Rousseau of the "delightful trio" that they might form together. Rousseau readily accepted such an arrangement as it provided him with a perfect means of escape.

Rousseau declared that when he was creating the character of Julie, he often thought of Mme d'Houdetot, and there is a good deal in Julie that reminds us of Mme d'Houdetot: they are both adored by comparatively weak males, and are themselves strong. The ménage à trois in the latter parts of the novel, between M. and Mme de Wolmar and Saint-Preux, is also in some measure a reflection of the real life trio. But Saint-Preux and Rousseau, despite their common enslavement to their passions, are very different. Rousseau did not project onto Saint-Preux his own unconscious need to evade a total engagement with a woman he loved. Like Rousseau, Saint-Preux is enfeebled by the passions that are excited by a woman, but unlike Rousseau, Saint-Preux does want his Julie. By elevating Mme d'Houdetot to the level of an untouchable goddess, Rousseau removes her, in the same manner as he did Mme de Warens, from a threatening position. Rousseau confesses, in what has become a constant refrain, that he loved Mme d'Houdetot "too well to possess her."

This refrain of "loving too well to possess," of finding his potential lover too good for sex, has been invoked before as a way out for Rousseau—with Mme Basile and with Mme de Warens. He employs the approach in one more instance, with Mme d'Epinay, his hostess at the Hermitage. Even though

⁶⁹ Rousseau, Confessions, 266.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 442.

⁷¹ Ibid., 441.

⁷² Ibid., 440, 444.

Rousseau eventually viewed her as part of the conspiracy of former friends who had turned against him, he at one point insisted that "I perhaps loved her too well as a friend to be able to do so as a lover." In case this evasion did not work, Rousseau had another reason for explaining why the urbane Mme d'Epinay need never be regarded as posing a threat as a sexual partner: her flat chest, he writes, "was enough to freeze me." His observation about Mme d'Epinay recalls a ludicrous adventure he experienced with a Venetian courtesan, Zulietta, in 1743, when he was secretary to the French ambassador. He became impotent when he discovered that the otherwise very appealing female had no nipple on one of her breasts. The a moment of extreme stress, Rousseau called upon an old and trusted ally—nature.

Thérèse La Vasseur lived with Rousseau during the last thirty-three years of his life. They were almost constant companions from the time they met in Paris in 1745, when Thérèse was working as a laundress at a boarding house where Rousseau was staying. He took her everywhere, to Mme d'Epinay's Hermitage, to visit Hume in Great Britain, and back with him to Paris. Both Thérèse and her mother, who came along as part of the bargain for as long as she could, were sources of embarrassment, but he was devoted to them. Thérèse was almost universally despised by Rousseau's friends, who believed that she aroused his suspicions that they were in league against him. Mme d'Epinay, for one, called her "jealous, stupid, gossiping and deceitful." 14

More important than what his friends believed was Rousseau's own opinion of the woman he eventually married and by whom he fathered five children. He confesses total exasperation at her inability to learn anything. He decided that his efforts to improve her mind were wasted. To She never did in fact learn how to read, count money, tell time, or recite the months of the year in proper order. He seems to have contented himself with a simple-minded companion who could tend to his biological needs.

Rousseau explains his choice of Thérèse very clearly: "What will the reader think when I tell him, with all the candor he has come to expect of me, that from the first moment I saw her until this very day I have never felt the slightest glimmer of love for her, that I no more desired to possess her than I did Mme de Warens, and that the needs she satisfied were purely sexual ones and had nothing to do with her as an individual." The autobiographer underestimates his audience. Rousseau is never more straightforward and comprehensible than when he declares that he and Thérèse, despite their long period of cohabitation, "always remained separate people." The nature of Rousseau's escape from Thérèse was the very obverse of that from Mme de Warens, but the result was the same—he was not totally involved in the relationship. He worshiped Mme de Warens too much to allow himself to

⁷³ Ibid., 412, 321. Crocker notes that Casanova relates an encounter with this same Zulietta, but makes no mention of deformity. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1: 159.

⁷⁴ Rousseau, Confessions, 1406. Thérèse is not without her defenders. Allen is passionate in the defense of a woman who had to care for a physically ill and emotionally disturbed man. "Thérèse La Vasseur," 34–36.

⁷⁵ Rousseau, Confessions, 332. 76 Ibid., 414, 415.

degrade her as a lover, and he thought so little of Thérèse—she demanded so little of him—that he was able to have a sexual relationship with her that posed no threat to his emotional stability. Thérèse's very stupidity made possible her long relationship with this poet and playwright, this novelist and political theorist.

Rousseau demonstrated an almost painful awareness of his failure to achieve a wholly satisfying love life. What he needed most, he confesses, was the very thing he was unable to achieve: a relationship with a woman that was as intimate as it was sexual. But to have fulfilled this need, he would have had to have found "two souls in the same body." He never did, and he even offered a proper epitaph concerning his frustrated attempts: "Failing to achieve this combination, I always felt a void." From our vantage point, it is obvious that Rousseau never let himself find this combination. As acutely as he perceived his failure, he systematically made sure it would come about. His failure is bitter, but success would have been impossible for a man so very afraid of women.

Rousseau captured his life-long fear, frustration, and total preoccupation with women in "On Women," one of the few successful poems he ever wrote.

Seductive and deadly object Whom I adore and detest; Thou whom nature embellishes With physical charm and the gift of wit, Who makes a slave of man, Who ridicules him when he complains, Who overpowers him when he fears you, Who punishes him when he defies you; Thou whose soft, serene forehead Bears the pleasure of our celebrations; Thou who excites the storms Which torment humankind; Chimerical and inconceivable being, Abyss of good and evil, Will you always be the inexhaustible source Of our contempt and of our concern?78

ROUSSEAU'S LATER AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS, the three *Dialogues* and the *Rêveries*, are significantly silent on the topics of passion and women. Except for the last promenade of the *Rêveries*, where the brief period at Les Charmettes with Mme de Warens is recalled as the one happy period in his life, there is not a single direct reference to any of his relationships with women. He eventually abandoned the search for that perfect love, which seemed impossible to obtain: any effort to secure the happiness of what might have been a vital male is forsaken.

¹⁷ Ibid., 414

⁷⁸ Rousseau, "Vers sur la Femme," in Oeuvres complètes, Pléiade, 2: 1160-61.

By the time he writes the lovely *Rêveries*, he has given up all attempts at exonerating himself; reconciliation among men has become impossible. He prefers to seek a new type of happiness—a solitary, indolent peace. Botany is the occupation suitable for this type of happiness, and in discovering it, Rousseau feels the serenity of his prepuberty life, before sexual passion came to him, as it came to Emile, to undermine his equilibrium and independence. "Botany," he writes, "reminds me of my young and innocent pleasure and makes me enjoy them again."

In the Confessions, Rousseau records the sublime moments when he composed the fifth book of *Emile*. He wrote it in the gardens of Montmorency, an exquisite setting. "It was in this profound and delicious solitude, in the middle of woods and streams, among the songs of birds of every kind, and the fragrance of orange flowers, that I composed, in a state of continual ecstasy, the fifth book of *Emile*." It was the perfect place for Rousseau to write the part of an epoch-making book that would theorize about the education of women. His theory amounted to a total neglect of women as intellectual beings. But we can now understand that in so restricting the education of women, he was legislating the very fond wish of restraining a power he feared. Women were still, within their limited sphere, very powerful, but at least that power was not to be ubiquitous. The same observation may be made with regard to the proper role of women in Genevan society as preached in the Lettre à M. d'Alembert: the establishment of a theater in Geneva would have extended the influence of women by increasing the amount of contact they might have with men. No wonder then that Rousseau railed against the proposal.

Rousseau's understanding of female nature also affected his prescription for natural society as a whole. In such a society, total harmony and equality would result from each individual accepting a certain amount of restraint. The particular restraints placed on women reflect Rousseau's notion that they are a stronger species. Emile had to try to learn to be strong, and in concentrating on his education rather than on Sophie's, Rousseau attempts to compensate for Emile's innate weakness. Rousseau capitalizes on the obvious role that nature has given women by not allowing them to compete in areas that extend beyond motherhood.

The character of Julie exhibits some traits of female emotionality as Rousseau perceived them over a lifetime of frustrating and ultimately unfulfilled relationships with women. Although she professes a great love for Saint-Preux, Julie's ability to refuse to leave the moral society of Clarens in order to spend her life with him demonstrates a strength that is incomprehensible to Saint-Preux. The same type of indifference characterized Mme de Waren's attachment to her lovers.

Although Rousseau believed that he was an extraordinary man, he views his enslavement to his passions as a particularly male quality, and that

86 Rousseau, Confessions, 521.

⁷⁸ Rousseau, Les rêveries du promeneur solitaire, 1073.

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quality is painstakingly described in the *Confessions* and vividly dramatized in his fictional embodiment, Saint-Preux. There are, of course, aspects of Saint-Preux's personality that do not reflect his creator. Saint-Preux was not afraid of Julie—his fondest wish was to be her lover in ways Rousseau could never have been. Rousseau's impression of female strength as well as his fear of encountering that strength in a woman he loved did, however, render his imagination capable of creating a character such as Julie.

Rousseau was not the first man in Western culture to have been afraid of women. The long and complex tradition of misogyny in our civilization is partially explained by men's fear of women, a fear that has been traced to prehistoric times. Greek mythology abounds in tales which reveal that the very sight of a woman made many men feel weak.⁸¹ The taboos and phobias that are typical of men's understanding of women account in part for the late wakening of women's rights. What has long puzzled and chagrined the ardent advocates of those rights concerning Rousseau's apparently reactionary stand on the issue should be understood in the full context of his ideas and life.

⁸¹ Wolfgang Lederer, The Fear of Women (New York, 1968), 35.

Bolshevism, the Woman Question, and Aleksandra Kollontai

BEATRICE BRODSKY FARNSWORTH

THE UTOPIAN SOCIALIST, Charles Fourier, believed that the emancipation of women was the best general measure of the moral level of a culture, that the degree of feminine emancipation was a natural measure of general emancipation. Karl Marx liked to quote Fourier. So did Old Bolsheviks.¹

The Russian intelligentsia had long been absorbed with the problems of two oppressed groups: women and peasants. And as the relationship of the backward peasantry to the Bolshevik revolution underwent tortuous analysis, finally to become by the mid-twenties a source of bitter factionalism, the "woman question" seemed one of the few issues on which party leaders, Left and Right, agreed.

I would argue that it was an unfortunate consensus, deriving in part from a superficial commitment, in part from a limited understanding of the problem, so that at a critical time when the regime was taking form, the woman question moved not in the direction of a socialist solution, but rather toward conversion to revolutionary myth. Only one leading Bolshevik, Aleksandra Kollontai, the central figure in the socialist woman's movement, fought single-mindedly for the socialist course. But by the mid-twenties, having established herself as an oppositionist, she was isolated from decision making. This article will suggest that her capitulation to Stalin in 1927 ended the most serious attempt of bolshevism to treat the woman question on the basis of socialist theory.

REVOLUTIONS GENERATE MYTHS. One is the assumption that the Russian socialists were, from prerevolutionary days, actively committed to working for the liberation of women. In fact, insofar as we can speak of a single attitude for so factionalized a group as the Social Democrats, the opposite was true. The

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¹Charles Fourier contended that "the development of a given historical epoch is best of all defined by the relation between the progress of women and freedom, since in the relations between woman and man, the weak and the strong, is most clearly expressed the victory of human nature over bestiality. The degree of feminine emancipation is a natural measure of the general emancipation." Fourier, cited by Marx, as quoted in David Riazanov, "Marks i Engels o brake i seme" [Marx and Engels on Marriage and the

liberation of women, part of the ideological equipment that the Russians inherited from a more humanistic, Western European tradition, was a concept they resisted adopting as a goal.

The reluctance of Russian Marxists to pledge themselves to solving the woman question was far from evident to Kollontai; she came from the upperclass background common to Russian revolutionary women and joined the party in 1898 chiefly because she believed socialism the surest means to achieve women's liberation.2 Only in the era of the Revolution of 1905 did Kollontai begin to sense that her original perceptions had been overoptimistic. She reminded the Petersburg Committee of the Social Democratic party that they must give more attention in their program to the miserable lives of Russian working women. The party was losing women from the ranks of the students and the intelligentsia to the impressively organized bourgeois feminists, and it needed as a counterbalance a base among the proletariat. The socialists rejected both Kollontai's idea for a special bureau in the party that would devise ways to reach women and her suggestion that they include in their aims the liberation of women. Finding herself "completely isolated" in her ideas and demands, Kollontai realized for the first time how little the Social Democratic party in Russia was concerned with the fate of the women of the working class, "how meagre was its interest in women's liberation."3

What lay behind this negativism? The Russian working woman, the baba so backward an element in society, seemed an unlikely recruit to a secret political party, an inappropriate comrade. But the Petersburg Committee objected to Kollontai's ideas chiefly because they saw in them the diversionary danger of feminism. Although an alliance between socialism and feminism is referred to as one of the most enduring of nineteenth-century intellectual bonds, it was true only insofar as feminism was defined loosely to mean the equality of women and their incorporation into the mainstream of public life.4 With the development of Marxism as a political movement, later in the nineteenth century, the term "feminism" became suspect in European socialist parties. It implied not simply equality for women but a union of women as a separate group, linked by bonds that transcended those of class. This was, of course, deviant thinking, the mere suggestion of which made Marxists uneasy. Specific clauses concerning women and separate institutions, whether bureaus in the party or working women's clubs, held for them the threat of dividing the working class. Therefore the Social Democrats preferred that the liberation of women be treated not as a specific, revolutionary goal but rather as an eventual result of the class struggle.

Both wings of the Social Democratic party, Mensheviks as well as Bolshe-

Family], Letopisi Marksizma [Chronicles of Marxism], 1927, no. 3, p. 21; Trotsky makes the same observation in Pravda [Truth], Dec. 17, 1925.

² A. M. Itkina, Revoliutsioner, Tribun, Diplomat: Stranitsy Zhizni Aleksandry Mikhailovny Kollontai [Revolutionary, Tribune, Diplomat: Pages in the Life of Aleksandra Mikhailovna Kollontail (Moscow, 1970), 44. ³ A. M. Kollontai, The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman, tr. Salvator Attanasio, ed. Iring Fetscher (New York, 1971), 13-14.

See, for example, Martin Malia, Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism (New York, 1965), 266, and Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex (New York, 1953), 112, 126.

viks, male and female, tended to share this view: thus when Vera Zasulich, the veteran revolutionary, returned to Russia after the upheaval of 1905, she rejected Kollontai's request for help in devising ways to reach women. To find the usually warm and expansive Zasulich their opponent, instead of their aide, distressed Kollontai and the small group she had recruited—among them the working woman, Klavdiia Nikolaeva, later a prominent Bolshevik. But they proceeded even without the older woman's support to establish on their own a legal women's club. Affiliated with neither socialist faction, it was deceptively named the Society for the Mutual Help of Working Women. Zasulich came to the club one evening not, as Kollontai hoped, to rejoice at its success but to condemn it as a "superfluous enterprise" that divided the strength of the socialist party.⁵

The woman question brought Kollontai to Marxism—others came to the richly diverse movement by equally idiosyncratic paths—but in no sense was she a political feminist. From 1906 to 1908, when she fled into exile to escape the Russian police who were pursuing her for revolutionary agitation, Kollontai was the scourge of the bourgeois feminists, whom she attacked in a torrent of polemical speeches, articles, and a belligerent four-hundred-page book, The Social Bases of the Woman Question (1909). With revolutionary righteousness, she denied the feminist premise that women were a group apart bound by special ties; rather, they were divided into classes just as men were. Occasionally overstating her argument, Kollontai contended that the feminists' program of reform was pitifully irrelevant for proletarian women, that despite their claims to be "nonclass" the Russian "Equal Righters," as she called the Union for Women's Equality, remained bourgeois. Determined to establish a basic truth, Kollontai portrayed the woman question not as a matter of political liberation or social reform, but symbolically as a "piece of bread," which meant that for women to be truly free they had to be economically independent.6 The heart of the matter, which feminists in Russia ignored, was the domestic and marital situation. How could independence be possible for women of the working class unless the family ceased to be a closed, individual unit? Were the feminists so unrealistic as to believe that the contemporary class state, however democratically structured, would take on itself all the obligations relating to maternity and child care that were fulfilled. by the individual family? Kollontai insisted that only socialists could create the conditions which in turn could free the "new woman."

What Kollontai did not reveal to the Equal Righters was her difficulty in convincing either Bolsheviks or Mensheviks, as she moved between these two factions, to include the woman question in its goals. The Social Democratic party continued to suspect Kollontai of feminism as they viewed with unease

⁵Kollontai, "Avtobiograficheskii Ocherk" [Autobiographical Sketch], *Proletarskaia Revoliutsiia* [Pro-teletarian Revolution], 1921, no. 3, p. 275.

⁶ Kollontai, Sotsial'nye Osnovy Zhenskogo Voprosa [Social Bases of the Woman Question] (St. Petersburg, 1909), 34. The Union for Women's Equality was the most successful of the bourgeois feminist groups in terms of organization and broad appeal. For a discussion of Russian feminism prior to the revolution, see Richard Stites, "Women's Liberation Movements in Russia, 1900–1930," Canadian-American Slavic Studies, 7 (1973): 460–74.

her penchant to concentrate on the problems of women, an emphasis that theoretically they need not have feared, if the situation of women, rather than being divisive, was to serve as a measure of the moral level of a newly structured society.⁷

Only in 1917 when Kollontai was at the peak of her popularity as a revolutionary, having officially joined the Bolsheviks in 1915 and been elected to their Central Committee at the Sixth Party Congress a few months before the Revolution, was she able to establish a women's bureau in the Bolshevik party. By then she had acquired powerful allies: Lenin and Iakov Sverdlov, who was later chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet. Most of the unhappy encounters between Kollontai and the Russian socialists had taken place before the Revolution with Lenin far from the scene. Yet there are indications that at least initially she questioned Lenin's commitment to the woman question. In the spring of 1914, while preparing for a proposed meeting in August of the Socialist International in Vienna where she was scheduled to report to the Women's Congress, Kollontai learned in confidence that the mandates of Menshevik delegates to the Women's Congress would be contested by the Bolsheviks. To Menshevik leaders she expressed indignation at the maneuvering of the Bolsheviks who in her view had never before been interested in the women's movement—after all she had been participating in these international meetings for years—but who were now trying to dominate the group. 8 A revealing charge, for when one criticized the Bolsheviks in 1914, one meant Lenin, the undisputed leader of the faction.

Kollontai took a proprietary attitude toward the Russian women's movement, understandable in view of her earlier isolation, but somewhat unfair. Among the Bolsheviks in exile were Krupskaia, Lenin's wife, and her close party comrades, Ludmilla Staël, Zinaida Lilina, and Inessa Armand, women who shared Kollontai's commitment if not her single-minded intensity. As for Lenin, his concern was not quite so sudden, or opportunistic, as Kollontai suspected. While Lenin possessed that feel for reality, that marvelous sensitivity to the demands of the time, which prompted him now and then to adopt new tactics, his interest in the woman question had its source in an intuitive knowledge that for the revolution to succeed women had to support it, that women, the most backward element of Russian society, could best be reached by specially designed measures. If for him women's problems were not primary, but subordinate to the larger goal of revolution, they were dear to the hearts of the women closest to him: his friend Armand, first director of the women's section of the party in 1919, and his wife, editor of its journal,

⁷ Typical of Kollontai's prerevolutionary writing was her essay, "Novaia Zhenshchina" [New Woman], Switchmanyi Mir [Contemporary World], 1013, no. 9, pp. 151-85.

Swremennyi Mir [Contemporary World], 1913, no. 9, pp. 151-85.

⁸ Letters from Kollontai to Semen Semkovskii, Boris Nikolaevsky Archive, Hoover Library, Stanford, California, as quoted in M. H. Pertsoff, "'Lady in Red': A Study of the Early Career of A. M. Kollontai" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1968), 42.

⁹ Zinaida Lilina was married to Grigory Zinoviev, Lenin's chief lieutenant in these years of exile. As for Inessa Armand, another Old Bolshevik, it has been suggested that Lenin was deeply in love with her. For contrasting interpretations of this alleged relationship, see Bertram Wolfe, "Lenin and Inessa Armand," Slavic Review, 22 (1963): 96–114, and Adam Ulam, The Bolsheviks (New York, 1968), 284–85.

Kommunistka. It was Armand who urged in 1914 that propaganda work be widely developed among the women workers and that a special women workers' magazine be published in Petersburg. Lenin wrote to his sister Anna with this idea, and *Rabotnitsa* resulted.¹⁰

After the revolution, Lenin sought in 1920 to explain why there were so few women in the party and pointed to the party's past policy of rejecting separate bodies for work among the masses of women. Adopting as his own the argument Kollontai had been advancing since 1906 and separating himself from the party's narrow view, Lenin insisted that there must be commissions, party bureaus, whose particular duty it was to arouse the masses of women workers, peasants and petty bourgeois, to bring them under party influence. What he was advocating, he explained, was not bourgeois feminism, it was instead revolutionary expediency.¹¹

If Sverdlov seemed an unlikely ally as head of the party's Secretariat, staffed primarily by women, he understood women's subordinate status. Anatoly Lunacharsky, the animated and generous commissar of education, considered that Sverdlov was "like ice. . . . somehow faceless." But this same man responded with warm compassion to Kollontai's plea that the Bolsheviks commit themselves to bringing women into the party. Sverdlov helped Kollontai win acceptance for a women's bureau, and he became so vital to her work among women that upon his death in 1919 Kollontai wrote an emotional piece telling the working women of Russia that with the death of Sverdlov they had lost a comrade who was among their few convinced defenders, a comrade who really understood the need for political work among women and whose death meant special grief for their movement. 13

Had Sverdlov lived, had Lenin not become incapacitated, would the woman question have been resolved in a different way? Among the Bolsheviks there was only one other leader, Leon Trotsky, whom Kollontai praised equally with Lenin and Sverdlov for his work on behalf of women. Their initial support was invaluable. A measure of it was the party's pledge in its new program at the Eighth Congress in 1919 to replace the individual household with communal facilities for eating, laundry, and maternal and child care. Kollontai believed she had scored another triumph for the movement when, despite opposition, she was able to get a resolution passed at the Eighth Congress concerning the need for the party to work more specifically among women to draw them in as active members. But within two years she was harshly critical of the party's failure to implement its decision to include women in areas of communist leadership. The Zhenotdel, the women's section,

¹⁰ Clara Zetkin, Reminiscences of Lenin (New York, 1934), 53; N. K. Krupskaia, Reminiscences of Lenin, tr. Bernard Isaacs (New York, 1970), 269-70.

¹¹ Zetkin, Reminiscences, 53.

 ¹² A. V. Lunacharsky, Revolutionary Silhouettes, tr. Michael Glenny (New York, 1967), 107.
 ¹³ Kollontai, "Kogo Poteriali Rabotnitsy?" [Whom Did the Working Women Lose?], in Kollontai, Izbrannye Stat'i i Rechi [Collected Articles and Speeches], ed. I. M. Dazhina et al. (Moscow, 1972), 266-6;
 ¹⁴ Kollontai, Autobiography, 42.

¹⁵ Kollontai, "Avtobiograficheskii Ocherk," 301. For Kollontai's criticism of the party, see her "Prefsoiuzy i Rabotnitsa" [Trade Unions and Working Women], *Pravda*, May 22, 1921, reprinted in Kollontai, *Izbrannye Stat'i i Rechi*, 319.

ПРОЛЕТЯРИЙ ВСЕХ СУГДН, СОЕДИНЯЙ ТЕСЬ! MAZERO LIKBKII/O/,, ПРАВДЯ

Fig. 1. Title page of Rabotnitsa with picture of Lenin.



Fig. 2. Kollontai addressing Second International Conference of Communist Women, June 1921. From A. M. Kollontai, Iz Moei Zhizni i Raboty [From My Life and Work], ed. I. M. Dazhina et al. (Moscow, 1974).

which was established officially in 1919 as a part of the Central Committee, was never able to overcome the forces that regarded its work with indifference or hostility.16 Sophia Smidovich, an Old Bolshevik who headed the Moscow Regional Women's Section until she replaced Kollontai as director of the central Zhenotdel in 1922, described the situation. The efforts of Zhenotdel to raise socialist consciousness among women were proving expedient, but the party was failing to help. The few qualified and trained workers assigned to it were regarded with contempt by party comrades. Smidovich put the question directly: if Zhenotdel was not regarded as necessary, the party must say so; if it was needed, then qualified workers had to be provided. It would be better to liquidate the department than to allow it to drag out its miserable existence. Her dismal appraisal was shared by another Old Bolshevik, Viktor Nogin, who in his report to the Eleventh Party Congress called attention to the condescension, the abnormal, unhealthy attitudes toward Zhenotdel that caused its members to feel unequal.¹⁷ But V. M. Molotov, a member of the Central Committee and one of the three party secretaries, observed that Zhenotdel's difficulties were due to its lack of a real leader. This colorless but methodical functionary, who was to rise to the highest positions as Stalin's right-hand man, implied that the trouble lay not in party attitudes but in the poor organization established by its previous directors, either Armand, who died in 1920, or perhaps Kollontai, who was her successor. 18 Kollontai was an ideal scapegoat. Having fallen from favor, she was already under fire at the Eleventh Congress, which was trying unsuccessfully to expel her from the party for her role as a leader in yet another unhappy cause, the Workers' Opposition.19

WE COME TO THE MID-TWENTIES, a turning point. The Bolshevik party, having committed itself in 1919 with some reluctance to solving the woman question, found that its New Economic Policy (NEP) adopted in 1921 was in conflict

¹⁶ Zhenotdel developed through several stages, the first being the Women's Bureau established in 1917. From the outset the work of the bureau was directed by Kollontai, Armand, and Kollontai's protégé, Varvara Moirova, who joined the Bolsheviks in 1917. In 1918 Sverdlov helped in creating commissions for agitation and propaganda among working women for the purpose of helping to attract nonparty working women. See E. Bochkarëva and Serafima Liubimova, Svetlyi Put [The Bright Path] (Moscow, 1967), 81. In the autumn of 1919 the party reorganized the commissions into a formal section of the Central Committee known as the Zhenotdel. A network of women's sections were attached to each of the local party committees, extending from the center in Moscow into city and provincial districts. For a full discussion of the Zhenotdel, see Richard Stites, "Zhenotdel: 1917–1930," typescript. Also see Bette Stavrakis, "Women and the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, 1918–1935" (Ph.D. dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1961), 79-168.

17 Odinnadtsatyi S''ezd RKP (b): Mart-Aprel' 1922 g [Eleventh Congress, Bolshevik Party: March-April

^{1922] (}Moscow, 1961), 456-57, 67.

18 Ibid., 58. For an idea of the organizational work of the women's section under Kollontai, see her Rabotnitsa i Krestianka v Sovetskoi Rossii [The Working Woman and the Peasant Woman in Soviet Russia] (Petrograd, 1921).

¹⁹ The Workers' Opposition was a group based on the idea of trade-union leadership in industry. Organized in 1920, it tried to resist the centralizing trend of Soviet politics. Its leaders were Alexander Shliapnikov, Sergei Medvedev, and Kollontai. As an Ultra-Left idealist, Kollontai added to the movement a protest against the stifling of criticism within the party and the failure of the regime to improve the living conditions of the proletariat. This movement was crushed by the party leadership in 1922.

with its social obligations. Nikolai Bukharin, earlier a leader of the radical left wing of the party, but now an exponent of the more moderate pace of the regime, stated it bluntly in the Bolshevik newspaper, Pravda: the official party program of 1919 was outdated and irrelevant. 20 The end of labor conscription, the rise in unemployment resulting from the partial restoration of private enterprise under NEP, meant that the number of women unable to find work and dependent now on men had increased. Simultaneously the government reduced its investment in child care. A resolution offered at a conference concerning woman's work in 1922 spoke of NEP's "catastrophic effect" on the work being done among mothers. For example, the number of homes for mothers and children fell sharply after 1922. Articles in Kommunistka reflected the sense of alarm among workers in social institutions, like nurseries, that under NEP did not know how much longer they would exist.21

For the hundreds of thousands of unemployed women, living in de facto marriages or neglecting to register post-1917 church marriages, the situation was potentially perilous. Should their husbands leave them, they would be without means of support. The party, faced with a critical family situation, had to deal with the fundamental question plaguing it in the twenties: would it present a forward-looking solution to demonstrate that Soviet Russia, despite the NEP, was moving toward socialism?

In October 1925 the party reacted instead by introducing to the nominal governing organ, the All Russian Central Executive Committee, a new family code, which increased not society's but the individual's economic obligations by making unregistered marriages legal. The purpose, the commissar of justice, Dmitri Kursky, explained, was to safeguard women by extending to de facto wives the existing right to receive alimony. To protect women further, the government added to the original family law, by which a destitute spouse unable to work had been entitled to a husband's support, the right to alimony "during unemployment."22

Attitudes, traditional and personal, surfaced in opposition to the new law: peasants feared that the expansion of alimony meant a threat to their property,23 women and men looked suspiciously at each other, and even in the

²⁰ Pravda, Jan. 25, 1923.

²¹ Sophia Smidovich, "O novom kodekse zakonov o brake i sem'e" [About the New Code of Laws

[The Communist Woman], 1926, no. 1, p. 47, and Concerning Marriage and the Family], Kommunistka [The Communist Woman], 1926, no. 1, p. 47, and Smidovich, "Nashi zadachi v oblasti pereustroistva byta" [Our Tasks in the Area of Reconstruction of Daily Life], ibid., no. 12, pp. 18-20; see, for example, Moirova, "Obshchestvennoe pitanie i byt rabochei sem'i" [Public Feeding and the Way of Life of the Working Family], ibid., no. 10-11, p. 45.

²² In the wording of the legislation the term "spouse" was used, but Kursky stressed that the purpose of the law was to protect women. Children were already safeguarded by the original code insofar as they had a right to parental support irrespective of whether the marriage was registered. Now with the new legislation they had increased protection. Kursky as quoted in "Discussion of the Draft of the Code," in Rudolf Schlesinger, ed., *The Family in the U.S.S.R.* (London, 1949), 85, a useful collection of primary sources (now out of print) containing reprints of Soviet debates and press articles. Although in the West it was said that the new code was intended as a Bolshevik attack on legal marriage, Kursky's aide, Ia. Brandenburgskii, indignantly replied that the law was promulgated out of concern for the potentially abandoned mother and child and therefore encouraged marital responsibility. Izvestiya [The News], Jan. 14, 1926. In 1944 the law was changed, and only registered marriage was made legally binding.

²³ Under NEP the private peasant farms were encouraged to exist and to contribute to economic revival. The peasant, unlike the proletarian worker, lived in an extended household, the dvor, in which all members

party opponents battled the proposed changes. Aaron Sol'ts of the Central Control Commission, the body responsible for enforcing moral and doctrinal standards in the party, pleased many urban men when he argued that only registered marriages should carry material consequences; but Sol'ts, who feared that women might be wrongly encouraged by the new law to enter sexual relationships in order to get alimony, had in mind enforcing stricter morality, while the townsmen sought protection against law suits.24 The most controversial feature of the law—recognition of de facto marriage—created a demand in the Central Executive Committee for a more precise definition of marriage, since no one intended that casual relationships should entitle women to alimony. The difficulty of defining marriage was suggested by the deputy commissar of justice, Nikolai Krylenko, in his pragmatic view after a year of discussion, that if confusion still remained as to what marriage was it might be best to discard the official definition—the fact of living together, a joint household, and the announcement of such to a third party—and let the courts decide.25

Bolsheviks from left to right argued over details, but the party's ultimate purpose, the decision to protect women as the weaker members of society by means of alimony, remained unquestioned. In the middle of the nineteenth century, J. S. Mill had analyzed women's subjection and pointed out that the question was not what marriage ought to be, but a far wider question, what women ought to be.26 Settle that first, the other will settle itself. Yet in 1925, among prominent Bolsheviks, only Kollontai publicly declared that the government was not dealing in a meaningful way with the woman question.

The Central Committee had failed in its effort to expel Kollontai from the party in 1922 on grounds of factionalism, but she had been effectively isolated by being sent with other dissidents into diplomatic "exile." The party assigned her to a post in Norway, where she quickly wearied of diplomatic life. Disheartened additionally by the failure of her efforts in the Workers' Opposition movement to establish genuine proletarian control in the workers' state, or to restore to the party the right to open protest, the idealistic Kollontai

shared in the family economy. If one member of the household, perhaps a young son, fathered a child and then separated from the woman to whom he had been married, the alimony exacted from him-it might be a cow to help feed the child-meant a loss to the entire household since they all lived together. For peasant protests along this line, see excerpts from the discussion of the marriage code in the Second Session of the Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR, October 1925, as reprinted in "Discussion of the Draft of the Code," 107-08. For further discussion of the new marriage code, see Brak i Sem'ia: Sbornik Statei i Materialov, Molodaia Gvardiia [Marriage and the Family: Collected Articles and Materials, Young Guard] (Moscow, 1926), 3-162.

²⁴ For report of a debate between Aaron Sol'ts and Nikolai Krylenko, see *Izvestiya*, Nov. 17, 1925. Another reason cited by those favoring recognition only of registered marriage was that to do otherwise would encourage church marriage, unrecognized since 1918. In the countryside, where unregistered marriage was seen as debauchery, opinion was said to be against the new proposal. Kursky, however, in a speech carried in Izvestiya, Nov. 1926, reported that young people in the villages were favoring the recognition of de facto marriage. Reprinted in Schlesinger, Family in the U.S.S.R., 125-26. In a speech to the women's section of the party, Krylenko claimed that the regime had not anticipated the opposition the new law met. Jessica Smith, Woman in Soviet Russia (New York, 1928), 109.

²⁶ Krylenko as quoted in "Discussion of the Draft of the Code," 93, 112.
²⁶ John Stuart Mill, "Early Essays on Marriage and Divorce," in Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill, *Essays on* Sex Equality, ed. Alice Rossi (Chicago, 1971), 73.

resigned her diplomatic position and in 1925 contemplated a break with bolshevism. While close friends who served with her in the embassy disagreed as to the seriousness of her intention to leave the party, with Marcel Body advancing the theory and another friend denying it, it seems a possible explanation for Kollontai's rash political action in the winter of 1925–26 when she returned briefly to Moscow.²⁷ If she failed, she would break with the regime.

Studies of the opposition movement by Western historians suggest that Kollontai had abandoned protest by 1925, but the facts are otherwise. Upholding the revolutionary-heroic outlook of 1917 as though she had been neither censured nor exiled, Kollontai plunged at the end of 1925 into what would be her last struggle in behalf of the now virtually defunct revolutionary domestic program of 1919. Her effort, overlooked by historians because of its singularly independent nature—and its distance from the issues of the male power struggle—centered on opposition to the government's projected new marriage code.

Kollontai's analysis ran counter to the gloomy fears of workers in the women's section that with the adoption of NEP the possibility of a socialist solution to the woman question had been irrevocably lost. Kollontai believed rather that continued expansion of the private sector of the economy under the NEP would mean an eventual increase in employment opportunities for women and that growing government resources would make possible further investment in public facilities that would replace the individual household. Before offering a counterproposal, it was necessary first to explain why the regime's new family law was unacceptable in a society purporting to be socialist. She argued that rather than being a step forward, the proposal revealed the party's failure, after eight years in power, to evolve a socialist family policy: the government would be creating categories of womenregistered, unregistered, and casual—and since the first two were now made equal in their rights, the third was necessarily deprived. The women the new law refused to defend were but peasant girls going to the city for work and working girls living in factories and shops in conditions of frightful congestion. Registered and unregistered wives, on the other hand, were being encouraged to abase themselves in court, begging for their legal sop from an unwilling man, probably too poor to pay.²⁸ She scoffed at the pointlessness of socialists defining marriage or seeking to strengthen it by legislation, as if by such means abandoned, unemployed women could be aided. In an approach radically different from that of those who agreed that alimony had failed but argued helplessly that the courts must find ways to enforce payment, Kollontai insisted that women who served society by providing it with future workers deserved collective support. Prior to NEP, Kollontai had proposed government protection for mothers in the form of state subsidies.²⁹ Discarding

²⁷ For Marcel Body's view, see his article, "Alexandra Kollontai," *Prewes*, 1952, supp. no. 14, pp. 17–19. Another close friend does not believe Body's contention that Kollontai wished to leave the party. Interview with a long-time friend of Kollontai's, Aug. 24, 1973, Moscow.

Kollontai, "Brak i byt" [Marriage and Daily Life], Rabochii Sud [Workers' Court], 1926, no. 5, p. 371.
 Kollontai, Sotsial'nye Osnovy Zhenskogo Voprosa, 230.

the idea of direct state aid, Kollontai responded to the slower pace of NEP by proposing to abolish alimony and to create instead a General Insurance Fund to which the entire working adult population would contribute on a graduated scale, the lowest contribution being two rubles a year. With sixty million adult contributors one could count on an initial sum of one hundred and twenty million rubles, which would make it possible to provide for the cost of children's crèches and homes, homes for mothers in need, support to single mothers unable to work and for their children at least until they were a year old, later, according to the size of the fund, until they were three or four. Soviet society was poor, but its economic growth in the mid-twenties was increasing at an impressive rate so that within two or three years the General Insurance Fund would no longer be a burden.

Kollontai's idiosyncratic proposal, springing from the romantic socialism of 1917 and the revolutionary era, was rejected by all but her own small group and youthful students; they invariably responded to Kollontai's optimistic theories, which kept alive hope that revolution still lived in Soviet Russia. "For us young communist women," a party worker recalled, "Kollontai was a lofty example of a revolutionary fighter, and we aspired to imitate her." Writing in Komsomolskaia Pravda, the newspaper for party youth, a student who claimed that most students supported Kollontai suggested, as a temporary means of strengthening the General Fund, a five-kopek tax on bottles of wine, theater tickets, and other amusements.³¹

Kollontai's right-wing critics implied that replacing alimony with an insurance fund was unfair to the peasant majority who, hostile to the towns, would never willingly pay an extra tax to benefit city women and children, while to compel payment would run counter to the new economic policy of lessening burdens on the peasantry. This argument was inconsistent since it was the peasants who opposed as immoral and a threat to their property the government's own proposal to recognize de facto marriages. In urging increased taxation, Kollontai seemed to the Right to be thinking along the lines of Trotsky and Evgeny Preobrazhensky, the economic spokesman of the Left, who argued for systematic pressure on the peasants. But the Left oppositionists sought economic support for more rapid industrialization, not social experiments, which Trotsky, speaking now as a reformist, regarded as premature. Trotsky referred later—presumably with Kollontai in mind—to experiments so radical that one would simply fall on one's face and be embarrassed before the peasantry.³²

Kollontai's critics failed to understand that, while seeking ways to preserve revolutionary domestic goals, she was willing to modify her position to work

³⁰ Kollontai, "Obshchii kotel ili individual'nye alimenty?" [A Common Pot or Individual Alimony?], Komsomolskaia Pravda [Komsomol Truth], Feb. 2, 1926, p. 2.

³¹ Party worker quoted in Itkina, Revoliutsioner, 203; "Obshchii kotel ili individual'nye alimenty?" (Otkliki na stat'iu tov. Kollontai) [A Common Pot or Individual Alimony? Responses to Comrade Kollontai's Article], Komsomolskaia Pravda, Mar. 21, 1926, p. 4.

³² Leon Trotsky, "Okhrana materinstva i bor'ba za kul'turu" [Protection of Motherhood and the

Struggle for Culture], in Sochinenia [Works] (Moscow, 1927), 21: 49. For Trotsky's view that the time was not yet ripe for thought-out schemes, initiated from above, see his Voprosy Byta [Problems of Everyday Life] (Moscow, 1923), 46.

within the reconciliatory context of Bukharinism, the party's official ideology in the mid-twenties. With the failure of revolution in the West, she had come to accept Bukharin's view of the need slowly to build socialism in one country. 38 She liked Bukharin, who at the age of thirty-eight was at the peak of his political influence and whose concept of a more humane socialism she shared. In the early prerevolutionary days they had frequently been allies, even as they had been opponents during the Workers' Opposition crisis in 1921. With Alexander Shliapnikov, the first commissar of labor and one of the few genuinely proletarian leaders of the party, Kollontai warned in 1921 about the dangers of "peasantization" of the government. But this did not mean that in 1926 she advocated the Left's position of accumulating capital for industrial expansion by extracting it forcibly from the peasant. The Right's contention that Kollontai's plan to tax the peasant at a rate of two rubles a year ran counter to government economic policy and resembled the pressures of the Left was an absurd exaggeration. Kollontai was simply in line with Bukharin in advocating some "pumping over" of economic resources from the peasant sector.34

For socialism to succeed—as Bukharin now contended—a long period of harmony between peasant and proletariat would have to be established. This "harmonizing" had consistently been Kollontai's purpose as well as the goal of the much-scorned women's section, which, since its inception, had worked to raise the socialist consciousness of peasant women. It is true that the women were only part of rural society, but as Lenin explained earlier, the Soviet Union could not exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat unless the women were won over.³⁵

Another aspect of Kollontai's proposal, which she saw as a gesture of support for peasant women, was her plan for marriage contracts that were to safeguard the interests of housewives, both peasant and proletarian. By these contracts, a couple entering into a marital union would, instead of registering, voluntarily conclude an agreement in which they would determine their economic responsibilities toward each other and their children. A somewhat weak idea, which at first glance seems, in its revolutionary romanticism, to deserve the criticism it received, it assumed a herculean effort on the part of workers from the women's section who were somehow to teach backward peasant women how to safeguard their economic interests. Yet it is necessary to keep in mind that Kollontai was thinking in long-range, socialist terms, trying to maintain a sense of left-wing revolutionary purpose within a right-wing evolutionary structure.

The assumption on which Kollontai's proposals were based—collective

³³ Stephen F. Cohen, Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution (New York, 1973), 233; Moscow interview.

³⁴ Cohen, Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution, 174.

³⁵ See Kollontai, Rabotnitsa i Krestianka, 19; Zetkin, Reminiscences, 53-57.

³⁶ Kollontai, "Brak i byt," 373. Kollontai suggested that out of the approximately five million babies born in the Soviet Union each year, perhaps a million would not be provided for by the marriage contracts and be in need of government support. Her marriage contract idea was called unrealistic by Smidovich, "Otmenit' li registratsiiu braka i sistemu alimentov" [Whether to Change Registration of Marriage and

responsibility for those in need—aimed specifically at an increased socialist awareness among both peasant and proletarian. Trotsky argued that the state could not build new social institutions without cooperation from the masses, that the people themselves had to grow.³⁷ This was a valid position, but how else could socialist awareness be created other than by the party's gradual but steady introduction of socialist measures? The need for such ideological persuasion was underscored by the reaction to Kollontai's plan as seen in letters from working women. "Comrade Kollontai's tax is altogether unsatisfactory. . . . How can anyone speak of a general taxation of all men? What is it to do with all men, when only one man is concerned in the begetting of a child? What affair is it of the community? The matter is far simpler; if you are the father, you must pay!"38

Even Trotsky, curiously insensitive to the Thermidorian aspects of the government's new marriage code, was indignant at its opponents: how could one think that in Soviet society anyone could be so thickheaded as to deny a mother the right to help from the father simply because the woman was not a registered wife; women needed all the protection they could get. Describing Soviet marriage legislation as socialist in spirit, Trotsky regretted that society lagged so dismally behind it.³⁹ Society did lag; so, too, did party leaders.

Trotsky shared a view of women that caused him to praise as socialist the legislation Kollontai condemned as petty bourgeois. Nor was his perception "un-Marxist." Once, in a lighthearted moment, Karl Marx filled out a socalled confession for his daughter Laura revealing his strongest preferences. He wrote that the virtue he admired most in men was "strength." The virtue he admired most in women? "Weakness." Both Marx and Engels believed that the weak must be protected from the strong. Men must protect women. This theme ran through the debates over the new family code, jeopardizing the socialist assumption that the collective should provide social security for its members. The Bolsheviks believed in equality for women, of course, but

(New York, 1962), 257.

the System of Alimony], Komsomolskaia Pravda, Feb. 14, 1926, p. 2. For further criticism, see E. Lavrov, "Polovoi vopros i Molodezh'" [The Sexual Problem and Youth], Molodaia Gvardiia [Young Guard], Mar. 1926, no. 3, p. 145.

³⁷ Trotsky, "Protiv Prosveshchennogo Biurokratizma (A takzhe i neprosveshchennogo)" [Against Bureaucracy, Progressive and Unprogressive], in Sochineniia, 21: 71-72.

³⁸ Quoted in Fannina Halle, Woman in Soviet Russia (London, 1933), 123. Another letter from a group of working women asked, "Why should a deserted mother become a burden on society?" It urged a system of alimony: "For if once a man has succeeded in fooling a woman . . . then he should pay. . . . He will take care to avoid another time." One factory group wrote that if Comrade Kollontai's tax were introduced, then men would lose all shame and universal license would be the result. Ibid., 124, 122. For the Russian version of these letters, see Brak i Sem'ia, 143-44.

³⁹ Trotsky, "Okhrana materinstva i bor'ba za kul'turu" and "Kul'tura i Sotsializm" [Culture and Socialism], in Sochineniia, 21: 50, 434. Emilian Iaroslavskii expressed identical views in his "Moral' i byt proletariata v perekhodnyi period" [Morality and Daily Life of the Proletariat in the Transitional Era], Molodaia Guardiia, May 1926, no. 3, pp. 15-151. Supporters of the marriage law liked to picture its opponents, in Krylenko's words, as Philistines. Krylenko argued that Soviet policy was moving toward economic and political equality of the sexes despite opposition from Philistines and peasants. Krylenko's arguments in favor of the new marriage law, "Obyvatel' nastupaet" [The Philistine Advances], Pravda, Jan. 15, 1926, are quoted in Trotsky, Sochineniia, 21: 514n.

⁴⁰ From "Confession," a manuscript by Marx's daughter printed in Erich Fromm, Marx's Concept of Man

few understood that phrase with Kollontai's sensitivity. While not politically a feminist, she did share their view that women were inherently strong and needed freedom from the debilitating protection of men. She singled out Trotsky—a risky thing to do in 1926 when he was under attack from the Stalinists—as being of great help to the women's section in its work. Yet not even Trotsky—and if I seem to concentrate on him it is because of the degree of his concern and commitment—understood that her plan was an opportunity for the party to raise the consciousness of the masses further toward socialism.

On this issue the women's section proved no more monolithic than other Bolshevik institutions. Here, too, Kollontai found opponents. Smidovich, the section's former director, willingly spoke for the party. Chosen in 1925 as a member of the powerful Central Control Commission, living comfortably enough in a traditional family, she was reasonably free of tensions concerning the woman question. While Kollontai viewed the revolution primarily from the perspective of women's liberation, Smidovich regarded that problem as one among many. The two Old Bolsheviks, each age fifty-four, saw themselves as representing different constituencies, a fact that in itself proved a cause for suspicion. Smidovich, gray haired and grandmotherly, spoke as a member of an older, more staid generation that wanted to protect women from the sexual irresponsibility of men, a problem to which Kollontai seemed indifferent. Kollontai gazed, strikingly attractive and still youthful, from the cover of the popular magazine, Ekran, in whose pages she argued on behalf of socialist women who were strong and wanted to be free. 42 In contrast to Kollontai's unquenchable idealism, Smidovich sounded practical as she affirmed the theoretical superiority of communal raising of children but defended the party's abandonment of efforts to replace the individual household. Her hostility toward Kollontai unconcealed, Smidovich argued that Soviet Russia could not yet afford Kollontai's dreams. 43 The Smidoviches were conservative, and Petr Smidovich, a senior member of the Moscow Committee of the Bolshevik party, responded on the eve of 1917 to Lenin's radical course by insisting: "There do not exist the forces, the objective conditions for this."44

THE LEADERS STRUGGLING FOR POWER in 1926 knew that the woman question was not politically decisive. Kollontai's plan to replace alimony by a general

⁴¹ Kollontai, Autobiography, 42.

⁴² Ekran [Screen], 1926, no. 5.

⁴³ See Smidovich's conversation to Smith, in Smith, Woman in Soviet Russia, 102-03; Smidovich, "O novom kodekse zakonov o brake i sem'e," 45-46; and her "Nashi zadachi v oblasti pereustroistva byta," 22-24. Smidovich argued that homes for mothers and children were too expensive for the state to carry, and she recommended local initiative on the part of working women to establish less expensive communal facilities such as day nurseries. She criticized the attitude of those who believed that the liberation of working women must come only from the strength and money of the state. It is difficult to determine the amount of real support for Kollontai in the women's section, since Smidovich may have exerted considerable influence because of her position on the Central Control Commission. But judging by the articles that did appear in Kommunistka, support was not widespread. Varvara Golubeva was one of the few voices in opposition to the new marriage law. "K diskussii po voprosam brachnogo i semeinogo prava" [Toward a Discussion of the Marriage and Family Law], Kommunistka, 1926, no. 1, pp. 50-53.

⁴⁴ As quoted in Cohen, Bukharin, 50.



Fig. 3. A. M. Kollontai (in top row center) with children at a day care center in 1919 during the civil war. From Kollontai, Iz Moei Zhizni i Raboty.

fund, based on a progressive tax, was simply further evidence of her Left deviation. Part of the tragedy of bolshevism in the formative mid-twenties was that immediate pressures could so easily erode original hopes. Staunch revolutionaries—not yet broken or become Stalinist servants—were too ready to abandon the ideal and grasp the expedient solution. More specific a cause was the ambivalence with which the party in 1919 had adopted the woman question as a programmatic goal. Too few people were committed to its success. And among them were those like Sophia Smidovich and Trotsky, who for all their socialism, were unaware that they continued to think of women as in need of male protection. Habits of thought, even among revolutionaries, change slowly.

Some historians, notably E. H. Carr, suggest that the government's abandonment in 1922 of its original plan to support needy mothers and children indicates that those early steps had never been more than emergency legislation evolving spontaneously only to be discarded by the party with other features of war communism. Such an interpretation, insofar as it suggests a lack of a theoretical base, is misleading. Kollontai, who was chosen by Lenin as commissar of public welfare in 1917, in which office she could do little more with her meager resources than express aspirations, had for years been advocating measures of state protection that were based on commonly assumed socialist theory. 45 Insofar as Carr implies an inadequate commitment on the part of Bolsheviks to orthodox socialist assumptions or a variety of Bolshevik interpretations of social theory, his position, of course, is valid. Reporting in 1922 to the Eleventh Party Congress, Lenin remarked suggestively that "the economic forces under the control of the proletarian state of Russia are quite sufficient to ensure the transition to communism. What then is lacking? What is lacking is culture in the stratum of Communists that is governing." Elsewhere Lenin observed that many comrades were still "Philistines" in their mentality regarding women.46

Carr contends further that by the mid-twenties, the party membership had rejected Kollontai's position on the family, that it was already diverging in "practice and opinion" from Engel's doctrine on which it was based: the liberation of women from domestic labor. Carr cites Trotsky's symposium for party workers in 1923 as a source to illustrate a desire for traditional life. The More accurately, the symposium revealed the conflict between the conventional family attitudes of men and the desire for greater freedom on the part of women.

Was it not a case of failure of the leadership to respond to a slowly

⁴⁵ E. H. Carr, Socialism in One Country (Baltimore, 1970), 1: 39-40. The term "war communism" refers to the policies of the era of civil war, 1918-21. Many radical measures adopted during this period, such as labor conscription and forced requisitioning of grain from the peasants, were ended with the NEP; Carr himself cites Marx and Engels to the effect that women must be relieved of domestic care through the institution of communal dining halls and nurseries. *Ibid.*, 38.

⁴⁶ Lenin, Sochineniia (4th ed.; Moscow, 1951), 33: 258. For Lenin's observation concerning attitudes toward women, see Zetkin, Reminiscences, 56.

⁴⁷ Carr, Socialism in One Country, 1: 43.

⁴⁸ Trotsky, Voprosy Byta, 84-88.

awakening sense among women of the possibilities inherent in Engel's theories, as elaborated by Kollontai in 1920 in *The Family and the Communist State*? Trotsky regretted in 1923 and again in 1925 that the woman question was not being given greater attention in the press and elsewhere. Many men no doubt preferred the traditional family, but many women eagerly awaited fulfillment of the promises of party workers from the women's section who, recognizing the growing response to their efforts, could do little about the lack of government support for social institutions but express distress and frustration in the pages of *Kommunistka*. Where "officially" but in the clubs, lamented a woman worker, could one even summon the collective spirit? The overcrowded factory barracks, the overflowing communal houses, and the inadequate public dining rooms were not likely to win people over to the collective way of life. 50

Opposition to Kollontal suggests that in fact she had raised a specter: the "withering away of the family." If in the West this concept was seen as a Communist truism, for the Soviet leadership, concerned mainly with politics and economics not with social experiments, what was soon to be known as Kollontai's idea had become an irritant. The party knew in 1926 that it needed the family, meaning the women, to do what they had always done—raise children, cook, and keep house. So when Kursky, citing Lenin, gave assurances that someday under communism the state would undertake the upbringing of all children, when Smidovich agreed but insisted that for now "destruction of the isolated, individual household," useful as a slogan to rally women in 1918, was not applicable, when Mikhail Kalinin, chairman of the Central Executive Committee, referred to the new marriage law as deeply affecting Soviet life, seeming to assume the permanence of the family it protected, one sensed that for the government the "withering away" concept had become a socialist myth. In the women's section it remained a reality.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 81, and Trotsky, "Okhrana Materinstva i bor'ba za Kul'turu," 55.

⁵⁰ Z. Rakitina, "Byt po zametkam rabotnits," [The Way of Life According to Notes of Working Women], Kommunistka, 1926, no. 12, pp. 32–36. Letters from working women to the journal, Rabotnitsa [The Woman Worker], quoted in these pages in Kommunistka suggest their eagerness for social change. The enthusiasm of working women for child care institutions and for the work of clubs trying to raise their political and social level is also documented.

⁶¹ The concept itself had been left vague by Marx and Engels, as Lenin explained when he chided Kollontai in 1919 for assuming prematurely to specify the future form of the socialist family. The Eighth Party Congress rejected incorporating in its new program Kollontai's proposals concerning the future disappearance of the individual, isolated family—proposals that she suggested despite Lenin's prior objection. Itkina, *Revoliutsioner*, 208. In her recollections, Kollontai refers to her proposals being rejected but also to her victory in getting passed a resolution concerning the need for the party to work more specifically among women. "Avtobiograficheskii Ocherk," 301.

among women. "Avtobiograficheskii Ocherk," 301.

⁵² For Kursky's remarks, see "Discussion of the Draft of the Code," 91; for Smidovich, "O Novom Kodekse zakonov o brake i sem'e," 46; for Kalinin, "Discussion of the Draft of the Code," 119. It is of interest that the 1918 legislation on the family had provisions for state care of dependents that were omitted from the 1926 legislation. For example, the section stating that parents were obliged to provide board and maintenance for their minor children, if they were in need and unable to work, was followed by a notation that the parental obligations here stated were to be suspended in the 1926 legislation. Similarly in 1918 it was stated that children were obliged to provide maintenance for needy parents unable to work unless the latter were to receive maintenance from the government in accord with the law of insurance against illness.

But instead of the family, the women's section itself would disappear, abolished by Stalin in 1929 on the specious ground that its tasks had been completed. In less than ten years, the slogan "withering away of the family" was to move from myth to heresy with Kollontai's The Family and the Communist State cited as its "undoubtedly harmful" source. 58

In the moral and personal disapproval directed against Kollontai one saw further mythmaking. Although she criticized debauchery in terms similar to those used earlier by Lenin (but at the same time, questioned the supposed dissoluteness of Komsomol youth),54 slashing attacks in the press accused Kollontai of trying to revive her "discredited" advocacy of Ultra-Left, decadent, free love by means of the General Insurance Fund, which would further encourage youthful irresponsibility.55 The Komsomol journal, Molodaia Gvardiia, which had carried Kollontai's essays in 1923, now reflected the party's puritanical line by printing articles harshly critical of her. In one instance the editors were perhaps uneasy over publishing an attack on a comrade who invariably defended Soviet youth. In a footnote that implied their apartness from the assault, they invited readers to express their own viewpoints based on available, factual materials.56

With the contention that alimony was one of the best means to regulate and to restrain sexual life, with the charge that in advocating its abolition Kollontai was seeking to remove personal responsibility from the sexual life of men, Kollontai's critics suggested the development of new attitudes toward privacy. In 1883 the German Socialist leader, August Bebel, wrote that satisfaction of the sexual instinct was a private concern to be interfered with by no one. 57 Presumably, assigning legal consequences to de facto marriage was in itself a violation of personal privacy, but even before 1926 doubts were expressed in the party as to the feasibility of Bebel's assumption. Bukharin's attempt in 1922 to use his personal popularity with the Komsomols to urge

old age, or social security. This proviso was omitted in 1926. See the text of the 1926 legislation in Schlesinger, Family in the U.S.S.R., 163; compare with the 1918 family law, ibid., 40. Further indication that the state was moving away from assuming the burdens of the family was given in 1924 when Aleksei Rykoy, chairman of the Council of Commissars, attacked the idea of children's homes as obviously inadequate and also unwise since they separated the child from productive labor. Carr, Socialism in One Country, 1: 45.

ba See V. Svetlov, "Socialist Society and the Family," Pod Znamenem Marksizma [Under the Banner of Marxism], 1936, no. 6, translated and reprinted in Schlesinger, Family in the U.S.S.R., 333. S. Volfson, renouncing as erroneous his thesis published in 1929 that socialism entailed the extinction of the family, now wrote that "assertions that socialism leads to the extinction of the family are profoundly mistaken and harmful." This renunciation is found in his "Socialism and the Family," in ibid., 315.

⁵⁴ Kollontai, "Brak i byt," 375-76.
55 For the most complete attack on Kollontai, see Lavrov, "Polovoi vopros i Molodezh'," 145. Calling Kollontai's statements an example of precisely the wrong kind of thinking, Lavrov accused her of trying in 1926, with her idea for abolishing alimony, to take revenge for the attacks on her sexual theories in 1923. The reference is to Kollontai's article, "Dorogu Krylatomy Erosu!" [To the Winged Eros!], Molodaia Gvardiia, 1923, no. 3, pp. 111-24, and her novella, "Loves of Three Generations," which appeared in the collection, Liubov pchel trydovykh [Love of the Worker Bees], tr. Lilly Lore (Moscow, 1923), 180-243. The notion that alimony acted as a restraint on the conduct of men was echoed in a letter to Komsomolskaia Pravda, Mar. 21, 1926, p. 4.

⁵⁶ Lavrov, "Polovoi vopros i Molodezh'," 136.

August Bebel, Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft (Zurich, 1883), tr. by Daniel De Leon as Woman under Socialism (New York, 1971), 343.

youth to a more controlled sex life is one example.⁵⁸ Polina Vinogradskaia, a young Trotskyist who worked with Kollontai on Kommunistka, moved in a similar way when she viciously condemned Kollontai in 1923 as a bourgeois feminist who wasted pages of Soviet journals with articles extolling sexuality. The editors of Krasnaia Nov' were unhappy enough to apologize in print for this cruel attack on a "fighting comrade." Vinogradskaia affirmed socialist privacy but at the same time insisted, in a novel tribute to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, that it was absolutely "inadmissable" for a Bolshevik to dwell on sex in view of the political setback of the Communist party in Germany. 59 Giving assurances that someday under communism there would be no need for moral laws, Emilian Iaroslavskii, a Stalinist and a leading figure in the party's Central Control Commission, warned that it was for bourgeois not proletarian youth to flit from flower to flower indulging in Kollontai's "love of the worker bees." In fact, Iaroslavskii recalled, for eight or nine years he sat in prison and sexual abstinence had done him no harm. 60

What caused this violation of privacy by Bolsheviks who simultaneously asserted their belief in the socialist promise of complete freedom in personal life? Invariably we have the answer: this is the transitional era. The poverty of Soviet society, the homeless children, and the need for the responsible family during the twenties were serious factors; yet there seems another explanation for the avidity with which party members relegated privacy to mythology. The founder of the Marx-Lenin Institute, David Riazanov-a Bolshevik of integrity and something of an eccentric in his penchant for speaking the truth bluntly—declared during the debates of 1926 what other comrades had merely suggested: "We should teach our young Komsomols that marriage is not a personal act, but an act of deep social significance, demanding interference and regulation by society."61 Riazanov implied that in fact the party aimed at a science of human behavior.

Again, why? What was there in Russian bolshevism that impelled it as a movement to turn away from less restrictive European socialism? In a suggestive analysis, the social scientist Nathan Leites provides a clue when he refers to Bolshevik fear of loss of control. 62 In the rhetoric of attack against Kollontai, from Smidovich, through Iaroslavskii, to Vinogradskaia, there occurred over and over words like "irresponsibility" and "debauchery," which implied lack

N V Verossiiskii S''ezd RKSM (Moscow, 1927), 114, 124-25.
 Polina Vinogradskaia, "Voprosy morali, pola, byta, i tov. Kollontai" [Questions of Morality, Sex, Daily Life, and Comrade Kollontai], Krasnaia Nov' [Red Virgin Soil], 1923, no. 6, p. 190. For the apology to Kollontai, see ibid., no. 7, p. 306.

⁶⁰ Jaroslavskii, "Moral' i byt proletariata v perekhodnyi period," 150. Without using Kollontai's name, laroslavskii referred to the collection of stories by Kollontai with that title. The distortions concerning her views were so widespread that her titles alone had come to signify debauchery.

⁶¹ As quoted by an observer at the meeting, in Smith, Woman in Soviet Russia, 117. Riazanov insists that even in the Communist future there would be registration of marriage, but it would then be regarded as an obligation as natural as the obligation to work. His views are explained in his "Marks i Engels o brake i sem'e," 34-35. That same year, 1927, the views of party leaders concerning personal morality were published in Izrail Razin, ed., Komsomolskii byt [Everyday Life for Komsomols] (Moscow, 1927). Bukharin, Lunacharsky, and Iaroslavskii were among the many who advocated greater sexual restraint-the orthodox party view.

⁶² Nathan Leites, A Study of Bolshevism (Glencoe, Ill., 1953), 186.

of order. In privacy there lurked the possibility that youth, expending its energy in sexual excess, might cease to work purposefully for the party.

Ironically, but in reality, work as the ultimate liberating force for women forms a persistent theme in Kollontai's own writing. She applauded the labor conscription that characterized the civil war years. Her projected commune, alarming to the party because of its suggestion of freer, less conventional marriage patterns, appears really to be a somewhat rigid, work-oriented institution. Years before Freud theorized about conflicts between sexuality and work Kollontai had intuited the same dilemma for the socialist commune. Unlike Fourier's phalanstery where individuals would fulfill themselves in passion, Kollontai's people, although sexually free, would relegate sex to a second place—while on the rock of collective work they would build the new society. While Kollontai's collective seemed alarmingly loose to most Bolsheviks, Herbert Marcuse used it as but another example of Soviet repression.

Kollontai's singular position derived from her emphasis, unique to bolshevism, in fusing sex and work. Yet where in Kollontai's collective was privacy? The loving couple, absorbed primarily in each other, would not be welcome. In rejecting this individual preference, Kollontai suggests that within the libertarian there dwelled something of the authoritarian. The ambiguity remained but it was of no interest to a regime intent in 1926 on crushing Kollontai's left-wing, social deviance.

Perhaps the intense experience of renewed party criticism, reminding Kollontai of the depressing days that followed the failure of the Workers' Opposition, had the countereffect of keeping her within the party. Thoroughly socialized, she dreaded the contempt of her comrades. She thought of another woman who had left Russia, Angelica Balabanoff, the first secretary of the Communist International, who broke with bolshevism in 1921. Kollontai knew she could not bear the vilification that had been directed against Balabanoff. Her sense of identity with Balabanoff suggests that Kollontai saw herself not so much as a Bolshevik leader but as a Bolshevik woman. One wonders if this perception was general, if antagonism toward an aggressive female played a part in negative attitudes toward Kollontai and her theories, if a woman became more vulnerable when she invaded the masculine provinces where Bolshevik policies were determined. Certain episodes are suggestive. In April 1917 only Kollontai supported Lenin's opposition to working

⁶³ Freud analyzed the problem in 1930 in his Civilization and Its Discontents (New York, 1930), 56-57. For Kollontai's glorification of work conscription that existed during the war communism era and her view that it was the best hope for women's true liberation, see her Polozhenie Zhenshchiny v Evoliutsii Khoziaistva [The Position of Women in Connection with the Development of the Economy] (Moscow, 1923), 152, 166. For suggestions as to the primary place work, rather than love, would have in the proposed commune, see "Brak i byt," 376. Elsewhere, however, Kollontai suggests that love was for her a source of energy. Autobiography, 22.

⁶⁴ For Herbert Marcuse's view, see his Soviet Marxism (New York, 1961), 233-34. ⁶⁵ Body, "Alexandra Kollontai," 17.

with Russia's provisional government, and the fact was regarded as amusing enough to be the subject of a popular jingle.⁶⁶ In 1921 not even Lenin was above making a snide reference at the Tenth Party Congress to Kollontai's private life.⁶⁷ Intimations that Kollontai was overaggressive could always produce a laugh from assembled Communists: an Amazon, Trotsky called her, a Valkyrie, added Karl Radek, secretary of the Comintern. Stalin had no use for intellectual women in the party, calling them "herrings with ideas." ⁶⁸

By EARLY SUMMER OF 1926, sensing that she had used the last of her emotional resources and deeply disheartened by divisions in the party, Kollontai abandoned not only the fantasy of an independent life but the very self who more than once had boldly opposed Lenin. As Stalin prepared to crush the opposition, Kollontai for the first time became cautious. Reflecting an awareness of the narrowing of party attitudes, she revised a brief autobiography so as not to seem an advocate of a radicalism that opposed the Stalinists. 69 Claiming privately that she wanted most to live freely as a writer, she clung instead to familiar authority. 70 She agreed with much of the criticism the Trotskyists were directing against repression in the party, but in the summer of 1926 when Trotsky's emissaries came seeking her support, they came in vain. Despite her friendship with oppositionists like Christian Rakovsky, a member of the Central Committee and the ambassador to France, who chided her for not joining them, her attitude toward Trotsky himself was ambivalent. For his concern with the woman question she was grateful; but how could she believe that Trotsky in power would alter the mood that Stalin was brutally imposing, be more tolerant of disagreement? An authoritarian Trotsky, together with Grigory Zinoviev, the chairman of the Communist International, had ensured defeat of her appeal to the Comintern four years earlier in behalf of intraparty dissent.⁷¹ In the end, the leaders în both camps failed her, neither side able to understand her attempt to supply much-needed evidence to

⁶⁶ "Lenin Chto tam ni boltai. Soglasna s nim lish' Kollontai" [No matter what Lenin babbles, only Kollontai agrees with him]. Kollontai, "Avtobiograficheskii Ocherk," 296.

⁶⁷ X S''ezda Rossiiskoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (8–16 Marta 1921 g) Stenograficheskii Otchet (Petrograd, 1921), 48. Lenin implied that Kollontai had resumed her former liaison with the commissar of labor, Alexander Shliapnikov. This was particularly awkward because Kollontai was married to Pavel Dybenko, also in the Soviet government.

68 Trotsky and Karl Radek as quoted in Tretii Vsemirnyi Kongress Kommunisticheskogo Internatsionala Stenogra-ficheskii Otchet (Petrograd, 1922), 372; Stalin as quoted in Svetlana Alliluyeva, Only One Year (New York,

1969), 381.

68 Kollontai wrote to Elga Kern, editor of the series, Leading Women of Europe, apologizing for the extensive revisions she had made in her manuscript. It could not be otherwise, she explained. The changes had to be made because she was an "official person." Since her revisions were so drastic, Kollontai offered to bear the cost of any additional expenses they might cause. This letter, dated July 19, 1926, appears as a center insert in Kollontai, Autobiographie Einer Sexuell Emanzipierten Kommunistin (Munich, 1970). It is omitted in the English edition, thus allowing for a somewhat disingenuous introduction speculating as to why the revisions were made.

70 Michael Futrell, Northern Underground (New York, 1963), 113-14.

After her exile, in part to disassociate herself from the supporters of Trotsky, Kollontai sent to the party archives letters written by Lenin during the prerevolutionary period. Some passages, highly critical of Trotsky, were later used as part of the campaign to discredit him. But Lev Kamenev, who edited the first edition of these letters, omitted the most damaging words, "What a swine that Trotsky." See Lenin to

disillusioned Soviet youth that the regime, despite the NEP, still worked toward socialism.

Kollontai's refusal to join the Trotskyists did not improve her position in the party; for daring to question its socialist commitment, for calling its new family legislation bourgeois, Kollontai still had to be punished. In the autumn of 1926 she was sent into even more distant exile in Mexico City. Her decision in 1927 publicly to denounce opposition may have had its impetus in anxiety to get out of Mexico, but it was also the price for remaining in the party, her only home. As the Left oppositionists were expelled in 1927, Kollontai openly condemned them in the pages of Pravda. Resentment against Trotsky and Zinoviev made the task easier. Her words ring with helpless anger: the masses do not trust the opposition. Does the opposition think the memory of the masses so short that the masses cannot recall that the oppositionists themselves helped build the defects they now attack? She renounced not only opposition but spontaneity—declaring that in the masses a collective will had matured to triumph over the spontaneous individualism necessary during the civil war but no longer needed now in a time of collective construction. To joining the leadership in mythmaking, she was also stifling the diversity that prevailed in the early revolutionary era when in the name of Marxism innumerable ideas and alternatives to Stalinism flourished. Her sexual and communal theories ceased to appear in Soviet journals.

Publicly accepting Stalinism, choosing to support its myths, meant becoming a person of secret pain, affirming among much that she knew to be untrue the boast that Soviet women, liberated from bourgeois roles, had achieved the socialist goal. Advancements in communal child care facilities and aid to mothers were made under Stalin—most notably in 1944—but from motives other than those promulgated initially by the women's section when the "withering away of the family" was a premise. Women were needed in the work force after 1929 in connection with the five-year plans—hence the day care centers. But they were also being encouraged to have large families, which meant a less public role and a continuation of men in positions of power.⁷³

Abolition of the Zhenotdel in 1929 and the condemnation of Kollontai's interpretation of the woman question coincided with the Stalin revolution. Using the party and the secret police, Stalin inaugurated a full totalitarian state system marked by an end to NEP, the onset of coercive industrialization and the terroristic collectivization of peasant farming. Should we conclude that Stalin, the dominant force in the party, led the opposition to Zhenotdel? Not necessarily. More likely he shared in prevailing attitudes among the leadership that ranged from insensitivity to antipathy. As a final humiliation,

Kollontai, Feb. 17, 1917, in Leninskii Sbornik [Lenin Miscellany] (Moscow, 1924), 2: 282. Compare this letter with the complete version that appears in Olga H. Gankin and H. H. Fisher, The Bolsheviks and the World War: The Origin of the Third International (Stanford, 1940), 576.

⁷² Kollontai, "Oppozitsiia i partiinaia massa" [The Opposition and the Party Rank and File], *Pravda*, Oct. 30, 1927.

⁷³ Alliluyeva, Only One Year, 381.



Fig. 4. Kollontai in 1952, the year of her death. She was eighty years old. From Kollontai, Iz Moei Zhizni i Raboty.

Kollontai wrote in 1946 that the Soviet state "had provided women with access to all areas of creative activity and at the same time provided all the necessary conditions to enable her to fulfill her natural duty as mother, educating her own children, as mistress of her own home."

By the irony of history, the very failure of the socialist promise of full equality, its conversion to myth, seems a factor saving Kollontai from the deadly fate of other Old Bolsheviks. The myth needed its symbols: Kollontai, deprived of any influence in the party, served in Sweden as the world's first woman ambassador. And Stalin, who had spoken contemptuously of Lenin during his last illness as being "surrounded by womenfolk," may have enjoyed keeping alive, and subjecting to terror, the abject Kollontai—an indication that he did not believe Bolshevik women were important enough to shoot. The

⁷⁴ Kollontai, "Sovetskaia Zhenshchina—Polnopravnaia Grazhdanka Svoei Strany" [The Soviet Woman—A Citizen with Full Rights in Her Own Country], in her *Izbrannye Stat'i i Rechi*, 378.

⁷⁵ Stalin quoted in Robert H. McNeal, Bride of the Revolution: Krupskaya and Lenin (Ann Arbor, 1972), 245. 76 Roy Medvedev writes of the humiliation and terror Old Bolsheviks like Kollontai were subjected to but kept alive in his Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism, tr. Colleen Taylor, ed. David Joravsky and Georges Haupt (New York, 1971), 200. Like Krupskaia, Kollontai was a useful symbol. A Moscow friend recalled that when Kollontai returned to Moscow during her last years in the late forties she was regarded as an "internal exile"; friends kept away, afraid to visit the old woman. This same man, who spoke of Kollontai's close friend, Elena Stasova, another Old Bolshevik, as also isolated from the party, attributes their survival in part to the fact that they were women. Moscow interview. Robert Daniels suggests that it was a streak of Georgian chivalry that kept Stalin from purging Old Bolshevik oppositionists Kollontai and Nikolaeva. The Conscience of the Revolution (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 389. I think, rather, that it was Stalin's contempt for women more than his supposed chivalry that enabled these two former oppositionists to survive. Stalin, of course, did not hesitate to purge the wives of Bolsheviks. And there may be one notable exception to the survival of oppositionist women. Medvedev writes that Varvara Iakovleva, an oppositionist in 1918 who was forced to testify against Bukharin in 1939, was later shot. Let History Judge, 181. Robert Conquest reported that Iakovleva supposedly survived until 1944. The Great Terror (New York, 1968), 400.

Critical Election Theory and the Reality of American Presidential Politics, 1916–40

ALLAN J. LICHTMAN

IN 1957 WILLIAM L. LANGER, president of the American Historical Association, exhorted his fellow historians to enrich their discipline with insights drawn from social science theory.¹ The "new historians" of recent years have sought to follow this advice. The work of such scholars as Robert W. Fogel, John Demos, and Paul Kleppner is guided not only by the traditional historiographic principles of common sense, honest presentation, and individual inspiration but also by formal models of man and society drawn from other disciplines.² The trend toward interdisciplinary history is particularly evident in the analysis of American elections. Models of electoral stability and change—termed "critical election theory"—have dominated recent attempts to study political contests in the United States. First sketched out by V. O. Key, Jr. in a pioneering study published in 1955, critical election theory has since been refined by such political scientists as Angus Campbell, Gerald Pomper, and Walter Dean Burnham.³

Using both quantitative and traditional methods, this study applies critical election theory to presidential contests from 1916 to 1940. Focusing on the Smith-Hoover encounter of 1928, it reinterprets electoral politics during these years. The study also questions the logical and empirical validity of critical election theory and argues for a broader vision of electoral change and stability in the United States.

Critical election theory rests on the premise that American electoral history

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William L. Langer, "The Next Assignment," AHR, 63 (1958): 283-304.

² See, for example, Robert W. Fogel, Railroads and American Economic Growth (Baltimore, 1964); John Demos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony (New York, 1970); Paul Kleppner, The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850-1900 (New York, 1970).

^{*}See, for example, V. O. Key, Jr., "A Theory of Critical Elections," Journal of Politics, 17 (1955): 3–18; Angus Campbell et al., The American Voter (New York, 1960), 531–35; Gerald Pomper, "Classification of Presidential Elections," Journal of Politics, 29 (1967): 535–66; Walter Dean Burnham, Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics (New York, 1970); Jerome M. Clubb and Howard W. Allen, eds., Electoral Change and Stability in American Political History (New York, 1971).

follows a regular pattern of discontinuous change. Long stretches of stability in the balance of power between competing parties and in the types of voters those parties tend to attract are punctuated periodically by drastic realignments of the American electorate. Key suggested that particular elections termed "critical" or "realigning elections"—constitute the transitions between stable phases of the voting cycle. Critical elections disrupt the continuity of previous electoral eras and initiate new eras of stability characterized by new balances of party power and reconstituted voter coalitions. Later theorists have modified Key's model by introducing the concept of critical or realigning eras. Most authorities would now agree that realignments of the American electorate may appear not only in a single critical election but also in a critical era encompassing several elections.4

The search for critical elections of the twentieth century has centered on the confrontation between Al Smith and Herbert Hoover. Key's article of 1955 on discontinuous electoral change cited the presidential election of 1928 as an example of a critical election.⁵ This categorization of the contest of 1928 supports the conventional wisdom of the "Al Smith Revolution." Writing in 1952, Samuel Lubell argued that Al Smith's candidacy revolutionized American politics by establishing a new and persisting electoral division between urban and rural America. "The Republican hold on the cities," Lubell proclaimed, "was broken not by Roosevelt but by Alfred E. Smith. Before the Roosevelt Revolution there was an Al Smith Revolution."6

Historians have proposed that the realignments of 1928 reflected social change in the United States. Such distinguished scholars as Lubell, Richard Hofstadter, Paul A. Carter, William E. Leuchtenburg, and Andrew Sinclair have contended that the presidential election of 1928 tapped a fundamental division between an "old" and a "new" America that incorporated into a single dimension conflicts between drys and wets, natives and immigrants, Protestants and Catholics, city dwellers and country folk. Despite Hoover's victory, they claimed that the election of 1928 marked the denouement of an era dominated by the "old" America.7 Moreover, according to Lubell and Hofstadter, dubbed "pluralist historians" by Michael Paul Rogin, electoral change in 1928 was associated with a major transformation in the nature of

⁴ Key, "A Theory of Critical Elections," 4; Campbell et al., The American Voter, 534-35; Duncan MacRae, Jr. and James A. Meldrum, "Critical Elections in Illinois: 1888-1958," American Political Science Review, 54 (1960): 681; Charles Sellers, "The Equilibrium Cycle in Two-Party Politics," Public Opinion Quarterly, 29 (1965): 23; Burnham, Critical Elections, 54-57; John L. Shover, "The Emergence of a Two-Party System in Republican Philadelphia, 1924-1936," Journal of American History, 60 (1974): 1000-02.

⁵ Key, "A Theory of Critical Elections", Key's empirical analysis of the contest of 1908 is limited to the

⁵ Key, "A Theory of Critical Elections," 4. Key's empirical analysis of the contest of 1928 is limited to the New England region.

⁶ Samuel Lubell, The Future of American Politics (2d ed.; New York, 1955), 36. A similar argument is presented by Samuel J. Eldersveld in "The Influence of Metropolitan Party Pluralities in Presidential Elections since 1920: A Study of Twelve Key Cities," American Political Science Review, 43 (1949): 1189-1206.

⁷ Lubell, The Future of American Politics, 3, 29-43; Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York, 1955),

^{298-301;} Paul A. Carter, "The Campaign of 1928 Re-examined: A Study of Political Folklore," Wisconsin Magazine of History, 46 (1963): 263-72; William E. Leuchtenburg, The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932 (New York, 1958), 225-40; Andrew Sinclair, Era of Excess: A Social History of the Prohibition Movement (New York, 1964), 292-306.

⁸ Michael Paul Rogin, The Intellectuals and McCarthy: The Radical Specter (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 80-81.

American reform. These historians contend that Al Smith's candidacy constituted a transition between the old-style reform tradition of Populism and Progressivism and the new-style reform tradition of the New Deal. Pluralists celebrate the later tradition as more firmly grounded in the realities of modern life. New Deal reformers advocated pragmatic solutions for immediate economic problems, resisting the temptation to launch mass-based moralistic crusades against industrial society.

Since 1960 scholars have devoted considerable energy to quantitative analysis of electoral change in the 1920s and 1930s. The findings of nationwide studies generally have been consistent with the notion that 1928 was either a critical election or an important constituent of a critical era; the findings of more microscopic studies at the state and local level have been mixed. Irving Bernstein and Carl Degler have each examined patterns of urban voting and strongly reaffirmed the thesis of the "Al Smith Revolution." Gerald Pomper, in a more elaborate analysis of state-level voting returns, concluded that 1928 was the "most critical" election of a realigning era. Similarly, William H. Flanigan and Nancy H. Zingale, applying new methods of electoral analysis to state-level data, found that a "substantial" realignment of the Democratic vote occurred in 1928.9 In a pioneering study of Illinois counties, Duncan McRae, Ir. and James A. Meldrum concluded that 1928 was the focal point of a realigning period, and John M. Allswang found that for ethnic voters in Chicago 1928 was a classic critical election. Burnham has argued that in Pennsylvania 1928 was part of a complex process of realignment, and his judgment is corroborated by John L. Shover's study of Philadelphia. Yet in an earlier study of California, Shover claimed that the Smith-Hoover confrontation did not play an important role in realigning the Golden State's electorate. Similar negative results have been reported by Charles Dollar for Oklahoma, David J. Alvarez and Edmund J. True for Hartford, and Rogin for Wisconsin, North Dakota, and South Dakota.¹⁰

In 1969 Jerome M. Clubb and Howard W. Allen published in this journal a provocative study of metropolitan areas, questioning the realigning influences of the presidential election of 1928. The authors found that for "the presiden-

⁹ Irving Bernstein, The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker, 1920–1933 (Boston, 1960), 75–82; Carl N. Degler, "American Political Parties and the Rise of the City: An Interpretation," Journal of American History, 51 (1964): 41–59; Pomper, "Classification of Presidential Elections," 554; William H. Flanigan and Nancy H. Zingale, "The Measurement of Electoral Change," Political Methodology, 1 (1974): 49–82. Flanigan and Zingale applied analysis of variance methods to state-level voting returns for the presidential elections of 1824–1968. They used these procedures to distinguish between changes in party power termed "realigning surge" and changes in voter coalitions termed "realigning interactive change." They also examined separately Republican and Democratic percentages of the presidential vote. Nineteen twenty-eight, they concluded, involved a "substantial interactive realignment for the Democratic vote." Their methodology, however interesting, is applicable only to long series of elections and not to the intensive analysis of a relatively limited time span.

analysis of a relatively limited time span.

MacRae and Meldrum, "Critical Elections in Illinois," 669-83; John M. Allswang, A House for All Peoples: Ethnic Politics in Chicago, 1890-1936 (Lexington, Ky., 1971), 167-68; Burnham, Critical Elections, 50-57; Shover, "The Emergence of a Two-Party System," 1000; John L. Shover, "Was 1928 a Critical Election in California?" Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 58 (1967): 196-204; Charles M. Dollar, "Innovation in Historical Research: A Computer Approach," Computers and the Humanities, 3 (1969): 144-49; David J. Alvarez and Edmund J. True, "Critical Elections and Partisan Realignment: An Urban Test Case," Polity, 5 (1973): 563-76; Rogin, The Intellectuals and McCarthy, 81, 126-27, 151-56.

tial vote alone in these areas . . . it is plausible to speak of an 'Al Smith Revolution.' "Their examination of voting for lesser offices, however, provided either "no support" for the occurrence of revolutionary change in 1928 or "at most inconclusive" evidence of such change. Clubb and Allen did not claim to have proved "that partisan realignment did not occur in 1928." Instead they judiciously concluded that their findings were "equally consistent" with the thesis of the "Al Smith Revolution," the "view that realignment came primarily in the 1930s," and the "suggestion that realignment came about in the course of a 'critical period.' "The authors closed with a plea for more detailed, empirical research.¹¹

This study denies that the presidential election of 1928 was either a critical election or an important component of a realigning era of electoral change. Rather than forging durable new alignments of the American electorate, Smith's candidacy generated an intense conflict between Catholics and Protestants that only marginally affected subsequent patterns of politics. Electoral change during the 1930s was primarily influenced by the responses of Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt to challenges posed by the Great Depression. No election between 1916 and 1940 qualifies as a critical election, and taken together these presidential contests form a more intricate pattern of stability and change than is predicted by critical election theory. Furthermore, the theory itself lacks logical coherence and constricts our vision of American political history.

Since critical election theory provides the theoretical context for this reexamination of presidential politics, the theory's most prominent features need to be described. Critical election theory has developed from ideas initially set forth by the political scientist V. O. Key, Jr. According to Key, critical elections have occurred periodically in American history. He indicated that this type of election generates high levels of voter interest, upsets the previous balance of power among competing parties, and produces durable changes in the compositions of the voter coalitions supporting each party: "All these characteristics cumulate to the conception of an election type in which the depth and intensity of electoral involvement are high, in which more or less profound readjustments occur in the relations of power within the community, and in which new and durable electoral groupings are formed." "13

i2 Critical election theory is not precise, formal system of thought. It is a general perspective on electoral change shared by many political theorists. In order to use and evaluate the theory this study synthesizes concepts put forth by various scholars. It does not attempt to describe, in detail, the work of any individual theorist

¹¹ Jerome M. Clubb and Howard W. Allen, "The Cities and the Election of 1928: Partisan Realignment?" AHR, 74 (1969): 1205–20. Bernard Sternsher, in "The Emergence of the New Deal System: A Problem in Historical Analysis of Voter Behavior," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 6 (1975): 136–37, has surveyed sixteen history texts (fifteen published from 1971 to 1973) and concluded that despite the work of Clubb and Allen, "ten texts implicitly accept the classification of 1928 as a critical election." In the light of recent work, Sternsher suggested that 1928 should be regarded as a necessary component of a realigning era (pp. 142–43).

theorist.

18 Key, "A Theory of Critical Elections," 4. In another article Key suggests that realignment may also take place through "processes of long-term or secular" change. V. O. Key, Jr., "Secular Realignment and the Party System," Journal of Politics, 21 (1959): 198–99.

Key's concept of critical elections has stimulated attempts to formulate more complete typologies of American political contests. The most commonly used classification, first suggested by Angus Campbell and his coauthors of The American Voter, includes three categories of elections: critical or realigning elections; maintaining elections that do not significantly alter previous voting behavior: and deviating elections that produce sharp but temporary alterations in voter behavior. 14 The political scientist Gerald Pomper has further refined this typology by distinguishing between realigning or critical elections—those which alter both the distribution of power among parties and the composition of their voter coalitions—and "converting elections"—those which change only the composition of the parties' voter bases. 15

Yet the working historian will have difficulty employing even Pomper's more complete schema. It still confuses analytically distinct categories of elections that may have different implications for American political history. The use of incomplete typologies is the most obvious logical weakness of critical election theory. If we follow previous theorists and divide into two mutually exclusive categories the three relevant variables of changes in party power, changes in voter coalitions, and the durability of change, a complete typology based upon these three dichotomies will have eight categories (the intersection of three two-category variables has 2³ or eight categories). ¹⁶ This typology should include two types of maintaining elections, three types of deviating elections, and three types of realigning or critical elections. There are maintaining elections followed by stability and maintaining elections followed by change. There are deviating elections that produce temporary changes in party power, in the composition of voter coalitions, or in both of these variables. There are realigning elections that produce durable changes in party power, in the composition of voter coalitions, or in both of these variables. The first two types of deviating elections and the first type of critical election have not yet been incorporated into critical election theory.

Pomper also disputes Key's description of the statistical relationships that characterize critical or realigning elections. Pomper's statistical analysis of American electoral history does not identify particular elections in which "new and durable electoral groupings are formed"; he thus redefines critical elections as contests that disrupt the continuity of previously stable patterns of voter loyalty and herald—but do not begin—a period of stability. Pomper argues that "elections identified as critical do not show high correlations with later ballots," but contests following the critical election are highly correlated. Pomper also asserts that critical elections are preceded by "times of unease" and followed by a "period of assimilation." Although Pomper partially attributes his disagreement with Key to differences in statistical methods, the

¹⁴ Campbell et al., The American Voter, 531-34.

¹⁵ Pomper, "Classification of Presidential Elections," 537-38.

¹⁶ If we postulate that both temporary and durable changes can be associated with an election (e.g., a temporary change in party power and a durable change in the composition of voter coalitions), the typology expands further. There is some dispute over whether durable changes in party power must produce a new "majority party." See, for example, Burnham, *Critical Elections*, 32-33.

17 Pomper, "Classification of Presidential Elections," 537-38.

two authorities clearly offer substantively distinct descriptions of critical elections.

As mentioned above, political scientists have further modified the concept of critical elections by asserting that electoral realignments may manifest themselves not only in a single critical election but also in a critical or realigning era of electoral change. This is an important modification. As John L. Shover suggests, "The critical election model for description contains the latent assumption that changes in political behavior should be abrupt and sudden." The notion of critical eras allows political change to occur more gradually and less uniformly.

Proponents of critical election theory generally assume that electoral realignments are determined by the influence of changes in party identification on changes in voter behavior. Long periods of stability in the party loyalties of American voters—and thus in voter performance—are shattered by the drastic upheavals of critical elections or critical eras and followed by new periods of stability characterized by new patterns of partisan commitment and voter behavior. Occasionally periods of continuity are punctuated by the short-term attitudinal changes that generate deviating elections. The electoral typologies of critical election theory are a simplified schematic expression of this underlying structure of party competition. If the structure did not exist, critical election typology would lose its raison d'être. The theory does not portray universal properties of electoral systems but describes a particular configuration of temporal stability and change.

An examination of voter alignments in the presidential elections of 1916 to 1940 should disclose both the extent to which 1928 conforms to the description of a critical election and the compatibility of this series of elections with the predictions of critical election theory. In lieu of survey data on the behavior of individual voters, investigators generally infer the temporal stability of electoral coalitions from measures of statistical association computed for such aggregate units as states or counties. 19 Pairs of elections with similar constituent coalitions should yield relatively strong associations, whereas pairs of elections with divergent coalitions should yield relatively weak associations. In theory, each election type (maintaining, deviating, critical) is characterized by a distinctive overall pattern of statistical associations with earlier and later elections. Maintaining elections should be strongly associated with preceding, but not necessarily with succeeding, elections. Deviating elections should be weakly associated with both earlier and later elections. Critical elections should be weakly associated with preceding elections and either begin (Key's definition) or foreshadow (Pomper's definition) a succession of strongly associated elections.

Unfortunately, despite the appealing simplicity of these verbal descriptions, a historian cannot rigorously classify presidential elections on the basis of statistical associations. Critical election theory is sufficiently ambiguous that

¹⁸ Shover, "The Emergence of a Two-Party System," 1002.

¹⁹ The first useful survey data available is for the presidential election of 1936.

the typing of elections necessarily involves intuitive judgments. The theory includes no objective procedures for translating a set of statistical associations between elections into statements expressing the proper classification of each election. A historian will find to his consternation that critical election theory does not answer such questions as: What levels of association between election pairs characterized periods of stability? At what point do the associations between a particular election and previous contests become sufficiently tenuous to warrant classifying that election as either deviant or critical? How can an investigator distinguish between "temporary" and "durable" changes in electoral behavior? What is the minimum length of the stable phase of a voting cycle? Although each type of election can be verbally described, the investigator has wide latitude in determining the statistical equivalent of each verbal description.²⁰

The concept of critical or realigning eras is no less immune to these criticisms than are the standard categories of critical election theory. Theorists have provided no clear guidelines either for establishing the existence of such eras or for demarcating their boundaries. Although a laudable attempt to relax the rigidity of critical election theory, the notion of critical periods may easily be misused to gloss over divergences between empirical data and the fundamental assumptions of critical election models.

To portray voter alignments between 1916 and 1940 this study relies upon a quantitative data base of all 2,058 counties outside the confederate South. ²¹ Variables measured for each county include presidential votes from 1916 to 1940 and a variety of social and economic indicators. The data also include statistics of party registration and primary election returns for the counties in which information is available. ²² The statistical analysis will concentrate on the examination of changes in voter coalitions that are more difficult to detect than changes in political power.

Descriptive statistical analysis detailed in the tables and text below suggests that 1928 was not a critical election according to either Key's or Pomper's sense of the term. Rather, voter coalitions in 1928 were skewed by a uniquely strong division between Catholics and Protestants. In actuality, a more significant turning point seems to occur in 1924 for the combined Davis-LaFollette vote. Yet neither 1924 nor any other election of this period fulfills the descrip-

²⁰ Few social science theories can be implemented with precision. It is important, however, to minimize the gap between the concepts expressed in a theory and the ways in which these concepts can be empirically tested.

²¹ For much of the period between 1916 and 1940 there is very little county-to-county variation in presidential voting in the Old South. There is also little variation in some of the key indicators of voter behavior, for example, the percentage of Catholics and foreign-stock individuals in each county. The unique political patterns of the South deserve separate study by methods adapted to its demographic characteristics.

²² See the appendix for a list of the variables and their sources. For purposes of analysis each county is weighted according to the square root of the voting-age population, a standard correction for the analysis of units with unequal populations. Nonetheless, the analysis of unweighted data or data weighted according to the voting age population itself yields essentially the same results.

tion of a critical election, and, overall, these elections do not conform to the predictions of critical election theory.

Table 1 portrays the relative stability of voter coalitions for all pairs of presidential elections between 1916 and 1940. Specifically, table 1 is a matrix of regression (b) and squared correlation coefficients (r^2) for the presidential votes of 1916 to 1940. These coefficients are computed for all 2,058 counties outside the confederate South. Each percentage in the margins of table 1 is a distinct variable. For each presidential election year, except 1924, the variable represents the Democratic percentage of the total presidential vote cast in each county. For the presidential election of 1924, two percentages are computed: the Democratic percentage of the total vote and the combined Democratic-Progressive party percentage of the total vote. One set of entries in the table (b) represents the regression coefficient for the two corresponding percentages in the vertical and horizontal margins. The earlier election serves as the independent or explanatory variable, the later election as the dependent

Table 1. Regression Coefficients (b) and Coefficients of Determination for the Democratic Percentage of the Presidential Vote, 1916–40, All Counties

	19	16	19	20	19	24	192	24*	19.	28	19.	3 <i>2</i>	19	36	19	40
	b	r^2	b	r^2	<i>b</i>	r^2	b	r^2	b	r^2	b	r^2	b	r ²	b	r
1916	I	1	.92	.51	.92	.31	.79	.36	·53	.21	.70	.35	.66	.33	.64	
1920			I	1	1.03	.77	.50	.24	.34	٠١4	.40	.19	.37	. 17	. 50	
1924					I	1	.38	.23	.29	. 17	.31	. 18	.20	.08	.30	
1924*							1	I	.58	.44	.76	.71	·57	-44	.47	
1928									I	I	.70	.47	·57	$\cdot 33$. 56	
1932											1	I	.70	.53	.55	
1936													I	I	.89	
1940															1	

^{*} The combined percentages of the Democratic and Progressive party vote of 1924.

or response variable. Each regression coefficient estimates the responsiveness of the dependent variable to changes from county-to-county in the value of the independent variable. Since both variables are party percentages, the coefficient can be expressed as the percentage of change in the dependent variable produced by a 1 per cent change in the independent variable. A coefficient of .5, for example, obtained from the regression of the 1920 percentage of Democratic voters on the 1916 percentage of Democratic voters, would indicate that a 1 per cent change in the 1916 percentage yields a .5 per cent change in the 1920 percentage. The value of the regression coefficient reflects stability and change in the composition of electoral groupings between two election years. The more stable the coalitions, the greater the value of the regression coefficient.²³

²³ Due to problems of measurement error as well as problems inherent in a reliance on aggregate-level data, changes in coefficients computed for counties only approximate changes in the underlying voter coalitions.

Included in parentheses with the regression coefficients are coefficients of determination (r^2) , the square of the correlation coefficient) for each election pair. The coefficients of determination reveal the proportion of the county-to-county variation in the dependent variable that can be explained by its regression on the independent variable. The value of r^2 varies between 0 and 1. An r^2 of 1 indicates that all of the variation can be explained, that is, knowing the value of the independent variable allows one to predict exactly the value of the dependent variable for each county; an r^2 of 0 indicates that none of the variation can be explained, or that knowing the independent variable does not help one predict the values of the dependent variable; intermediate values of r^2 represent various other proportions of explained variation. r^2

Unlike previous studies based on aggregate-level data, this work reports regression as well as correlation coefficients. Although the use of either statistic would not significantly alter the substantive conclusions of this study, it is important to include regression measures. Regression coefficients are more appropriate than correlation coefficients for comparing voter behavior over time for a population of political units, in this case counties. Errors can arise when an investigator attempts to comprehend individual behavior, for example, voting decisions, on the basis of data pertaining to groups, such as counties or cities. 25 An incorrect inference from the group or aggregate to the individual level of analysis is generally termed an "ecological fallacy." The geographic grouping of individuals can influence the relative variation of independent and dependent variables, which, in turn, influences the value of the correlation coefficient. The values of regression coefficients, however, are more resistant to changes in relative variation produced by the process of aggregation.²⁶ Temporal changes in relative variation may also occur as a result of factors extraneous to the underlying voter coalitions being explored. Again, the values of regression coefficients are less sensitive to such fluctuations and provide more accurate measures of change over time in the composition of voter coalitions.27

²⁴ Since presidential percentages are measured by using total vote rather than the potential electorate as the base, the regression and correlation coefficients do not necessarily register changes in voter turnout. These measures would, however, reflect changes in turnout that influenced the composition of voter coalitions. I am in the midst of a project designed to determine the behavior from one election to another (transition probabilities) of both voters and nonvoters. Moreover, given that the values of regression and correlation coefficients are sensitive to the number of cases included in a study and that critical election theory lacks precision, the analysis of table 1 relies heavily on the comparison of results for various pairs of elections

²⁶ No statistical technique can with certainty bridge the gap between individual behavior and aggregate-level data. The argument presented here is only that regression measures offer a better means of bridging this gap than the more familiar correlation measures. For a more extended discussion of the ecological fallacy with special reference to political behavior, see Allan J. Lichtman, "Correlation, Regression and the Ecological Fallacy: A Critique," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 4 (1974): 417–33. For another viewpoint, see E. Terrence Jones, "Ecological Inference and Electoral Analysis," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 2 (1972): 249–69, and Jones, "Using Ecological Regression," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 4 (1974): 593–96. Hubert M. Blalock, Causal Inferences in Non-Experimental Research (Chapel Hill, 1964), 102–07; Licht-

man, "Correlation, Regression and the Ecological Fallacy," 418-20.

27 Hubert M. Blalock, "Causal Inferences, Closed Populations, and Measures of Association," American Political Science Review, 61 (1967): 130-36; John W. Tukey, "Causation, Regression, and Path Analysis," in Oscar Kempthorne et al., eds., Statistics and Mathematics in Biology (Ames, 1954). Blalock notes that for temporal comparisons of geographic units such extraneous factors as migration can affect the values of

Key states that a critical election establishes "new and durable groupings" of the electorate. This description suggests that it forms the beginning of a series of strongly interrelated elections that are weakly related to previous elections. Table 1 clearly reveals that Al Smith's vote of 1928 fails to satisfy this requirement. In fact, the combined Democratic-Progressive vote of 1924 establishes a sharper turning point than the Democratic vote of 1928. This combined vote is more closely related to Democratic voting in 1928-40 than to Democratic voting in 1920 or 1924. In addition, although the continuity between elections should grow weaker as the time span between them increases, the Democratic-Progressive vote is a slightly more accurate precursor than the Al Smith vote of Roosevelt's performance in 1932, an equally good precursor of Roosevelt's performance in 1936, and a slightly less accurate precursor of Roosevelt's performance in 1940. In terms of statistical descriptions, it is more fitting to claim that the "Roosevelt Revolution" was first preceded by a "Davis-LaFollette Revolution" rather than an "Al Smith Revolution."28

These findings are corroborated by a multiple regression analysis of Al Smith's vote and the combined Davis-LaFollette vote.²⁹ Multiple regression analysis can reveal the ways in which intercorrelated explanatory factors influence a particular form of behavior. Like the detective unable to extract a confession from a recalcitrant suspect, historians must explain voting behavior from the clues available to them. Unfortunately this task is complicated by the correlations among the social and economic factors that can explain voter decisions. In 1928 Catholics, for example, were much more likely than Protestants to be urban residents and immigrants. If the investigator limits himself to an examination of the relationship between religion and voter choice, he will learn very little about the individual importance of religious differences; their influence on voting behavior will be obscured by the influence of all the factors with which they are correlated. If, for instance, Catholics voted for Smith in greater proportion than Protestants, was this due to their religion or perhaps their tendency to be of foreign stock or to dwell in large cities? Multiple regression analysis can sort out the separate influences of correlated explanatory or independent variables. This technique generates regression coefficients for each explanatory variable included in the analysis. These coefficients measure the amount of change in presidential voting produced by an explanatory variable after controlling for the influence of every other variable included in the analysis.

For the 2,058 counties outside the confederate South, the study computed regression equations using the combined Democratic-Progressive vote of 1924

correlation coefficients without influencing the values of regression coefficients (p. 134). He warns investigators that "it is entirely possible that the basic [processes], as measured by slopes [regression coefficients], would remain unchanged whereas the relative magnitudes of the correlations could be altered" (p. 136).

²⁸ The importance of the election of 1924 is also noted at the local level by Bruce Stave in "The 'LaFollette Revolution' and the Pittsburgh Vote, 1932," *Mid-America*, 49 (1967): 244-51.

²⁹ These percentages closely approximate the non-Republican percentages for 1924 and 1928.

and the Democratic vote of 1928 as dependent or response variables. Each equation included the following independent or explanatory variables: per cent Catholic, per cent urban, per cent foreign stock, per cent home owners, and economic status. These represent most of the variables believed by historians and political scientists to have shaped voter coalitions during the period being considered. Unless otherwise indicated, these variables will be included in all multiple regression equations computed for this study.³⁰

The regression analysis, summarized in table 2, reveals that the major distinction between Al Smith's voter coalition and the coalition forged by Davis and LaFollette was the much stronger direct influence of Catholicism on the Smith vote. The division between Catholics and non-Catholics was a much more important determinant of the decision to vote for Al Smith than the decision to vote for Davis or LaFollette. Independent of the other variables included in the analysis, a 1 per cent change in the category of "per cent Catholic" produces a .31 per cent change in the Al Smith vote and a -.08 per cent change in the Davis-LaFollette vote.

Table 2. Regression Coefficients (b) for the Combined Democratic-Progressive Percentages of the 1924 Vote and the Democratic Percentage of the 1928 Vote

		1924		1928
	b	Standard Error	b	Standard Error
Per Cent Catholic	08	.026	0.31	.021
Per Cent Urban	04	.013	0.00	.010
Per Cent Foreign Stock	0.09	.016	0.08	.013
Per Cent Home Owners	34	.027	35	.021
Economic Status	-1.3	. 106	-1.1	.085

The prospect of a Catholic seriously seeking the presidency in 1928 was an intriguing new feature of American politics. Apparently Al Smith stimulated both a pro- and anti-Catholic vote. For Catholics a Smith victory promised to increase their collective prestige by recognizing the fitness of Catholics to hold the nation's most important office and symbolically represent all of America. Yet his defeat in a campaign marked by anti-Catholic agitation threatened to undermine the status they had already achieved. Many Protestants, on the other hand, regarded an increase in the status of Catholicism as a diminution of their own prestige and feared that a Catholic president would promote the interests of his coreligionists at the expense of Protestant Americans. With

These equations are derived from a more complex multiple regression analysis reported in Allan J. Lichtman, "A Quantitative Analysis of the Presidential Election of 1928" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1973). The larger study also included a variable measuring opposition to prohibition as expressed in state-level referendums between 1926 and 1929 for the 471 counties in which data were available. It also explored several methodological issues that are beyond the scope of this article. The inclusion of the prohibition variable does not materially alter the conclusions presented here. The standard errors reported in the tables assess the impact on regression estimates of such components of behavior. If the assumptions of multiple regression are met, 95 per cent of the time the actual value of a regression coefficient should lie within ± 2 standard errors of the estimated value; 99 per cent of the time it should lie within ± 2 .6 standard errors.

Smith's sound defeat and the general belief that no political party in the foreseeable future would risk nominating another Catholic, religious conflict lost much of its salience. The denominational cleavage that characterized presidential voting in 1928 was not nearly as strong in 1932. Independent of the same control variables, a 1 per cent change in "per cent Catholic" yields only a .01 per cent change in Roosevelt's vote of 1932. 31

The contention that voter coalitions in 1928 were marked by an especially intense cleavage between Protestants and Catholics is corroborated by a multiple regression analysis of deviation variables measuring the difference between Al Smith's percentage of the 1928 vote and each of the other presidential percentages included in table 1 (for example, Democratic voting in 1928 minus Democratic voting in 1924). The positive regression coefficients reported in table 3 disclose that, independent of control variables, Smith's support relative to the support accorded other candidates increased as the proportion of Catholics in a county likewise increased. The importance of Catholic-Protestant conflict for presidential voting in 1928 was neither anticipated in previous elections nor repeated in later contests.³²

Table 3. Regression Coefficients (b) for the Influence of Per Cent Catholic on the Difference between Per Cent Democratic in 1928 and Other Presidential Percentages

Por Cont Domonatic TOOP Minus	Per C	ent Catholic
Per Cent Democratic 1928 Minus	Ь	Standard Error
Per Cent Democratic 1916	-32	.022
Per Cent Democratic 1920	.21	.019
Per Cent Democratic 1924	.09	.021
Per Cent Democratic-Progressive 1924	.38	.010
Per Cent Democratic 1932	-33	.018
Per Cent Democratic 1936	.43	.022
Per Cent Democratic 1940	.33	.023

The regression equations reported in table 2 also reveal that both economic status and home ownership exerted a strong negative influence on the decision to vote for either Davis or LaFollette in 1924 and the decision to vote for Al Smith in 1928. Thus economic alignments of the American electorate were not first generated in 1928 or in any of the Roosevelt elections. They date back at least to 1924. This finding helps explain the continuity between the presidential election of 1924 and the elections of 1932 and 1936. It also suggests the need for fresh interpretations of the connections between class conflict and political affiliation and, more broadly, of the types of social conflict that characterize periods of prosperity and depression.³³

³¹ The standard error of this regression coefficient is .023.

³² The relatively low coefficient for the difference between Democratic voting in 1928 and 1924 can be accounted for by the importance of Irish-Catholic voters in the shrunken Democratic coalition of 1924.

³³ Examination of regression coefficients for the index number ECONgo is an effective means of comparing the relationship between economic status and voting behavior for different elections. Unlike percentage variables, however, this index number has no clear substantive meaning. To further clarify the

Although the presidential election of 1928 does not fit Key's definition of a critical election, it may yet conform to Pomper's alternative definition. Pomper states that a critical election establishes a "break in electoral continuity" and is followed by, but not included in, a new "era of stability." This definition suggests that elections preceding a critical election should be strongly related to each other but weakly related to elections following the critical election. Elections succeeding the critical election should also be strongly related to each other and weakly related to preceding elections. The critical election itself should be weakly related to both preceding and succeeding elections. Once again, table 1 reveals that the presidential election of 1928 clearly fails to satisfy these requirements. Neither prior nor subsequent elections form a cohesive subgroup. And Al Smith's coalition of 1928 closely resembles Roosevelt's coalition of 1932.

This evaluation of the regression coefficients reported in table 1 demonstrates that 1928 does not fulfill either Key's or Pomper's notion of a critical election. Visual inspection of the table can be supplemented by the statistical technique of elementary linkage analysis. Linkage analysis identifies distinct groups of interrelated elections. The elections within each group are more strongly related to at least one other election in the group than to any election in any other group. An examination of the election groups generated by elementary linkage analysis provides another test of the hypothesis that a critical realignment of the electorate occurred in 1928.

If the Smith-Hoover confrontation were a critical election, the Democratic vote of 1928 should divide table 1 into two groups of presidential votes. If it established "new and durable electoral groupings" (Key's definition), the 1928 Democratic vote should be included in the later group. If it disrupted previously stable electoral alignments and heralded, but did not begin, a new era of stability (Pomper's definition), the 1928 Democratic vote could be included as either the last election of the earlier group or the first election of the later group. It cannot form its own group because each group must include a minimum of two presidential votes.

The results of elementary linkage analysis do not reveal the contest between Smith and Hoover to be a critical election according to either definition. The analysis generates three rather than two groups of presidential votes. The first group includes the Democratic votes of 1916, 1920, and 1924; the second group, the Democratic Progressive vote of 1924 and the Democratic votes of 1928 and 1932; and the third group, the Democratic votes of 1936 and 1940. 4 Moreover, Al Smith's 1928 vote does not either begin or end any of the three groups. It is included in the middle group along with the Democratic-Progressive vote of four years earlier.

nature of the relationship between economic status and voting behavior in 1924 and 1928 the larger study also separately entered in regression equations the various components of the index number. Lichtman, "A Quantitative Analysis," 253.

³⁴ The same groupings are obtained whether linkage analysis is applied to correlation or regression coefficients. Factor analysis of the correlation coefficients also fails to disclose groups of elections neatly divided by the contest of 1928.

In terms of critical election theory, the presidential contest of 1928 would best be classified as a type of deviating election. The Democratic vote of 1928 bears substantial resemblance only to the Democratic vote of 1932. Similarly, political scientists, using survey data, have found that in the presidential election of 1960 voter coalitions were once again skewed by reactions to the religion of the Democratic nominee.³⁵

Yet it may be misleading to classify the presidential election of 1928 as a deviating election, or even to apply critical election terminology to any presidential election from 1916 to 1940. For these elections do not exhibit the pattern of relationships predicted by critical election theory.

A careful examination of table 1 reveals that no election between 1916 and 1940 satisfies either Key's or Pomper's notion of a critical election. At first glance, table 1 and the results of elementary linkage analysis suggest that an era of electoral stability perhaps began in 1936 (this cannot be verified without extending the series), and that the election of 1932 is a critical election in Pomper's sense of the term. But 1932 is not a point of discontinuity. The Democratic vote of 1932 is a good precursor of the Democratic vote of 1936 and is itself rather closely anticipated by the Democratic votes of 1916 and 1928 and the combined Democratic-Progressive vote of 1924.

The nature of the election groups identified by elementary linkage analysis might also suggest that a realigning or critical era began in 1924 and ended in 1936, assuming that such a lengthy critical era has substantive meaning. This hypothesis may also help explain the instability that characterizes the so-called New Deal era of 1928–40. Compared to other regression coefficients in table 1, the only coefficient from this period indicative of marked stability (b = .89) is obtained from the regression of Democratic voting in 1940 on Democratic voting in 1936. The regression relationships between the contiguous election pairs 1932–36 and 1936–40 are the only ones in which the composition of an earlier Democratic coalition can explain more than half the variation in a later Democratic coalition. Yet the paired relationships for the presidential elections of 1924 to 1940 do not demonstrate a gradual progression toward a stable situation. Furthermore, the consistently strong relationship between Woodrow Wilson's 1916 percentage and later Democratic percentages undermines any assertion that 1924 began a critical era of electoral change.

The presidential election of 1916 would present a perplexing classification problem for any devotee of critical election theory. Only the Democratic vote of 1936 better forecasts Democratic voting in 1940, and only the Democratic vote of 1932 better forecasts Democratic voting in 1936. These relationships preclude classifying 1916 as a maintaining election of the pre–New Deal era. But its relationships with the elections of 1920 and 1924 are much too strong to warrant classifying 1916 as a deviating election. Perhaps critical election theory requires us to argue that 1916 actually began the New Deal era of American politics (possibly interrupted by the aberrations of World War I).

³⁶ Angus Campbell et al., Elections and the Political Order (New York, 1966), 96-124.

Perhaps we need to go even farther back in time to uncover the roots of the New Deal coalition.

However illuminating, descriptive statistical analysis of the contest between Al Smith and Herbert Hoover cannot disclose the causal influence of this election on the pattern of subsequent politics. This task requires additional quantitative analysis as well as the scrutiny of information derived from traditional historical sources.

The candidates and issues of an election and the interactions between the election and events such as war, depression, or demographic change can influence the outcome of later elections. Such influences can take many forms, for example, changes in the strength and structure of party organizations, in the party loyalties of the voting public, or in the images projected by political parties. Unfortunately, political theorists have failed to elaborate the causal dimensions of critical election theory. Although scholars frequently use the language of causality in their verbal descriptions of election types, they neither develop the theoretical implications of causal models of electoral change nor integrate methods of evaluating causality in their empirical investigations. 36 Political analysts generally focus their studies of election types on measures of statistical association that cannot in themselves establish the extent of the causal relationship between variables. Elections that ostensibly mark the beginning of new voting cycles may actually exert very little influence on the unfolding of these cycles, whereas elections fulfilling the statistical descriptions of maintaining or deviating elections may profoundly affect subsequent contests.

In delineating the social and economic composition of voter coalitions, multiple regression analysis provides important insight into the causality of electoral behavior. The multiple regression analysis summarized in table 2, for example, indicates that the major change wrought by Al Smith in the voter coalition established by Davis and LaFollette was the creation of an intense cleavage between Catholics and non-Catholics. Yet the religious divisions of 1928 resulted from the special circumstances of an election featuring the first Catholic candidate ever to seek the presidency seriously. By 1932 religion had only a small independent influence on presidential voting. This does not mean that Catholics deserted the Democratic party in droves between 1928 and 1932. But in 1932 Catholics no longer constituted the vanguard of the Democracy; Protestant groups were catching up. Although some Catholics undoubtedly joined the Democratic coalition in 1928 and remained loyal in later years, there is little reason to believe that Smith's candidacy was a decisive influence on their behavior during the Great Depression.³⁷

³⁶ Shover, "The Emergence of a Two-Party System," attempts to resolve this problem by simply asserting that critical election theory is purely descriptive in nature.

37 See, for example, Robert K. Massey, Jr., "The Democratic Laggard: Massachusetts," New England

Quarterly, 44 (1971): 564-74.

When the influence of social and economic variables on Democratic voting in 1928 is compared to their influence on Democratic, rather than Democratic and Progressive, voting in 1924, religion is again far more important in 1928 than in 1924. In addition, between these two election years, foreign ethnicity was transformed from a strong negative to a small positive influence on Democratic voting. Independent of the other variables included in the analysis, a 1 per cent change in the percentage of foreign-stock individuals yields a —.45 per cent change in John W. Davis's percentage of the 1924 vote and a .08 per cent change in Al Smith's percentage of the 1928 vote.³⁸

These results do not mean that Smith secured the loyalty of many foreign-stock Americans who might otherwise have continued to oppose Democratic presidential candidates. Further analysis discloses significant discontinuities in the behavior of foreign-stock voters between 1928 and 1932. Table 4 summarizes the results of a multiple regression analysis that substitutes for "per cent foreign stock" nine variables representing membership in various nationality groups. The table reports the influence of each of these variables on the difference between the Democratic percentage of the presidential vote in 1932 and 1928. The coefficients displayed in table 4 demonstrate that the Democrats had different bases of ethnic support in 1928 and 1932. Independent of control variables, Germans and Scandinavians were stauncher supporters of FDR, and Italians, Poles, French Canadians, and Irish—the predominantly Catholic groups—stauncher supporters of Al Smith.

Table 4. Regression Coefficients (b) for the Influence of Individual Nationality Groups on the Difference between the Democratic Percentage of the Presidential Vote in 1932 and 1928

	<i>b</i>	Standard Error
Per Cent Scandinavian	0.28	.061
Per Cent German	0.85	.152
Per Cent British	0.69	.273
Per Cent British Canadian	0.82	. 144
Per Cent French Canadian	 78	.150
Per Cent Russian	o. 76	. 152
Per Cent Polish	-1.0	.202
Per Cent Italian	-1.0	. 164
Per Cent Irish	-3.7	.360

An analysis of ethnic voting also provides fresh insight into some of the most intriguing aspects of presidential voting between 1916 and 1940. Foreign-stock support for Democratic candidates sank to extraordinarily low levels in 1920 and 1924. Reacting against the policies of Woodrow Wilson and the tensions of post-World War I America, foreign-stock voters in 1920 deserted the Democratic party in far greater proportion than their native-stock counterparts. Controlling for religion, urbanism, home ownership, and economic

³⁸ The standard errors are .015 and .013 respectively.

status, a 1 per cent change in the percentage of foreign-stock voters in a county produces a -.09 per cent change in Woodrow Wilson's percentage of the presidential vote and a -.35 per cent change in James Cox's percentage. Yet ethnic voters did not return to the Democrats in 1924; a 1 per cent change in the percentage of foreign-stock voters yields a -.45 per cent change in John W. Davis's percentage of the presidential vote. 39 A major beneficiary of ethnic opposition to the Democratic candidate was the Progressive party candidate, Robert M. LaFollette. As table 2 reveals, a 1 per cent change in the percentage of foreign-stock voters actually has a positive influence on the combined vote of Davis and LaFollette. More microscopic analysis discloses that LaFollette was particularly appealing to German-, Scandinavian-, and Russian-American voters.

These findings have far-reaching implications. The repudiation of Democratic presidential candidates by foreign-stock voters in 1920 and 1924 helps explain why the vote attained by Woodrow Wilson in 1916 and by Davis and LaFollette combined in 1924 forecast voting alignments in the first three Roosevelt elections far better than the vote attained by Cox in 1920 or Davis in 1924. Ethnic support for Al Smith, while skewed by reactions to his personal background, also represents a return to more usual patterns of political allegiance that had been disrupted in 1920 and 1924. Thus it is not surprising that Lubell, Bernstein, and Degler should have observed dramatic increases between 1920 and 1928 in urban, ethnic support for the Democratic presidential candidate. The relationship of ethnic defections to national issues and presidential candidates may also help explain why such investigators as Burner, Clubb and Allen, and Alvarez and True found persisting Democratic strength in the vote for lesser offices throughout the 1920s. 40

Franklin Roosevelt, of course, consolidated and extended ethnic support for the Democratic party. Yet his accomplishments cut across class, religious, and ethnic lines. During the 1930s the Democratic party achieved impressive gains among groups outside the "new" America, notably blacks and both foreign- and native-stock Protestants.⁴¹

Samuel Lubell's arguments also imply that the presidential election of 1928 was causally significant because it created an enduring division between

³⁹ The standard errors are .012, .013, and .015 respectively. These coefficients should be interpreted with caution since independent variables are measured in 1930. It is unlikely, however, that the social and economic composition of counties substantially changed during the period being considered. The analysis also focuses on the comparison of regression coefficients for 1916, 1920, and 1924. Such comparative analysis is unlikely to be significantly affected by the use of variables measured at a slightly later date. Moreover, the conclusions rest upon profound differences in the influence on presidential voting of the variable measuring foreign ethnicity.

⁴⁰ David Burner, The Politics of Provincialism: The Democratic Party in Transition, 1918–1932 (New York, 1968), 159-60; Clubb and Allen, "The Cities and the Election of 1928," 1210–18; Alvarez and True, "Critical Elections" 566-75

Elections," 566-75.

41 Several case studies have noted the conversion of black voters to the Democratic party during the 1930s. See, for example, Burner, The Politics of Provincialism, 237-41; Rita Werner Gordon, "The Change in the Political Alignment of Chicago's Negroes during the New Deal," Journal of American History, 56 (1969): 584-603; and John M. Allswang, "The Chicago Negro Voter and the Democratic Consensus: A Case Study," in Bernard Sternsher, ed., The Negro in Depression and War (Chicago, 1969), 244-54.

urban and rural America. Indeed, it is hardly surprising that urban voters should have responded more favorably to Al Smith and rural voters to Herbert Hoover. In 1928 Catholics and foreign-stock Americans tended to live in cities; Protestant and native-stock Americans tended to live in the country. Yet Lubell's argument exaggerates the importance of urban-rural divisions in 1928. Using the census definition of incorporated places with at least 2,500 residents, the percentage of urban residents in each of the 2,058 counties explains very little of the county-to-county variation in Al Smith's vote or in the difference between Smith's vote and the vote of previous Democratic candidates. "Per cent urban" explains only 2 per cent of the variation in Smith's 1928 vote, 6 per cent of the variation in the difference between Smith's vote and the average vote of Democratic presidential candidates from 1916 to 1924, and 8 per cent of the variation in the difference between Smith's vote and John W. Davis's vote of 1924.

It is, of course, the voting returns for the nation's large cities that have caught the eye of Lubell and other students of the Smith-Hoover confrontation. Indeed, as table 5 reveals, Smith performed very well in America's fourteen largest cities. Historians, however, have exaggerated the extent of Smith's metropolitan triumph. They have hailed him as the "hero of the urban masses," claiming that he swept the cities into the Democratic camp. Yet Smith only broke even in large cities, despite a whopping majority of 450,000 in his home city. Eliminating the New York City vote, Smith's metropolitan percentage drops from 50 to 46 per cent. Moreover, Smith received approximately 38.5 per cent of the vote cast outside the fourteen cities listed in table 5. The gap of 11.5 per cent between Smith's metropolitan percentage and his percentage in other localities is the proportion of individual-to-individual variation in voting decisions that can be explained by resi-

Table 5. Percentages for the Combined Democratic-Progressive Vote of 1924 and the Democratic Votes of 1928 and 1932 for Fourteen Major Cities

City	1924	1928	1932
Baltimore	57	48	67
Boston*	53	48 67	69
Buffalo		49	51
Chicago*	$\begin{array}{c} 43 \\ 38 \end{array}$	47	57
Cincinnati*	39		51
Cleveland*	51	43 46	53
Detroit	20	37	
Los Angeles*	34	29	59 60
Newark*	34	4 I	46
New York		$\hat{6}_2$	71
Philadelphia	55 18	40	56
Pittsburgh Pittsburgh	43	47	56
St. Louis	47	52 ,	56 56 65
San Francisco*	52	50	67

^{*} These percentages are computed for the county in which the city is located.

dence in large cities. Thus, after eliminating the influence of metropolitan residence, almost 90 per cent of the variation in the presidential voting of 1928 is still unexplained. Finally, Roosevelt's metropolitan performance in 1932 was not based upon Al Smith's accomplishment. The difference between Smith's vote and the combined Davis-LaFollette vote in the fourteen cities of table 5 explains a negligible percentage of the variation in Roosevelt's 1932 vote.

In addition, residence in city or country exerted no independent influence on voter decisions in 1928. The multiple regression equations reported in table 2 reveal that, independent of control variables, urban-rural residence exercises a negligible influence not only on the combined Davis-LaFollette vote, but also on Al Smith's vote of 1928. These equations, however, may underestimate the influence of urbanism on Smith's vote because "per cent urban" is based upon the census definition of an urban community. Perhaps the distinction between urban and rural areas as defined by the census is less important than the distinction between small cities, suburbs, towns, and farmlands on the one hand and large cities on the other. This proposition was tested in three ways: through the computation of separate regression equations for groups of counties with and without large cities; the examination of the nonlinear relationship between urbanism and Democratic voting; and the analysis of residuals for counties with and without large cities. The results of each test upheld the initial finding that urbanism was not an important influence on voter decisions in 1928.42

The foregoing analysis provides significant insight into the extent to which events associated with the presidential election of 1928 influenced segments of the voting population. Additional insight can be obtained through the scrutiny of measures of party loyalty. As was previously suggested, an election can importantly influence later patterns of politics without engendering manifest changes in party affiliation. It can, for example, strengthen party organization or help shape a party image that is more attractive to independent voters. But changes in party loyalty can, of course, have a decisive influence on electoral competition and constitute the almost exclusive focus of critical election theory.

For the period in question, party registration statistics are the best indicators of partisan affiliation. Such statistics are available from 1926 to 1940 for the 223 counties of New York, Pennsylvania, Oregon, and California and from 1928 to 1940 for the fifty-five counties of West Virginia. For each county the analysis considers the Democratic percentage of major party registration. These percentages are measured at two-year intervals. If Al Smith's candidacy realigned the American electorate, substantial changes in the percentage of registered Democrats and in the composition of the Democratic party coalition should occur either in 1928 or 1930.

To exploit these registration returns, a variety of statistical stratagems must be employed. Party registration must be used both as a dependent or response

⁴² For a detailed reporting of these tests, see Lichtman, "A Quantitative Analysis," 327–32.

variable and an independent or explanatory variable. It is important to determine the relationships between Democratic registration in earlier and later years as well as the relationship between registration and presidential voting. The analysis also considers Democratic registration in later years as independent variables for presidential percentages in 1932 and 1936. Obviously events taking place after an election cannot have influenced behavior in that election. But this statistical maneuver can indicate the extent to which the coalition of individuals registering as Democrats rather than Republicans resembles the Democratic voter coalitions of earlier years.

The analysis of registration data provides no support for the hypothesis that the presidential election of 1928 was associated with durable changes in either party power or party coalitions. Rather, the analysis suggests that partisan realignment was confined to the 1930s. For the sample of counties, table 6 reveals remarkable stability in the percentage of Democratic registrants between 1926 and 1930. Not including West Virginia, the percentage of registered Democrats was 32 per cent in 1926, 34 per cent in 1928, and 31 per cent in 1930. Not until 1932 does a realignment in favor of the Democrats begin to take place. Moreover, these aggregate statistics do not conceal a raging "Al Smith Revolution" in large cities. Registration statistics for ten metropolitan counties within the sample (reported in table 7) fail to disclose even the faint trace of a realignment in party power between 1926 and 1930.

More detailed analysis also demonstrates that Al Smith's candidacy did not scramble the coalitions formed by Democratic and Republican registrants. According to table 8, a matrix of regression and correlation coefficients for the Democratic percentage of the two-party registration, party coalitions in 1926, 1928, and 1930 are virtually indistinguishable. For each pair of party percentages the value of the regression coefficient is .86 or more, and no earlier percentage explains less than 90 per cent of the variation in a later percentage. Overall, the coefficients reported in table 8 display no abrupt discontinuity, but a gradual transformation of partisan alignments during the 1930s.

A comparison of registration and voting statistics demonstrates that Democratic registration in 1928 and 1930 fails to foreshadow voter alignments in the presidential elections of 1932, 1936, and 1940. Table 9 reports regression and correlation coefficients for the influence of Democratic registration on Democratic voting. In each case the voting percentage is the dependent variable and the registration percentage the independent variable. The percentage of individuals registering as Democrats in 1928 and 1930 is very weakly related to the percentage of voters supporting Roosevelt. A 1 per cent change in Democratic registration for either year generates no more than a .44 per cent change in presidential voting, and variation in the percentage of registered Democrats explains no more than 34 per cent of the variation in any of Roosevelt's percentages. When entered as a sixth independent variable in the standard

⁴³ The regression coefficients with values of 1.1 may reflect the extremely high correlations between election pairs and the relatively small number of counties included in the sample.

Table 6. The Democratic Percentage of the Two-Party Registration
FOR FIVE STATES, 1926-40

State	1926	1928	1930	1932	1934	1936	1938	1940
California	24	28	22	43	52	6o	62	62
New York	48	47	50	55	52 60	62	56	55
Oregon	. 28	28	27	33	39	46	49	50
Pennsylvania	22	23	20	22	35	44	48	44
West Virginia		45	45	49	55	55	58	58
Total	32	35	32	41	48	54	55	53
Total (Without W. Va.)	32	34	31	40	48	54	55	53

Table 7. The Democratic Percentage of the Two-Party Registration for Ten Cities, 1926–40*

City	1926	1928	1930	1932	1934	1936	1938	1940
Buffalo	35	36	30	36	49	47	41	42
Los Angeles	25	27	22	44	56 82	62	65	64
New York	70	63	73	79	82	85	81	75
Oakland	i6	21	17	34	43	55	56	57
Philadelphia	05	14	07	13	36	44	45	41
Pittsburgh	05 08	13	07	10	39	51	58	54
Portland	25	26	25	32	40	50	52	52
Rochester	² 5 16	19	16	ĭ7	42	40	26	26
San Francisco	19	31	15	47	53	6_5	66	66
Syracuse	29	27	25	27	29	33	24	24
Total	36	39	36	48	58	65	63	64

^{*} Only cities from the five states of table 6 are included. Percentages are computed for the county in which the city is located.

multiple regression model, Democratic registration in 1928 or 1930 exerts negligible influence on presidential voting in 1936 or 1940. Table 9 discloses that only in 1934 did the coalition of Democratic registrants begin to resemble more closely the voter coalitions forged by Roosevelt from 1932 to 1940.

For the 278 counties examined here, party registration seems to have been unaffected by Al Smith's candidacy. Both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties emerged unscathed from the "Revolution of 1928." Changes in the percentage of registered Democrats and in the composition of party coalitions began to take place only after 1930. The patterns of change portrayed in the statistical analysis suggest, however, that for party registration alone, the period between 1932 and 1936 could reasonably be regarded as a critical era. Yet for party coalitions, changes in regression and correlation coefficients during the 1930s take place so gradually that they might reflect the normal attenuation of relationships over time rather than the effects of electoral realignment.

Further insight into partisan allegiance can be gained through the scrutiny

Table 8. Regression Coefficients (b) and Coefficients of Determination (τ^2) for the Democratic Percentage of the Two-Party Registration, 278 Counties, 1926–40*

b r^2 b r^2	.67 .49 .63 .38 .77 .57 .75 .47 .62 .50 .58 .39 .74 .73 .72 .61 .88 .89 .86 .76 .1 .1 .1 .87
b r ²	.83 .66 .95 .74 .79 .69 .87 .87
b r^2	.98 .82 1.12 .86 .93 .84 1 1
b r ²	1.03 .97 1.10 .92 1 1
b r^2	.86 .92
b r ²	-
	$a b r^2 b r^2 b$

*Coefficients for 1926 do not include the fifty-five counties of West Virginia.

Table 9. Regression Coefficients (b) and Coefficients of Determination (r^2) for the Democratic Percentage of the Two-Party Registration, 1926-40, and the Democratic Percentage of the Presidential Vote, 1932-40, 278 Counties*

	19261 9	26 r ²	195 b	1928 r²	1930 _{r²}	0 r²	1932 b r ²	2 72	1934 _{r²}	f +2	1936 _{r²}	6	1938 b r2	2.2	1940 t	r ²
1932 1936 1940	.35 .18	.25 .06	.29 .20	.34 .12	.33	25. 0. 0. 0.	.45 .32	.50	.52 .44 .32	.58 .35	.61 .59 .44	.67 .53 .39	.58 .62 .48	.70 .66 .52	.58 .61	.71 .66 .54

* The registration percentage is always the independent variable; coefficients for 1926 do not include the fifty-five counties of West Virginia.

of primary election returns. For 850 counties this study measures the percentage of individuals participating in the Democratic rather than the Republican primaries. Data are reported for each presidential year from 1928 to 1940. Multiple regression analysis of Democratic primary voting in 1928 reveals that the key conflict of the general election also influenced voter behavior in the primaries. Smith's candidacy created a sharp religious cleavage of the primary electorate but failed to undermine Republican dominance or to exert durable influence on primary voting behavior. Independent of control variables, a 1 per cent change in "per cent Catholic" yields a .39 per cent change in the Democratic primary voting of 1928.44 Thus, controlling for other social and economic factors, participation in the Democratic primaries increased as a county's proportion of Catholics increased. This religious division, however, did not persist in later primaries. To determine the distinctive features of the coalitions formed in the primaries of 1928, the analysis considers deviation variables obtained by subtracting in turn Democratic primary voting in 1932, 1936, and 1940 from Democratic primary voting in 1928. In each case the resulting regression coefficients for "per cent Catholic" are large and positive. Independent of control variables, a 1 per cent change in "per cent Catholic" produces a .29 per cent change in the difference between primary voting in 1928 and 1932, a .21 per cent change in the difference between primary voting in 1928 and 1936, and a .42 per cent change in the difference between primary voting in 1928 and 1940. 45 These statistics reveal that religious differences exercised an abnormally strong influence on the decision to participate in the Democratic primaries of 1928. Despite this temporary readjustment of the Democratic primary coalition in 1928, a meager 21 per cent of the electorate participated in the Democratic rather than the Republican primaries.

Political scientists have also posited that the upheavals accompanying fundamental alterations in electoral behavior have certain characteristic effects. A comparison of these predicted effects with the historical realities of the Smith-Hoover confrontation further suggests that voter loyalties were not transformed in 1928.

Walter Dean Burnham, writing in 1970, presented a detailed enumeration of the concomitants of the "'ideal-typical' form" of partisan realignment. First, "critical realignments are characterized by abnormally high intensity," which produces especially heavy voter turnout. Second, this intensity "spills over into the party nominating and platform writing machinery of the party most heavily affected by the pressures of realignment, . . . accepted 'rules of the game' are flouted; the party's processes, instead of performing their usual integrative functions, themselves contribute to polarization." Third, partisan realignments lead to important ideological polarizations between the major parties. Fourth, such realignments "involve constitutional readjustments in the broadest sense of the term [and] they are intimately associated with and followed by transformations in large clusters of policy. This produces pro-

⁴⁴ The standard error is .059.

⁴⁶ The standard errors are .053, .081, and .060 respectively.

found alterations in policy and influences the grand institutional structure of American government."46

The presidential election of 1928, however, clearly exhibits only the first of these characteristics of the "'ideal-typical' form" of critical elections. There was intense voter interest in the Smith-Hoover confrontation and a large upsurge in voter turnout.

In 1928 hostility to the social and religious background of Al Smith was a source of some dissension within the Democratic party. Intraparty strife, however, was neither strongly ideological nor of lasting importance. Mutiny was largely confined to the South and involved very few of the major Democratic leaders in that region. Bolters quietly returned to the fold, and the South was a mainstay of the Democratic party throughout the Roosevelt years. Moreover, the "party's processes" effectively performed their "usual integrative functions." In their eagerness not to antagonize potential supporters, the Democrats actually abandoned several of their more controversial positions, for example, low tariff doctrine and internationalism. Only a few die-hard traditionalists opposed this pusillanimous strategy. The Democrats also papered over with compromise statements the ideological divisions within the party concerning such questions as prohibition and farm relief. Only one party leader, Governor Dan Moody of Texas, objected strongly to the platform committee's compromise resolution on prohibition, the most explosive issue confronting the Democrats. 47 It was in 1924 rather than 1928 that great upheaval occurred within the "party nominating and platform writing machinery," and polarization was so intense that the national convention divided into two warring camps. In 1928 the Democrats generally adhered to the "rules of the game," and party machinery fostered concord rather than conflict.

There was also very little ideological polarization between the two parties in 1928. On most important questions facing the American people, Democratic and Republican positions could not be distinguished. Only the prohibition question seemed to present voters a clear-cut choice of alternative philosophies. Yet, even this issue was deliberately obscured by the Republican, and to a lesser extent by the Democratic, party. 48 Moreover, prohibition did not become a basis for lasting divisions between the parties.

Finally, the presidential contest of 1928 was not "intimately associated with [or] followed by transformations in large clusters of policy." Neither did the election "produce correspondingly profound alterations in policy [or influence] the grand institutional structure of American government." During the campaign Hoover promised faithfully to continue traditional Republican policies, and even when faced with the depression he initiated little change in

⁴⁶ Burnham, Critical Elections, 6-10.

⁴⁷ Democratic National Committee, "Official Report of the Proceedings of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, Executive Session," Key Pittman Papers, Library of Congress, box 149, passim; Democratic National Committee, Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention of 1928 (Indianapolis, 1928), 201-04.

⁴⁸ Charles Merz, Dry Decade (Garden City, N.Y., 1931), 228-31.

public policy. In addition, Hoover's incumbency produced no notable changes in the structure of American government.⁴⁹

The clash between Al Smith and Herbert Hoover does not resemble a presidential contest in which a basic realignment of the electorate was taking place. Increases in voter turnout are best explained by the intense controversy generated by Smith's Catholicism and to a lesser extent by his opposition to national prohibition. They were not the by-products of an electorate in the throes of realignment. The election did not significantly disrupt the normal processes of the two parties or produce ideological divisions that could serve as the basis of large-scale alterations in partisan commitments. And, during his incumbency, the winning candidate followed the traditional policies of his party.

It is extraordinarily difficult, however, to assess the implications for critical election models of the disparity between theoretical descriptions of "idealtypical" realignments and the actualities of the Smith-Hoover confrontation. Political scientists have not carefully distinguished between descriptive and defining features of critical elections. Which of the factors isolated by Key and Burnham are necessary characteristics of critical elections? Are elections to be defined as "critical" strictly on the basis of their relationship to changes in party power and in the composition of voter coalitions? If so, what is the importance of such factors as intense voter interest, issue polarization, and new policy outcomes? Are they probable concomitants of elections otherwise identified as critical or realigning? Or are they merely developments that on a theoretical level political scientists believe to be associated with fundamental changes in the partisan alignments of the American electorate? The responses to these questions can determine our classification of presidential contests as well as our understanding of the relationship between electoral change and changes in governmental structure and public policy.

Traditional historical evidence also provides a useful check on the findings of quantitative analysis. Contemporary politicians, it seems, did not generally believe that a political realignment had taken place in 1928. In late 1928 and early 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt circulated an inquiry about party affairs to Democratic leaders throughout the nation. Overall, the respondents did not suggest that Smith revolutionized the politics of their party. Some thought that his candidacy might help secure the loyalty of Catholic voters, but others claimed that Catholics were disappointed with the Democratic party. Many suggested that the party was disorganized and demoralized. Shortly after the election the Republican National Committee asked a group of state and local leaders to dissect the presidential vote in their respective bailiwicks. After examining the responses to its survey, the committee concluded that the Democrats had made temporary gains among some groups of voters, but that normal party alignments would prevail in the future.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ The best analysis of Hoover's policies is provided by Harris G. Warren, *Herbert Hoover and the Great Depression* (New York, 1959).

⁵⁰ Democratic National Campaign Committee Correspondence, 1928–1933, Before Convention Collection, Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.; Presidential Campaign Collection, Herbert Hoover Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa.

Similarly, James A. Farley recalled that the Smith-Hoover confrontation did not importantly influence the two elections he managed for Franklin Roosevelt. "In 1932," he states, "the only influence of the 1928 election was to eliminate Smith as the leading contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination." ⁵¹

The implications of this qualitative evidence emphasize the importance of integrating quantitative analysis and traditional historical research. A detailed knowledge of the historical events being studied helps an investigator both to design quantitative research and to interpret its results. Moreover, warning signals should be immediately triggered by radical disparities between the messages received from quantitative and qualitative evidence. Efforts to cope with such disparities can generate fundamental revisions in research, analysis, and interpretation.

Through multiple levels of quantitative and qualitative analysis, this study demonstrates that the presidential election of 1928 did not produce drastic, durable changes in the composition of electoral coalitions or in the balance of party power. The election did, however, influence later Democratic successes in two ways. As a result of Hoover's victory the GOP became associated with the horrors of depression. Smith's defeat, on the other hand, motivated Democratic leaders, for the first time, to keep the Democratic National Committee functioning in the periods between presidential elections. During the dark days of Hoover's incumbency, the Democratic organization was an important source of antiadministration propaganda.⁵²

Undeniably, during the Great Depression, the balance of party power dramatically shifted in favor of the Democrats. For the 1920s and 1930s, changes in political power more neatly fit the critical election paradigm than do changes in the composition of voter coalitions. Between 1928 and 1936 the proportion of voters in the 850 sample counties participating in the Democratic rather than the Republican primaries increased twofold. Similarly, the proportion of voters registering as Democrats rather than Republicans increased by 54 per cent in the 278 sample counties. Whether considered critical or maintaining by political theorists, however, each of the three presidential elections between 1932 and 1940 played an important role in the renaissance of the Democratic party.

In 1928 Herbert Hoover represented for many Americans the buoyant optimism of prosperity; four years later he symbolized the hardship and heartbreak of the depression. Hungering for new leadership, a substantial majority of voters opted for the Democratic candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Throughout the nation, according to correspondence received by the national headquarters of both parties, traditional Republicans planned to vote for Roosevelt in 1932.⁵³

Yet Roosevelt's victory in 1932 did not itself reverse the fortunes of the

⁵¹ Interview with James A. Farley, Jan. 27, 1971, New York City.

 ⁵² See, for example, Charles Michelson, *The Ghost Talks* (New York, 1944).
 ⁵³ Democratic National Campaign Committee Correspondence, 1928–1933, Before Election Collection; Herbert Hoover Papers, Presidential Subject file.

Democratic party. In 1932 the proportion of Democratic primary voters in the sample was 33 per cent; in 1936 this proportion increased to 42 per cent and remained at that level through 1940. Similarly, between 1932 and 1936 the proportion of Democratic registrants in the sample increased from 41 to 54 per cent and remained roughly constant through 1940. Roosevelt's victory chiefly reflected the weakness of Herbert Hoover, not the strength of a burgeoning Democratic majority. Roosevelt raised few divisive issues in 1932. His campaign offered something for everybody and did not set forth a coherent alternative to the policies and ideology of the GOP.⁵⁴

Changes in voting habits are not the inevitable result of social and economic change. Contrary to the mechanism implicit in most discussions of critical election theory, voting cycles do not ebb and flow with automatic, tidal regularity. Historical events create opportunities that can be exploited by shrewd political strategy and responsive policy or squandered by political blunders and unwise policy. During his first four years Franklin D. Roosevelt effectively channeled public opinion in support of himself and his party. Roosevelt was an unusually charismatic and ebullient leader and a master of political persuasion. The programs of the New Deal and Roosevelt's spirited rhetoric provided the ideological and emotional foundation for a new Democratic majority.

Probably because the "New Deal coalition" seemed fully fashioned by 1936, political authorities have regarded the election of 1940 as a classic maintaining election that played no important role in realigning the electorate. Yet more careful analysis reveals that events culminating in the clash between Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie were crucial to the maintenance of Democratic predominance. Public opinion polls conducted in 1938 and 1939 suggest that a majority of voters were disillusioned with the New Deal and hostile to the idea of a third term for President Roosevelt.55 Had this gloomy situation failed to improve, it is unlikely that Roosevelt would have sought or could have attained re-election. The Democrats had no other promising candidate, and Republicans anticipated their first presidential victory since 1928. Some journalists even predicted that the aberrations of 1932 and 1936 had passed and the nation was returning to its normal Republican majority. The public opinion polls of 1940 suggest that only the events of World War II motivated Roosevelt to seek re-election and made a third term palatable to the American public.56

ALTHOUGH POLITICAL SCIENTISTS have not carefully analyzed the causes of critical elections, they have suggested that these elections generally accom-

⁵⁴ Roy V. Peel and Thomas C. Donnelly, *The 1932 Campaign: An Analysis* (New York, 1935), 123-79; William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York, 1965), 9-17.

⁵⁵ In December 1938, for example, the Gallup poll reported that 70 per cent of a national cross-section of potential voters opposed a third term for President Roosevelt. George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion*, 1935–1971 (New York, 1972), 1: 129.

⁵⁶ Gallup found that in October 1940, 53 per cent of a national cross-section claimed that they would favor Wendell Willkie rather than Franklin D. Roosevelt if "there were no war in Europe today." *Ibid.*, 247.

pany such national crises as war or depression. They imply that the partisan realignments associated with critical elections flow not from the personal appeals of competing candidates, but from the ramifications of these crises. Angus Campbell and his coauthors argue in the highly influential *Elections and the Political Order*, "Realigning elections have not been dominated by presidential candidates who came into office on a wave of great personal popularity. . . . The quality which distinguished the elections in which they came into power was the presence of a great national crisis, leading to a conflict regarding governmental policies and the association of the two major parties with relatively clearly contrasting programs for its solution." 57

The presidential election of 1928 does not fit this pattern. The campaign occurred during a relatively tranquil period of American history and the policy positions of the two parties presented few important contrasts. Its realigning influences are generally attributed to voter reaction to the personality and background of Al Smith.

This study has demonstrated, however, that there was no "Al Smith Revolution." Neither quantitative nor qualitative evidence reveals the presidential election of 1928 to be a decisive turning point in American political history. Given the fleeting quality of the electoral alignments engendered by Smith's candidacy and the discontinuity of the depression, it is likely that had the Democrats nominated another party leader—such as Albert Ritchie, Thomas Walsh, or Carter Glass—to oppose Herbert Hoover, the decision would scarcely have affected the next three presidential contests. The distinctive feature of the election of 1928 was the appearance of a deep-seated cultural conflict between Protestants and Catholics. In causal terms the election was important chiefly because the Democrats lost and a Republican administration presided over three years of economic depression.

By assigning the election of 1928 a bit part in the realignment drama of twentieth-century America, these conclusions question ethnocultural interpretations of electoral change. For the period considered here, transformations of party power did not coincide with peaks of ethnocultural conflict, and the Roosevelt realignment did not neatly cleave the "old" and the "new" America. Changes in economic status or in the perception of economic opportunities seem to have been the prime generators of change in political allegiance. Ethnic and religious differences produced great turmoil in the 1920s, but party power shifted only in response to economic crisis.

This reassessment of the contest of 1928 also challenges pluralist interpretations of twentieth-century reform. Only if this contest were a turning point in electoral history could the pluralists sustain their argument that 1928 marked a transition between the moralistic extremism of the Populist and Progressive traditions and the pragmatism of New Deal reform. Pluralist historians also regard LaFollette's candidacy in 1924 as the last gasp of the old-style protest politics they find so distasteful. Yet statistical analysis reveals the combined Democratic-Progressive vote of 1924 to be at least as accurate a

⁵⁷ Campbell et al., Elections and the Political Order, 76-77.

precursor of New Deal voting alignments as the Democratic vote of 1928. Democratic voting in 1932 and 1936 more closely reflected the combined Davis-LaFollette vote, whereas Democratic voting in 1940 more closely reflected the vote for Al Smith. Moreover, the religious conflicts that highlighted the contest of 1928 scarcely portend the sensible, tolerant pragmatism of newstyle reform. As Rogin notes in his analysis of pluralist interpretations of McCarthyism, historians need to re-evaluate carefully the connections between protest movements in twentieth-century American history. ⁵⁸ Certainly there is much greater continuity between the electoral coalitions forged by LaFollette and FDR than pluralist historians have suspected.

Qualitative analysis of Al Smith's 1928 campaign emphasizes the incongruity of hailing his candidacy as the harbinger of a new reform tradition. Smith's positions on national issues failed to challenge the status quo. Despite the governor's humble origins, his reasonably progressive record in state politics, his Catholicism, and his association with the immigrant masses, his policy proposals were scarcely more venturesome than those of Herbert Hoover. His candidacy did not promise to improve the lives of disadvantaged Americans by altering the nation's lopsided distribution of wealth and power. Yet lower-class Catholics and members of some ethnic groups could still feel that Smith was their champion because they could identify with the image he projected. From this perspective Smith's bid for the presidency was a conservative influence on American life.

The present study also re-evaluates critical election theory. Historical analysis can be enriched by the explicit use of such social science models as critical election theory. They can help the historian interpret past events and enable him to use deductive reasoning to fill gaps in his empirical knowledge. But historians should treat these models with open-minded skepticism. They should carefully evaluate a model's logical coherence and explanatory power, and they should realize that historical research can test the validity of a social science model. If the assumptions or predictions of a model do not conform to historical reality, the model itself should be modified or abandoned.

Voter behavior in the presidential elections of 1916 to 1940 does not neatly fit the predictions of critical election theory. There is both more stability and volatility in electoral coalitions than this political theory would suggest. No critical election or critical era obliterates the voter coalitions of 1916 and introduces a new period of stability. Yet there is instability in voter alignments throughout the period. Perhaps a modified version of the critical election story could be salvaged from the data by declaring the period from 1916 to 1936 a critical era of realignment. But it is doubtful that a critical period encompassing twenty years and enormous diversity in the political, social, and economic life of the nation has genuine substantive meaning. Rather, this hypothesis best illustrates the slipperiness of the critical era concept.

Conceptually, critical election theory does establish one useful perspective

⁵⁸ Rogin, The Intellectuals and McCarthy, 1-31, 261-82.

on American electoral history. Nonetheless, key features of the theory can impede our understanding of historical change. In its current form critical election theory creates categories of elections that obscure important analytical distinctions. To solve this problem by increasing the refinement of electoral typologies is to aggravate the problem of classifying individual elections. Since there are no clear dividing lines between the various types of elections, the greater the number of subdivisions, the greater the uncertainty faced by an investigator seeking to categorize particular contests. Additional uncertainty is created by the lack of guidelines for identifying critical eras of electoral change. Critical election theory lacks causal precision and thus can overemphasize the importance of some elections—for example, the presidential election of 1928—while obscuring the significance of others—for example, the presidential election of 1940. The theory also incorporates conflicting definitions of realigning elections and perpetuates mechanistic interpretations of electoral realignments that slight the importance of political leadership.

Even if these internal weaknesses could be shored up, critical election theory would still limit and even distort the analysis of American political history. By failing to distinguish between changes that simply reshuffle voter alignments and changes that alter the underlying basis of voter decisions, the theory blurs distinct varieties of electoral change. Critical election theory also incorporates dubious assumptions about the relationship between electoral change and changes in the broader context of American politics. Theoreticians and researchers have neither clearly specified nor empirically validated linkages between the rhythms of electoral realignment and transformations in political ideology, public policy, and governmental structure.

The results of this study also point toward new ways of periodizing American political history, which deserve mention even if they cannot be developed in this article. Voter behavior in the presidential elections of 1916–40 reveals that seemingly moribund coalitions may prove highly tenacious, whereas the issues and personalities of particular elections can create considerable variation in voter alignments. This finding does not mean that historians should discard the notion that party loyalties remain relatively stable until jolted by a national crisis. But stability in party identification does not necessarily produce stability in presidential voting. While it has proved to be the best single predictor of voter choice, party loyalty is only one of the many influences on the decision to support one candidate rather than another. In the twentieth century, party identification may have become sufficiently tenuous and presidential elections sufficiently important and well publicized to produce substantial volatility in the response to presidential elections.

The complex patterns of voter behavior in early twentieth-century presidential elections may reflect a systematic change in the American electoral system

⁵⁹ See, for example, Campbell et al., The American Voter, 120-67.

⁶⁰ Robert Axelrod, "Where the Votes Came From: An Analysis of Electoral Coalitions, 1952-1968," American Political Science Review, 66 (1972): 11-20, found considerable instability in voter coalitions. Flanigan and Zingale found substantially more instability in presidential elections of the twentieth than the nineteenth century. "Measurement of Electoral Change," 65-69.

that occurred in the late nineteenth century. E. E. Schattschneider, Richard Jensen, and Walter Dean Burnham have argued that the political upheavals of the 1890s loosened the bonds of party loyalty and established a more fluid system of political competition. Their work suggests that in the twentieth century, voter behavior is likely to be more susceptible to the issues and personalities of particular elections, and electoral change to be less abrupt and decisive.⁶¹

It is important to distinguish between changes in electoral behavior that fit the contours of critical election theory and changes that affect the determinants of the voting decision. If critical election theory itself more accurately describes nineteenth- than twentieth-century elections, the 1890s could be seen as a critical period, not in the traditional sense of the theory, but in the sense of introducing a qualitatively different era of electoral politics. Perhaps the complexity of temporal changes in voter behavior can be portrayed only through a new periodization of American political history. Historians need to re-examine the American past, searching not only for transitions that shuffle voter coalitions and shift the balance of party power, but also for transitions that qualitatively change the prevailing system of electoral politics.

Critical election theory may also apply better to twentieth-century congressional, state, and local elections than to presidential contests. Because the former elections generate less interest and information than presidential confrontations, voters may be more likely to rely on such rules of thumb as party identification.

Moreover, different localities and different subgroups of voters may experience critical realignments at different intervals of time, and may also exhibit qualitatively different patterns of voting behavior. ⁶² The empirical analysis of the present study applies only to the nation as a whole—outside the Old South—and to the entire voting population. Such factors as the special interests and outlook of class and ethnic groups, the strength of party organi-

61 E. E. Schattschneider, The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America (New York, 1960), 78–85; Richard Jensen, The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888–1896 (Chicago, 1971), 306–08; Burnham, Critical Elections; and Burnham, "Theory and Voting Research: Some Reflections on Converse's Change in the American Electorate," American Political Science Review, 68 (1974): 1002–23. Other authorities suggest that changes in the legal framework of electoral competition (e.g., adoption of the Australian ballot) was the critical factor in generating a more fluid system of electoral politics. See, for example, Jerrold G. Rusk, "The Effect of the Australian Ballot Reform on Split-Ticket Voting: 1876–1908," American Political Science Review, 64 (1970): 1220–38; and Rusk, "The American Electoral Universe: Speculation and Evidence," American Political Science Review, 68 (1974): 1028–49.

⁶² This statement does not indicate that I believe Key was correct in pointing to 1928 as a critical election for New England. An analysis of the New England region similar to the analysis performed here for the nation suggests no important differences in interpretation. Moreover, with regard to Massachusetts—Key's best example of a state undergoing realignment in 1928—Massey, in "The Democratic Laggard," demonstrates that increases in Democratic voting in 1928 were due primarily to the unique issues of that election (i.e., religion) and that Massachusetts was a laggard rather than a leader in the Democratic resurgence of the 1930s. In light of the present study it is hardly surprising that a heavily Irish-Catholic state should provide unusually high levels of support for Al Smith. Key's similar findings for New Hampshire can likewise be explained by the high incidence of French Canadians in that state. Indeed, a multiple regression analysis of Democratic voting in 1928 demonstrated that of all predominantly Catholic ethnic groups Irish Catholics were Al Smith's strongest supporters and French Canadians his second strongest supporters. See Lichtman, "A Quantitative Analysis," 190–91. Once again electoral trends of the 1930s cannot be attributed to the same causal forces that produced the political patterns of 1928.

zation in different localities, and the interactions between state, local, and national politics may produce distinct varieties of political behavior for various subgroups of the American electorate.

Critical election theory applies a rigid determinism to the time and space of American politics. Movement across the American political universe may not only recast voter loyalties but may also modify the causal forces underlying voter decisions. American political history is undoubtedly a multidimensional system, including at least the four dimensions of time, jurisdictional level, geographic location, and voter type. Not only must all dimensions be considered in a complete theory, but changes in one or more dimensions may require qualitatively different models of political behavior. Critical election theory, despite its impressive social science credentials, can blind historians to the rich variety of American electoral history.

Explanation of Variables

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Variable	Definition	Source
Per cent Democratic 1916–40*	the Democratic percentage of the presidential vote for the elections of 1916-40	state and local records
Per cent Democratic- Progressive 1924*	the combined Democratic and Progressive party percentage of the presidential vote for the election of 1924	state and local records
Per cent Democratic registrants 1926–40	the Democratic percentage of those registering as Republicans or Democrats, two-year intervals, 1926-40	California Secretary of State, Statement of the Vote, 1926–1940; Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania Manual, 1927–1941; New York Secretary of State, Manual for the Use of the Legislature, 1927–1941; State of Oregon, The Oregon Blue Book, 1927–1941; West Virginia Clerk of the Senate, Legislative Handbook and Manual, 1928–1940.
Per cent Catholic 1926, 1928, 1932	the percentage of Catholics in 1926, 1928, and 1932	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies, 1926, vol. 1, table 32; and Religious Bodies, 1936, vol. 1, table 32. Statistics for 1932 were obtained by a linear interpolation of statistics for 1926 and 1936.
Per cent urban 1930, 1932*	the percentage of urbanites in 1930 and 1932	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, <i>Population</i> , 1930, vol. 3, table 13; and <i>Population</i> , 1940, vol. 1, table 3. Statistics for 1932 were obtained by linear interpolation.
Per cent foreign stock . 1930, 1932*	the percentage of individuals who are white and are either foreign-born or have a foreign-born parent in 1930 and 1932	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, <i>Population</i> , <i>1930</i> , vol. 3, table 13; and <i>Population</i> , <i>1940</i> , vol. 2, table 21. Statistics for 1932 were obtained by linear interpolation.
Per cent home owners 1930, 1932	the percentage of families owning their homes in 1930 and 1932	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Families, 1930, vol. 6, tables 19, 20; and Housing, 1940, vol. 2, table 22. Statistics for 1932 were obtained by linear interpolation.
Per cent telephone owners 1930, 1932	the percentage of families owning tele- phones in 1930 and 1932	American Telephone and Telegraph Co., New York City. Statistics for 1932 were obtained by linear interpolation from statistics for 1930 and 1935.
Per cent taxpayers 1928, 1932 Per cent radio owners 1930, 1932	the percentage of adults filing income tax returns in 1928 and 1932 the percentage of families owning radios in 1930 and 1932	U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Individual Income Tax Returns for 1928 and Individual Income Tax Returns for 1932. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Families, 1930, vol. 6, table 20; also Housing, 1940, vol. 2, table 23.

APPENDIX—Continued

Variable	Definition	Source
Retail purchases 1929, 1933	per capita purchases of retail goods for 1929 and 1933	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Distribution, 1930, vol. 1: Retail Distribution, table 13; and Census of American Business, 1933, Retail Distribution, vol. 3, table 11. Both census volumes report statistics of retail sales rather than purchases. Estimates of retail purchases are preferable, however, because the per capita volume of retail sales will overestimate the economic status of counties that tend to attract buyers from other counties and underestimate the status of counties that tend to lose buyers to other counties. For 1939 statistics of retail sales the Magazine Marketing Service determined the number of retail purchases in each of the nation's counties. The retail purchase variable used in this study was obtained by multiplying retail sales in 1929 and 1933 by the ratio of retail sales to purchases in 1939. For an analysis of the service's study and the applicability of their findings for earlier years, see Magazine Marketing Service, M.M.S. County Buying Power Index (New York, 1942), 1–50.
Housing values 1930, 1932	the median value of homes and rented dwellings in 1930 and 1932	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Families, 1930, vol. 6, tables 19, 20; and Housing, 1940, vol. 2, tables 24, 25, 26. The housing values used in this study is the mean (weighted according to the number of families) nonfarm median home valuation, farm median home valuation, nonfarm median rental costs, and farm median rental costs. Home valuations and rental costs were transformed into common units by multiplying weekly rents by 100. Statistics for 1932 were obtained by linear interpolation.
ECON28	an index number consisting of an unweighted sum of the following variables after they have been transformed into standard deviation units: per cent telephone owners 1930, per cent taxpayers 1928, per cent radio owners 1930, retail purchases 1929, and housing values 1930	

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an index number consisting of an unweighted sum of the following variables after they have been transformed into standard deviation units: per cent telephone owners 1930, per cent taxpayers 1928, per cent radio owners 1932, retail purchases 1933, and housing values 1932

the percentages of individuals in 1930 born in Scandinavia, Germany, Italy, Poland, England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Canada (French-speaking), Canada (English-speaking), Southern Ireland, Russia

Per cent Scandinavian 1930*

Per cent German 1930* Per cent Italian 1930*

Per cent Polish 1930* Per cent British 1930*

Per cent French Canadian 1930*

Per cent British

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population, 1930, vol. 3, pt. 1, table 18.

* These statistics were obtained from the data archives of the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research of the University of Michigan.

Per cent Russian 1930*

Canadian 1930* Per cent Irish 1930*

Reviews of Books

GENERAL

PETER GAY. Style in History. New York: Basic Books. 1974. Pp. xiii, 242. \$8.95.

A good book on an important subject by a major historian is a rarity. When one does come along it is a joy. This is one.

Peter Gay is treating style on the highest conceivable level. He is not primarily concerned with style as a search for clarity or as literary criticism, though he certainly recognizes the importance of both. To him a historian's style reveals unusual, indeed unique insights into the historian's personality and into the age in which the historian lived. But what is more important, Gay is concerned with style as an expression of insight and understanding, an expression of knowledge and commitment, a quality of vision, in short, style as philosophic perception.

The author says in his introduction that he offers this book as a contribution to the long debate over the nature of history—the debate between idealists and positivists on objectivity, bias, perception, intuition, science, and art.

After the reader has finished Gay's introduction and proceeds into the first two essays—the book is made up of five essays, four on individual historians and one forming a conclusion—he begins to wonder what the author's contribution to the debate is. There is nothing here about the definition of history. But the reader soon forgets his own question, for he is drawn to Gibbon's irony and penetration and moved by Ranke's devout commitment and sense of drama, to say nothing of Gay's skill and charm, and he reads on, delighted. And as he moves along the reader begins to suspect what the author is up to.

This suspicion is confirmed in the essay on Macaulay, where Gay's design becomes evident and the reason for his failure to mention the great debate becomes clear. The author is not presenting another analytical exposition on the philoso-

phy of history. His method is far more subtle; it is the method of the literary artist. Gay is practicing what he is preaching and doing it brilliantly. He is creating a little dramatic presentation of his own, with characters, situations, and complications. The reader is appreciative and eager. Will the resolution come in the next essay?

No, it does not. But what a marvelous fourth character is Burckhardt, the erudite, scholarly gentleman guiding his reader through Renaissance Italy, rendering confident judgments, and enchanting his guest with personal observations. At the end of the tour the reader is exhilarated, his mind racing. He needs something to help him straighten out his thoughts.

And there it is, in the conclusion—the resolution. There Peter Gay gathers up thoughts raised in the reader's mind and sets them into the context of the great debate. He comes down on the side of the idealists with a splendidly and sensibly worked argument, best summarized in his own words: "Style is the art of the historian's science."

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DERRICK SHERWIN BAILEY. Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1975. Pp. xii, 181. \$9.50.

Times change and with them historical perceptions. This is a reprinting of a work now twenty years old (originally published in 1955), dealing with some aspects of homosexuality in history. It is a welcome note to include reference to the book in the AHR, since the topic in the past has been ignored by most historians. Bailey, a clergyman, examined Biblical and ecclesiastical attitudes to homosexual practices as well as the contributions of Roman law and medieval thought to the views current in Western culture when he wrote. He also included some of the views of the sixteenth-century Protestant writers. In the process of his exam-

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ination Bailey sought to correct what he felt were misstatements about the Christian position made by earlier writers such as Havelock Ellis and Edward Westermarck. Thus the work also has to be looked upon as part Christian apologetics. Bailey, however, was a scholar, and he was careful to point out that the Christian Church could not be entirely exonerated from all responsibility for hostility toward homosexuality, or for the severe penalties often imposed upon homosexuals in the past.

In keeping with his conception of the Christian tradition, Bailey examined all possible Biblical references to homosexuality and gave special attention to some of the misconceptions arising out of the story of Sodom. He concluded that the traditional view of Sodom received little support from the Jewish Scriptures and that many of the condemnations of sexual variance were read into the Scriptures by later Jewish and Christian writers. These same condemnations were ultimately incorporated into Roman law, inculcated in the Christian mind through the early penitential literature, imprinted into canon law, and forged into a strong Christian tradition. But if times change, so does historical scholarship. Since Bailey wrote, there has been considerable investigation into some of these same problems, and while there has been no basic challenge to Bailey's outline of events, there has been a great deal of study on how and why hostility to homosexuality developed within the Christian tradition. Thus Bailey remains a good beginning point for interested readers, but he should be supplemented by others such as Arthur Vööbus, John T. Noonan, James Brundage, and myself, for causal explanations. Recent scholarship, for example, has demonstrated the continuing influence of certain Greek dualistic beliefs, particularly those associated with Neoplatonism and Neo-Pythagoreanism, in forming Christian sexual attitudes. This topic was totally ignored by Bailey, perhaps because much of the scholarship on the subject has come in the past three decades. Moreover the term "sodomy," which Bailey usually equates with homosexuality, was much more ambiguously applied by earlier writers than Bailey realized; in fact much of what Bailey said about homosexuality could be applied to all nonprocreative sexual activity. In short Bailey's book is a pioneering study, much needed at the time he wrote and still invaluable to all historians interested in the topic. It is not, however, the final word on the topic, and much scholarship has been devoted to the topic since the book appeared. Undoubtedly now that the AHR is also expressing an interest in previously "forbidden" areas of scholarship, research will expand at a rapid rate. Bailey's book, however, will serve as a

good starting point and should be in every university and college library.

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EDWARD DUDLEY and MAXIMILLIAN E. NOVAK, editors. The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism. [Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 333. \$11.95.

Western civilization's myth of the Wild Man is as ancient as Cain. The image enabled Old Testament Hebrews to drape the condition of wildness over flesh and blood, and it assisted Greeks and Romans in portraying the state of those who lived without law. For medieval Christians the Wild Man remained an animallike outcast, loathed and feared, enjoying none of the advantages of reason or divine grace. Neither did he suffer, however, from the restraints laid upon those belonging to families, political communities, and churches. By the fifteenth century, when the recovery of classical culture and vindication of nature accompanied the disintegration of medieval civilization, the notion of wildness assumed a heightened ambivalence. Increasingly demythologized, the Wild Man became an important subject in fiction and a vehicle for social criticism. The great geographical discoveries brought Europeans into close contact with what many considered to be genuine wild men, and the perversion of Christendom's civilizing mission into a lust for land, silver, and power stimulated intellectuals into developing the archetypal Noble Savage in response to those upholding the supposed moral superiority of European civilization over other cultures. Late in the eighteenth century the debate expanded. Romantic novelists and poets contrasted the wildly vigorous humanity of fictionalized Tahitians, highlanders, American Indians, and Albanians with the repressed humanity of more sophisticated beings. On the other hand, self-avowed defenders of European civilization invented the pseudoscience of race at the expense of the wilder and darker peoples.

In our own time psychology has expropriated wildness from traditional myth and fiction, and the reality of the condition has been interiorized as Jung's uneducable unconscious. From the Renaissance to the Romantic era, of course, the Wild Man, as Peter L. Thorslev, Jr. points out, "has stood as the civilized man's projection upon the outside world of his own desires and values: both those he would not hesitate to acknowledge... and also those darker impulses which he attempts to suppress or hide" (p. 305). By and large, all

eleven essays in this volume, written by historians, professors of literature, and a political scientist, consider the problem of this projection. Following Havden White's thoughtful delineation of the archeology of wildness, Stanley L. Robe and Gary B. Nash approach the key historical moments when Spaniards and Englishmen respectively encountered humans in the New World who were very different from themselves in appearance and social habits. Robe's somewhat overgenerous conclusion on how the Spaniards came to terms with Indians contrasts with Nash's description of the Virginia settlers' initial failure to do so. In the eighteenth century, however, some articulate Virginians sacrificed convenient views of the Indians' unredemptive irrationality for a certain appreciation of Indian culture on its own terms, reflections perhaps of the guilt feelings of the conqueror.

Other contributions of special interest to the historian include Richard Ashcraft's superb essay on the appeal of Hobbes both to contemporaries and eighteenth-century liberals fearful of a return to a state of wildness/anarchy associated with the Civil War. Geoffrey Symcox suggests that in his second Discourse Rousseau revitalized the Noble Savage of the Enlightenment, endowed him with emotions, underscored his psychic reality within all beings, and thereby created a "dynamic model of human nature." John Burke contends that the nonempirical methods of modern ethnology, anthropology, and psychology re-created Wild Man mythmaking, this time in the service of racist thought. Of the essays that consider the concept of wildness in literary perspective, Peter L. Thorslev merits special mention for his panoramic analysis of the ways in which the Romantics treated the theme. As might be expected, the volume betrays some unevenness of approach, and it is a pity that anthropologists, art historians, and psychologists are missing from the list of contributors. Nevertheless, the coeditors, Dudley and Novak, deserve commendation for drawing attention to a familiar, though often neglected, image in Western thought.

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J. H. PARRY. The Discovery of the Sea. New York: Dial Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 302. \$20.00.

The first question that the potential reader may ask is: if I have read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested J. H. Parry's The Age of Reconnaissance (1963), is it necessary for me to read The Discovery of the Sea? To which the reply is: not absolutely necessary, perhaps, but highly advisable. The Age of Reconnaissance deservedly ranks as the standard one-volume work on the history of European maritime exploration, and a good deal

of it is, inevitably, incorporated in *The Discovery of the Sea*, sometimes with a little rewording or shift of emphasis. But the time span is very different. *The Age of Reconnaissance* covers the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, whereas *The Discovery of the Sea* ends with the globe-girdling voyage of the *Victoria* in 1519-22.

Professor Parry reminds us, as Joseph Needham has often done, that Chinese seamen and Chinese ships were perfectly capable of circumnavigating Africa and opening direct maritime communication between Asia and Europe, if the rulers of the Ming dynasty had continued the expansion policy epitomized by the formidable fleets organizedand most of them commanded-by the eunuch admiral, Cheng Ho, between 1405 and 1433. The Chinese fleets got as far south as Malindi on the East African coast in their search for "auspicious giraffes" before these costly expeditions were abandoned and China retreated within a voluntarily imposed isolationist shell. Similarly, as Parry shows, the Arabs of the Indian Ocean must be ranged among the maritime peoples who, in the fifteenth century, could have circumnavigated Africa and perhaps crossed the Pacific, if they had tried to do so.

Yet, as we all know, it was neither the Chinese nor the Arabs who opened up the sea route between Europe and the Far East, but the Portuguese-those "Kaffirs of Europe" as Padre António Vieira, S.J. (1608-97) termed his compatriots in moments of exasperation. Portuguese seamen were certainly no better, by and large, than were Chinese, Arabs, Basques, or Scandinavians, and there were far fewer of them. But Portugal was the first country in the world in which overseas exploration was actively supported over a long period of time by the Crown. The occupants of the Dragon Throne lost interest in Chinese maritime expansion after 1433. The warring Muslim monarchs of Asia and the Near East seem to have shared the opinion of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat that "wars by sea are merchants' affairs, and of no concern to the prestige of kings." On the other hand, the monarchs and/or the princes of the House of Aviz either took the lead themselves in organizing voyages of discovery or else they gave active and continuing support to adventurers and discoverers from 1419 onward. The Castilian Crown "got into the act" somewhat later but made up for the lost time by backing both Columbus, rather belatedly, and Magellan.

Parry writes with his invariable lucidity and elegance about the European and Asian maritime techniques of the Discovery period, and all those interested in such comparisons will find this book richly rewarding. It is lavishly illustrated, but the coffee-table format has involved a correspondingly

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high price, and the sooner a paperback edition is available for students, the better.

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STANLEY L. ENGERMAN and EUGENE D. GENOVESE, editors. Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1975. Pp. xv, 556. Cloth \$20.00, paper \$9.75.

The last quarter century has witnessed a revolution in disciplinary methodologies and a reassessment of what constitutes historical evidence. A relationship, based on mutual respect rather than mutual admiration, has developed between historians and anthropologists. Historians have been less willing to accept an anthropological perspective, as part of their intellectual apparatus, than anthropologists have been willing to be historically conscious. Recently, areas long considered the prerogative of the historian have been studied by economists and scholars versed in the mathematical sciences. Warily, but with decreasing reluctance, historians have realized that much can be learned from subjecting historical sources to mathematical analysis. This volume brings a variety of mathematical techniques to bear on the supposedly well studied Atlantic slave trade and black slavery in the New World.

Originally presented at the Mathematical Social Science Board Conference on Systems of Slavery held at the University of Rochester in 1972, the papers have been divided into four categories: the slave trade, the social and demographic aspects of slave populations, the slave and free person of color in an urban environment, and the postemancipation response. Summary remarks are by the editors, and Sidney Mintz provides an anthropological perspective. Despite the avowed intent to treat slavery from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the more mathematical papers focus on the later period. Emphasis is on the English-speaking Atlantic world, the Caribbean, and North America. South America merits a scant two essays, although the Portuguese initiated large-scale plantation slavery in the New World. Dutch, French, and Danish America are ignored. Slaves not of African descent are disregarded. The editorial apology for this imbalance is that the papers were chosen for their approaches rather than their geographical or chronological coverage.

The denominator common to the sixteen papers is the quantification of historical data. Techniques range from the sophisticated to the basic counting of cases. Claudia Goldin uses statistical regression analyses to develop slave supply-and-demand schedules for ten United States cities in the period

1820-60. Richard Sutch relates the applicability of the competitive market model to the slave economy in an essay on slave breeding. Cross tabulations and comparative methods are employed by Theodore Herschberg to study antebellum Philadelphia. Roger Anstey examines new evidence on the origin of slaves, the profitability of the slave trade, and its contribution to the Industrial Revolution. Starting from a basic supply-and-demand model Phillip LeVeen assesses the impact of British suppression policies on the cost and volume of the slave trade in the nineteenth century. For the nonmathematician, Jack Eblen provides a step-bystep analysis of demographic changes in the black population of Cuba in the years 1775-1900. More traditional treatments of numerical data are the essays by Frederick Bowser, Mary Karasch, and Johannes Postma on free blacks in Mexico City, Lima, and Rio de Janeiro and African origins of slaves transported by the Dutch. Richard Sheridan and K. G. Davies on medical aspects of the slave trade and slavery, Colin Palmer in his discussion of religion and magic in colonial Mexico, and Alan Adamson on labor in postemancipation British Guiana have adopted essentially narrative approaches. The most felicitous melding of traditional and innovative methodologies is Peter Wood's exposition on how demography helped to shape the settlement of South Carolina and the emergence of a black majority after 1700.

A prime benefit of using the tools of economics to force open historical coffers is the exploring or rediscovering of sources disregarded by historians who either failed to appreciate the importance of predominantly numerical data as potential materials or were discouraged by the sheer bulk of evidence that only now has become manageable with sophisticated sampling methods and computer analysis. In these essays this "new" evidence-censuses, clearance lists, fiscal ledgers, notarial records, export-import shipping data—has been "squeezed." Such aggregate evidence provides an overall view of a historical era such as would be impossible from individual records, even if they were to exist. The application of a new methodology and new technical aids to these data has brought fresh understanding of the origins of slaves transported to the Americas, the mechanics of the trade, and details on migration, social mobility, and family composition that contribute to our appreciation of the life-styles of blacks in the New World.

That learned heads would roll might be expected from such innovation. That this is not the case says much for the viability of more traditional approaches, while taking the sting from those critics who still view cliometricians as brash interlopers. Patent is the realization that solutions

based on econometric techniques are at best partial. Richard Wade's views on urban slavery in the United States are challenged by Goldin, who uses an economic model to rationalize changes in slave populations and stresses the elasticity of demand in the cities and rural areas. Her conclusion that demand in the urban South was not decreasing is acceptable within an economic framework for the span of forty years, but it does not inherently undermine Wade's general thesis on the decline of urban slavery. Anstey modifies Eric Williams's Capitalism and Slavery (1944) in some respects and shows that, with possible local exceptions, profits derived from the slave trade contributed minimally to the Industrial Revolution. Anstey's views on the low profit margin of the slave trade are confirmed by the Dutch Middleburg Company. Going beyond published sources available to Philip Curtin, Anstey and Postma assemble new data on the shifting coastal distribution of places of origin of slaves. Anstey and LeVeen revise Curtin's figures for the trade, and LeVeen illustrates that the cost effectiveness of British suppression policies was more pronounced than hitherto thought. This new evidence reinforces Curtin's thesis on the general pattern of supply for the trade.

While not sufficiently serious to constitute pitfalls, some tendencies in some essays merit a caveat. Deductions are drawn from raw numerical data without recourse to supporting contemporary narrative evidence. Sutch's paper is a case in point. Based on census returns alone, he reconstitutes circumstantial evidence for slave breeding and goes on to infer that sexual interference by masters occurred. One literary reference would have buttressed a thesis that may otherwise engender skepticism. In default of quantifiable data, several scholars have assumed continuity of a given trend, taking a mean where evidence is not available rather than seeking alternative nonmeasurable sources of evidence. Quantifiable data are accepted at face value. No less than death, the computer is a great equalizer. Semantic distinctions become lost. Forgotten is the fact that cultural, economic, social, and political components of the family and marriage or of institutions such as school and church vary from one society to the next or even between different groups within one society. Acceptance of such designations at face value as applying equally to different peoples is to lose the nuances of history. No less regrettable is a proclivity-LeVeen and Anstey being distinguished exceptions-to abstract the slave trade from the overall economy and the slave from the greater society. The value of figures on profitability, mortality, natality, and migration is undeniable, but these are fragments in the reconstruction of the historical mosaic. Nonquantifiable data receive short shrift. Climatic, geographical, and political considerations may prove vital in determining the nature of measurable evidence but receive mere lip service or are ignored. Explanation of variables is sought within the mathematical framework from which they originated, rather than in the conceptual or behavioral aspects of human existence-for example, perception-whose understanding is vital to an appreciation of tensions and antagonisms inherent to slavocratic societies. Generalizations from case studies based on one type of evidence for one area occur. Cuba cannot be regarded as the prototype for Caribbean economic and social development; nor can conclusions derived from the Cuban experience be applied unreservedly to Latin America. without allowing for differences within Spanish America and between Spanish and Portuguese America. Michael Craton does well to emphasize the uniqueness of Jamaica. That free blacks existed in antebellum Philadelphia and colonial Mexico City and Lima is too fragile a foundation on which to generalize on the economic and social status of blacks in urban areas. Nor should a few decades be allowed to take on centennial significance—for example, 1821-65 becomes "the nineteenth century." It would be unfortunate if such tendencies were to detract from the benefits to be derived from applying the instruments of the precise science of mathematics to historical evidence.

Questions and doubts remain. Was the form taken by the slave trade in the Atlantic unique, and was the nature of slavery in the Americas unique? If we were to take the component parts—supply and demand, systems, values—would we not find them equally present in the trans-Saharan and Indian Ocean slave trades? Would not this aspect of comparative history be more rewarding than scholarly obsession with variations in one slave system? Furthermore, how viable is historical reconstruction based on predominantly numerical data, and can it capture the moral, intellectual, cultural, and behavioral content of past societies? May not such data distract from the human dimension of the slave trade and slavery?

The publicity accorded to, and resilience of, the "new history" have made the approaches adopted in these essays familiar. Scholars have accepted that such methocs are valuable not only by contributing to the solution of certain historical problems, but by asking questions that open up new avenues of inquiry. By their high standards of scholarship, these essays breed confidence in the methodology and suscitate interest by their challenging conclusions. This volume represents scholarly concern at a turning point in historical meth-

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odology and historiography. It also exemplifies the adage that history, no less than time and tide, waits for no man:

A. J. R. RUSSELL-WOOD

Johns Hopkins University

JOHN FRANCIS GUILMARTIN, JR. Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1975. Pp. xiv, 321. \$25.00.

Innovation in the art of sailing and cannon casting occupies a central position in the early modern history of how Europe came to dominate the seas. But the associated celebration of the Atlantic sailing ship's superiority creates an anomaly for the Mediterranean historian. It was strange that the Ottoman and Habsburg empires retained the obsolete naval vessel, the war galley, until well into the seventeenth century. This divergence from the pattern of technological change established by the Atlantic states has either been charged off to tradition or ignored by historians until John Francis Guilmartin, Jr. attacked this knotty problem.

The general subject of his history is the sixteenth-century system of naval warfare in the Mediterranean. To get at the heart of such a complicated subject, Guilmartin organizes his study around the main naval weapon of the time, the war galley. Chapters covering the structural evolution of warfare with the galley and the grand naval conflicts of the sixteenth century are placed contrapuntally throughout the text to give meaning to new economic and technological research.

...A remarkable number of myths are demolished by this study. The inapplicability of Alfred Thayer Mahan's concepts of naval warfare to sixteenth-century Mediterranean history is the first to be exposed. The idea that the European sailing ship simply overwhelmed the war galley is also refuted. Instead, the causes of the decline in the Mediterranean form of naval conflict are more complex: the evolution of galley warfare brought the size of fleets to the point where their strategic mobility declined, the astronomical increase in the operating costs of a war galley exceeded the financial capacities of Mediterranean empires, and the appearance of cheap iron cannon decreased the combat effectiveness of the galley.

While it is true that oared armadas had become a terrible financial burden by the end of the sixteenth century, the different history of the Ottoman and Habsburg expansion also brought about the decline of the Mediterranean system of naval warfare. The pull of Spain's western frontier carried her fleets into the stormy Atlantic where the

galley could not be employed, and the continental tug of the Persian border led the Ottomans into conflicts where the foot soldier reigned supreme.

Guilmartin has produced a remarkable book. He has accomplished this not so much because he has made a fundamental contribution to the field of Mediterranean naval technology, but because he has overcome some of the most cherished traditions of early modern history.

ANDREW C. HESS Temple University

NIELS STEENSGAARD. Carracks, Caravans and Companies: The Structural Crisis in the European-Asian Trade in the Early 17th Century. (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, number 17.) [Lund:] Studentlitteratur. 1973. Pp. 448. \$15.50.

Northcote Parkinson once wondered engagingly why Indians never sailed around Africa to discover Europe. Though the question belongs to another era (as does his answer: courage), questions about differences between East and West can often be boiled down to formulas not much more abstruse. Why, for example, Niels Steensgaard wanted to know, could the Portuguese not hang on in the East after the British and Dutch Trading Companies were established? In this carefully constructed and innovative monograph, he provides some original and insightful answers. One may have assumed all along that the answer was institutional; Steensgaard demonstrates it.

Steensgaard calls the disjuncture of institutions he describes a "structural crisis" and has organized his study of it around a central symbolic event: the fall of Hormuz in 1622. The first section of the book analyzes institutions in the East-West trade after 1500. First, there is the traditional peddling trade of Asia in which markets were opaque and costs involved the price of goods, transport-and protection. In this way, Steensgaard is led into a particularly significant discussion of the way in which the Portuguese Estado da India, the Ottoman Empire, and Safavid Persia produced and paid for protection. These are not political systems for his purposes, but "redistributive enterprises," and the Estado da India thus falls logically not into the Western camp but into the Eastern. Meanwhile, the Portuguese made a little money on the side selling pepper.

The companies introduced two major innovations. They smoothed the distribution and thus stabilized the price of spices, that is, they increased the transparency of the market. Worse still, they protected themselves; in other words, they internalized the cost of protection. "If the Portuguese king became the world's biggest taxgatherer," writes Steensgaard, "the Companies became the worlds biggest smugglers." And what about the fall of Hormuz? Without taxes it could not stand. The use of the African trade route was no innovation, but the way they used it was. And the consequences ramified through all the existing redistributive enterprises. Corruption intensified across the Ottoman Empire and revolt flickered after, the Estado da India collapsed, leaving a ragtag of isolated customs stations to piece out what living they could, and Persia turned in on itself.

The second section of the book retells the story of the fall of Hormuz in standard historical narrative. The results are the most penetrating account yet of that strange set of diplomatic encounters and missions that surely meant something, but which came, it always seemed, to nothing. Those marvelous, self-inflating Sherley brothers and the swirl of diplomatic activity that followed them seemed always to lead to an inexplicable guietude at the death of Shah Abbas. Steensgaard's juxtaposition of two modes of historical exposition shows why this was not "history created by men." Instead, the actors "were prisoners of a structural crisis the outcome of which they could not control." Ambassadors spoke past one another and seemingly achievable projects came to nothing. Though most of the Persian documents Steensgaard examined in archival translation have now been published in Iran, Persian scholarship on the period must still be characterized as "uncritical." Indeed, it tends to rely on the same Western travel narratives that his research has explicated.

In the final section of the book, Steensgaard assesses the Asian trade and the new institutional structures after the fall of Hormuz. The dream of alliance or silk monopoly withered in East and West. Such arrangements could succeed only where political constraints matched an economic pattern that neither the companies nor the states involved could supply. In addition, neither company nor state ever completely smothered the peddling trade, which, with its infinite flexibility, quickly fleshed out the interstices of the companies' own activities. The decks of the companies' ships were soon aswarm with peddlers whose overhead was lower and for whom the company supplied protection at the price of a ticket.

It is difficult to know whether to classify this book with that growing fund of works on the economy and society of early modern Europe or with the more exotic genre of works on the diplomacy of Persia in the seventeenth century. It handles both with finesse, and in so doing establishes a historical generalization that brings the two together

within a single, intelligible framework. This significant work deserves praise for both clarity of thought and clarity of exposition. Indeed, except for an occasional redundant North European "already," the prose holds rare vibrance and a subtle flash of humor uncommon in themselves. In all, Carracks, Caravans and Companies is an exciting work that ought to influence our thinking considerably on many of the problems of early modern history.

ROBERT A. MCDANIEL
Purdue University

MAX SAVELLE. Empires to Nations: Expansion in America, 1713-1824. (Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion, volume 5.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1974. Pp. xxi, 335. \$11.50.

This is the fifth in the ten-volume series Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion under the general editorship of Boyd C. Shafer. In this volume Savelle effectively presents the unitary thesis of the history of America. Categories such as North and South America, the Caribbean, and national history are secondary to the commonly shared experience from the Treaty of Utrecht to the virtual withdrawal of European power from the American scene by 1825—the exceptions being Canada, British Guiana, and Honduras. Transcending continents and empires, the author integrates economic, intellectual, and social history based on his lifetime of teaching and research. Settlement, capitalist mercantilism, enlightenment, metropole-periphery interaction, colonial nationalism, and ultimate independence are traced at comparative stages in British, Spanish, French, Portuguese, and Dutch America.

The major recurring theme is economics. Imperial, international, regional, and local production and trade patterns are set against mercantile theory and the changing realities of the eighteenth century. Efforts by the mother countries to enforce, reform, or introduce efficiency into mercantilism are indicated in attempts to legitimize the established contraband smuggling trade by introducing controlled free trade.

In all the frontier survival struggles there emerged a transformed colonial citizenry whose world view and loyalties gradually shifted from the mother country to the developing state. Colonial centers such as Rio de Janeiro and Philadelphia were fertile for scientific and literary enlightenment activity. Savelle demonstrates the intellectual and political linkages between Anglo-America, the French Revolution, and the accelerated political devolution in South America after 1811. In short, the eighteenth century was the century of the birth of nations; over twenty fragments emerged from older Euro-American possessions.

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In his section on the creation of such new social elements as the zambos and métis, Savelle, besides discussing their creation, also hints at the valuable work that might emerge from a comparative study of settler, slave, and autochthonous population interaction.

> OLIVER B. POLLAK University of Nebraska, Omaha

ERIC VOEGELIN. From Enlightenment to Revolution. Edited by JOHN H. HALLOWELL. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1975. Pp. ix, 307. \$12.75.

The first observation to be made concerning this book is that the author, Eric Voegelin, is a philosopher not a historian. A second observation follows, namely, that to a historian the work is marred by anachronisms and unacceptable chronological and conceptual leaps. The editor, John H. Hallowell, has herein collected a number of Voegelin's essays written in the 1940s and 1950s. They range in concern from secularized history in "The Emergence of Secularized History: Bossuet and Voltaire," through examinations of the aspects of Helvetius's thought, and a study in positivism, "Positivism and Its Antecedents" (with an extended treatment of Comte), before concluding with two analyses, one of Bakunin and another of Marx, "Marx: Inverted Dialectics." The unifying theme of the book is Voegelin's vision of the "deeply rooted spiritual crisis of our times." In his analysis of such "representative thinkers of the modern age" as Voltaire, Helvetius, d'Alembert, Turgot, Comte, Saint-Simon, Bakunin, and Marx, Voegelin attempts a diagnosis of the "spiritual disease" that has afflicted modern man since the age of the Enlightenment. One of Voegelin's points is that Enlightenment historiography (Voltaire) disintegrated Christian transcendental universalism (Augustine-Bossuet) with the result that historians adopted the "ideal of empirical completeness." Voegelin argues that "since human history [so perceived] has no recognizable structure of meaning" historians henceforth must select a partial structure of meaning and declare it to be the total. Voltaire's structural categories of the "extinction, renaissance and progress of the human spirit,' Voegelin argues, foreshadow the structures of Saint-Simon and Comte-the "law of three stages." Voegelin concludes that "since the content which enters the categories is an independent variable, it foreshadows, furthermore, the possibility that new materials may enter the categorial pattern, as has actually happened in the Marxist and National-Socialist constructions" (p. 11).
What Voegelin seeks to establish throughout

this book is an ideological lineage, for example,

from Voltaire to Comte, Marx, and Hitler. In another place we read that Comte "belongs" with Marx, Lenin, and Hitler (p. 159). What is missing in this attempt is any effort by Voegelin to do justice, for example, to Voltaire's or Condorcet's intentions or to root such men as Helvetius, Comte, and Marx in their complex historical reality. Instead, at least to me, we have a facile, and at times very angrily expressed, theory of logical links culminating in the destructive intentions of Hitler and Stalin. Voegelin's anachronisms further muddy those conceptual waters: we read that "there is evil in Turgot as in every totalitarian" (p. 99) and are asked to consider "totalitarians, like Condorcet" (p. 128). In a short review many questions may not be asked, but one presses forward. For Voegelin, the seed ground of modern totalitarian nihilism is the work of the Enlightenment, of Voltaire, d'Alembert, Turgot, Condorcet, Saint-Simon, and Comte. How else but historically, however, can we account for the appearance of totalitarianism in precisely those areas least affected by Enlightenment thought?

Voegelin's theories of history and politics emphasize the need for "transcendence," by which he means something very close to Judaic-Christian revelation. However, while recognizing, in Ernst Nolte's words, that "thought alone can form the concept of the whole as distinct from all that exists and all that is individual," historians will surely more profitably utilize Nolte's neutral concept of transcendence whose central idea involves "looking back on what has been and forward to what is coming, [reaching] out toward the whole" (see Three Faces of Fascism [1965], p. 431). As Voegelin's editor puts it, "Dream life usurping the place of wake life is the theme of this volume when reason torn loose from its moorings in the ground of being seeks to create man-made constructions of reality in place of the mysterious reality of God's creation" (p. ix). Such a perspective may be congenial to philosophers of Platonic lineage but to the followers of Herodotus it is neither congenial nor useful.

> GERALD CAVANAUGH George Mason University

LUCIO COLLETTI. Marxism and Hegel. Translated from the Italian by LAWRENCE GARNER. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press. 1973. Pp. 287. \$15.75.

Within Marxology, at least, a Hegel renaissance has occurred, and Lucio Colletti's Marxism and Hegel is an expression of that renewal. The rebirthfound its twentieth-century origin in Georg Lukacs's History and Class Consciousness. Whereas Lukacs began the contemporary attempt to re-Hegelianize Marx, Colletti is seeking to Kantianize Marx. Colletti is critical of both the dialectical materialism of Soviet Marxism, as represented by Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and the logico-conceptual dialectic of Western Marxism as represented by Kojéve, Lukacs, and Herbert Marcuse. Bolshevist Marxism, according to Colletti, finding its inception in Engels, derives from the Hegelianism that idealized nature and found matter in itself dialectical; this tradition hypostasized the natural world thus leading to a metaphysics of nature. Colletti also faults Western Marxism for interpreting the dialectic as a logico-conceptual movement, thus hypostasizing the rational to the exclusion of the world outside of ideas. Marxism must be Kantianized: the Marxist dialectic, assuming the importance of the logico-conceptual process, needs to limit and verify this epistemological movement through the critical and negative inclusion of material reality. Regardless of its insightfulness, Colletti's book contains gross misinterpretations of Hegel, Lukacs, and Marcuse. Colletti affirms that for Hegel man was a rational creature, and he overlooks Hegels's System der Sittlichkeit and the Jenaer Realphilosophie in which Hegel wrote extensively on the naturalistic and anthropologic aspects of human and social existence. In addition, Colletti maintains that Hegel believed that nature itself was dialectical, but omits any mention of the Philosophy of Nature and the Philosophy of Mind in which Hegel specifically indicates that nature itself is nondialectical and that only mind or spirit could be pneumatic forces. The Hegel who emerges from Colletti is drawn to a religio-spiritualist conservative tradition, contrary to most contemporary, philosophic (non-Marxist) treatments, such as Soll, Kaufmann, or Findlay. Marcuse is accused of a "spiritualistic disdain for the finite and the terrestrial world," proving that Colletti neglects Marcuse's own sensitivity to the physicosocial, and overlooks his Reason and Revolution in which Marcuse depicted the socioanthropologic basis of Hegel's political thought. Lukacs is indicted for a Widerspiegelungstheorie of truth, thus associating Lukacs with Engels, an assertion that is an injustice to Lukacs and a falsification of his intellectual effort to free Marxism from the sterility of positivist epistemology.

NORMAN LEVINE
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GÜNTER MOLTMANN. Atlantische Blockpolitik im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Véreinigten Staaten und der deutsche Liberalismus während der Revolution von 1848/49. Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1973. Pp. 424. DM 58.

In this study Professor Günter Moltmann, an American specialist at the University of Hamburg,

describes in great detail the relationship that developed between the United States and the liberal provisional government of Frankfurt in 1848-52. The central thesis contends that a temporary ideological "bloc" was formed between the two governments, which foreshadowed twentieth-century similarities. Moltmann explains that the United States was unexpectedly willing to cooperate with the Frankfurt liberals because "no political interest conflicts nor power rivalry existed between them" (p. 356). In fact, he sees "rivalries with neighbors and the concept of the balance of power in any event foreign to American political thought" (pp. 356-57). Although based upon examination of the Bundesarchiv, Aussenstelle Frankfurt am Main, the U.S. National Archives, personal collections in the Library of Congress, and miscellaneous material in several other archives, as well as some other official and unofficial contemporary sources, this monograph presents arguments and analyses that are unconvincing.

It is not clear how this era in U.S.-German relations relates to mid-nineteenth-century U.S. external relations. Recent broader studies by Norman Graebner, Richard von Alstyne, William Goetzmann, and William A. Williams, among others who offer various pictures of a dynamic, expansive foreign policy in the mid-nineteenth century, were not used by Moltmann. Major works on midnineteenth-century German history, for example, those by Helmut Böhme, Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Otto Pflanze, and Reinhart Koselleck, were not consulted. The oversight of recent U.S. studies is particularly regretted since "thematically the accent lies on American policy, the sources and literature of the United States received stronger attention" (p. 8).

The barrier that German-language studies raise for historians of the United States, and the study's narrow limits and perspectives, will restrict the readership to a small band of scholars. However, Moltmann's exhaustive examination of the manuscript correspondence of Frankfurt's agent in the United States, Friedrich Ludwig von Rönne, and U.S. agents in Germany, Ambrose Dudley Mann, Andrew J. Donelson, William H. Stiles, and Charles Graebe, will lend this monograph value for a long time.

THOMAS SCHOONOVER
University of Southwestern Louisiana

istván sándor. *Xántus János*. Budapest: Magvetö könyvkiadó. 1970. Pp. 408. Ft. 17.00.

In 1949 I published the first extensive biography of János Xántus; it concentrated on his years in America from 1852 to 1864, when he was probably the most noteworthy collector of naturalia in Cali-

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fornia and Lower California—if not in North America. This was followed by István Sándor's biographical sketch in *Acta Ethnographica* (3 [1953]: 233–88, in Russian with an English summary), largely based on my work and the same author's present book. In this work, Sándor presents a substantial semipopular biography, giving equal space to Xántus's life before he left America and to his travels in Asia and his museological work in Budapest until his death in 1894. This latter half of Xántus's life is here presented for the first time in book form. A list of Xántus's 243 writings and a number of bibliographical notes complete the volume, which is handsomely printed and bound.

It is curious to note that Sándor's short biography of 1953 gives some attention to a supposed interest of Xántus in the "international workers' movement," whereas his biography of 1970 does not mention this fantasy. Similarly, the first biography accuses me of "spitefulness" in my criticism of Xántus; by 1970 this accusation had vanished. Aside from revealing welcome ideological change in Hungary, Sándor's later work is a useful, if somewhat turgid, survey of the life of a man who deserves far more attention in the history of science in the United States than the mere bestowal of his name on a murrelet and a lizard.

HENRY MILLER MADDEN
California State University,
Fresno

PAUL M. KENNEDY. The Samoan Tangle: A Study in Anglo-German-American Relations, 1878-1900. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. xvi, 325. \$12.50.

This interesting if not elegantly written study of late nineteenth-century Anglo-German relations deserves a wide audience. Turbulent Samoa appears largely as the occasional scene or symptomatic touchstone of international relations. Paul M. Kennedy, lecturer in modern history at the University of East Anglia, focuses upon Bismarck, Salisbury, Bülow, and Chamberlain rather than on the Malietoa chiefs or on Samoa's colonial coming of age.

Kennedy is more conversant with current European than with American historiography. Historians of American foreign relations should value his book, however, because he employs the issue of Samoa to assess international changes. The United States consequently receives greater attention than its minor role in Samoan affairs merits. Kennedy finds little sign of American imperialism in the 1880s and little show of interest in Samoa after 1889, except during the collapse of the troubled tridominium in 1899. He overlooks the American image of Samoa and the reasons for the absence of sustained American interest. But he has

carefully researched the reactions in the United States to the partition of the islands, and he depicts the general drift of American opinion toward Great Britain and against Germany. His observation that the United States and Germany eventually might have clashed over Latin America—if the focus of affairs had not shifted to Europe—provocatively extends the recent scholarly suggestions that a real German menace existed.

Throughout the book, Kennedy tests the thesis of "manipulated social imperialism," the useful European phrase meaning expansion to relieve domestic pressures. He discerns only hints of social imperialism in the United States even after 1897. He further contends that such motives did not influence Bismarck, who was often annoyed by Samoan complications and intent largely on safeguarding commerce. After 1897 the Kaiser's personliches Regiment sought glory abroad and unity at home. Bülow's innenpolitik—his sensitivity to Wilhelm's desires for a great navy and to the symbolic importance of Upolu for the agrarian and pan-German presses and publics—further dictated the search for expansion.

Kennedy portrays Salisbury as gradually drifting toward a rift with Germany. Chamberlain, who negotiated the settlement of 1899, conceded Samoa because the navy did not consider it valuable; seemingly more cooperative with Germany, he really differed little from Salisbury on Samoa. The peaceful partition was promising only in the short run; the future was ominous because Germany now seemed at least a threat if not hostile. Kennedy concludes that Samoa, whose importance was illusory, mirrored and contributed to the growing rivalry between the two powers.

PAUL S. HOLBO
University of Oregon

CHARLES MILLER. Battle for the Bundu: The First World War in East Africa. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company. 1974. Pp. x, 353. \$9.95.

When a writer announces in his opening—as Charles Miller does—that he intends to leave the factual intricacies of the subject to be resolved by scholars, it is usually a clue that the historical facts are going to be put to rout. Yet Miller controls his affection for the literary crescendo and the stage-craft of military historical writing and presents a smoothly balanced, detailing narrative—almost contrapuntal in its style—of World War I in East Africa. Recapitulated in this volume are the Sturm und Drang of Germany's effort to retain Tanganyika, her colony of only thirty years at the outbreak of the war. Contained here also is the unedifying portrayal of the British and Allied forces—cumbersome, swaggering from past suc-

cess, bound to archaic modes of strategy, often treating war as a baronial sport-a portrayal that is at once filled with pathos, and comic. Who claims we have to wait a second time around for history to repeat itself as farce? All the familiar episodes that have been told in simpler form in Brian Gardner's German East (1963) and Leonard Mosley's Duel for Kilimanjaro (1963) are reconstructed here with considerably more precision: the rise of the agile microarmies of the Schutztruppe under Lettow-Vorbeck; the naval duel in 1915 with the Könisberg, ensnared in the Rufiji delta quagmire; the northern Tanganyika campaigns of 1916; the phenomenal growth of the East Africa Carrier Corps. Apart from this, Miller makes a few incremental interpretive gains for the professional historian. He stresses the fact-one frequently handled indifferently-that the brigades of the Schutztruppe were first schooled in "bush" military technique through their pacification and postpacification wars against indigenous adversaries, namely against the skilled Hehe warriors in the 1890s and during the Maji-Maji rebellion in 1905-07. The hostility of Kenyan settlers to the intrusion of the war into their idyllic domain appears in several intriguing passages. The author reduces that exaggerated hero of the war, Jan Smuts, by questioning his combat leadership; and thus, Miller carries further the reinterpretation initiated by W. K. Hancock. It is regrettable, however, that Miller allows the fanatical, mordant evaluations of Colonel R. Meinertzhagen from his Army Diary: 1899-1926 (1960) to dominate the chronicle of the war, as so many previous writers have. And it is inexcusable that Miller seems blithely ignorant of the historiography of Kenya and Tanzania after 1960. More than occasionally, too, one wonders whether this war occurred in East Africa among specific peoples, with particular cultural histories, impinging on the war and impinged upon by it, or whether it was acted out on an extraterrestrial landscape—for here, the local societies are often absent or act only as a shadowy background.

KENNELL A. JACKSON, JR. Stanford University

RICHARD and ANNA MARIA DRINNON, editors. Nowhere at Home: Letters from Exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. New York: Schocken Books. 1975. Pp. xxviii, 282. \$12.95.

Best treated as a supplement to Richard Drinnon's definitive biography of Emma Goldman, Rebel in Paradise (1961), this well-chosen selection of letters from the Berkman and Goldman Archives of the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam provides a fuller understanding of the exile years of these two redoubtable anarchists. Deported from America in 1919 after two years in

federal prisons for organizing the American antidraft movement (the No Conscription League) of the First World War and for propagandizing in support of the Russian Revolution, Berkman and Goldman welcomed the opportunity to contribute to the developing revolution in their native land. Within two years they were also exiled from Soviet Russia, and "nowhere at home."

Though plagued with the physical disorders of aging and the difficulties involved in supporting themselves rather than relying on old comrades, they suffered from the exile more in spirit than in body—not just in seeing the "progressive forces" succumb to the Bolshevik "myth," but in being unable to do anything effective to counter the intoxication of the radical elements with this model revolution. Lifelong opponents of statism, they believed the Bolsheviks had co-opted and betrayed the revolution by consolidating political power in their own hands, subordinating the trade unions and soviets, and severely repressing competing revolutionary movements. Unwilling to allow the fashionable triumphant faction to pose as the only viable revolutionary alternative to capitalism or fascism, they would have been overcome by frustration and despair were it not for their own unique relationship and the other close friendships they maintained.

This selection of letters presupposes familiarity with the lives of two of the greatest rebels of our time. One misses the warmth of Drinnon's biography here and wishes more narrative commentary had been provided to flesh out the material and place the letters in appropriate context.

WILLIAM G. NOWLIN, JR. University of Lowell

JOSEPH S. DAVIS. The World between the Wars, 1919-39: An Economist's View. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1975. Pp. viii, 436. \$16.00.

It must first be understood that "the world" in this book is primarily the United States and secondarily Western Europe, including Germany, with occasional references to other areas. Further, the focus is on economic developments in the interwar period, with particular reference to two basic questions: why the Great Depression, and why World War II? The author is a noted economist who held professorships at Harvard and Stanford, as well as federal appointments, during the period about which he writes. This book grows out of his deep concern that, because much about the Great Depression and its impact on the world remains unsatisfactorily explained, there is reason to doubt that we can do much better today unless we understand these matters and learn to deal with them.

In offering his contribution to this understand-

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ing, Davis traces in a dozen chapters the legacy of the Great War, the boom period of the twenties, the crash of 1929, the collapse into severe depression, and the gradual recovery of the thirties-the last of which, in Davis's view, owed less to governmental policies than to natural recuperation, mostly on private initiative, with rearmament one of the major contributing factors. The emphasis is on description; the author sometimes lists, without assigning priority, series of reasons for what occurred, and occasionally offers his own reaction to interpretations of particular points that have been advanced by others. In the latter context, his general disagreement with I. M. Keynes is apparent. The book concludes with four chapters of "analysis and interpretation," in which the author summarizes economic weaknesses that were widely underrated or ignored. These include a declining population growth, falling consumer demand, excessive commodity stocks, overexpansion of productive capacity, overextension of indebtedness, price stabilization, bank credit inflation, and fallacies in banking structure. He also cites agricultural overproduction; protectionism; exaggerated hopes for war debts and reparations; the contribution of misjudgments and malfeasance to the economic collapse—the former considered the more important of the two-and the gross inadequacy of economic and political intelligence, both in heading off depression and in showing the way to recovery. There is much in the book that is familiar, and well-informed readers will sometimes tire of the elaboration of generally accepted points and the repetition of major themes. But overall it is an intelligent, balanced book that reveals an impressive familiarity with the literature—up to onethird of the space on many pages is devoted to source citations and explanatory or critical notations on the work of others.

Without taking it as a full explanation, Davis places heavy emphasis on the psychological factor in the cycle of prosperity and depression. He believes that much of the difficulty in the interwar period stemmed from a systematic ignoring of reality, an impulsive overoptimism about a wholly new society in which prosperity and peace would be everlasting, and a marked reluctance to confront problems directly-indeed an inability to agree on how to confront them-even after they had overwhelmed. He identifies three fundamentals that lay behind the crises and tragedies of 1919-39: the complexity of the real world; the heterogeneity of its inhabitants; and the imperfect understanding of persons, peoples, institutions, situations, and trends. The self-evident nature of these factors seems to suggest that the difficulties were essentially inherent in the human condition-on the surface, not a particularly incisive conclusion. But Davis intends it as a warning that failure to grasp

the obvious sometimes causes the greatest difficulty in human affairs. Concluding from his lifetime study that the monumental failures of the period were inevitable, though "inherently preventable," and that, since things have not significantly changed today, "the danger of inherently preventable disasters still looms large" (p. 423), he argues a need to watch constantly for the symptoms of impending trouble. Nor can social scientists afford to be smug about their progress. The interwar experience illustrates that "a whole generation of able scholars can be seriously wrong in interpreting the present and sizing up the future" (p. 414), and "the problems that did the most damage in 1931 are still those that free societies have done least to solve" (p. 417).

WILLIAM R. ROCK
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RICHARD DEAN BURNS and EDWARD BENNETT, editors. Diplomats in Crisis: United States-Chinese-Japanese Relations, 1919–1941. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-Clio. 1974. Pp. xxi, 346.

The editors of this book have performed a valuable service to the student of Asian-American diplomatic history. They have assembled thirteen generally well informed essays on key American, Chinese, and Japanese diplomats of the crisis decades that led to Pearl Harbor. In the case of the studies on the Chinese and Japanese figures, the editors have chosen scholars who have been able to use Chinese and Japanese sources. The result is that taken together these biographical sketches add up to an interesting and balanced multinational perspective on the background to the Pacific War. While there is information here of interest to specialists, the book will be perhaps most useful as a reading assignment in undergraduate courses on diplomatic history. The sections on Japan and the United States offer ample evidence of just how problematic the relations of the two countries were. It was not just that Americans and Japanese were far apart from each other but that there were wide ranges of opinion within the American group and a similar diversity among the Japanese statesmen. Stanley K. Hornbeck argued that economic sanctions would not create the danger of war but would compel Japan to retreat, while Ambassador Joseph C. Grew constantly made the case for caution and restraint. Similarly, the conciliatory pro-American ambassador, Nomura Kichisaburō, was constantly at loggerheads with the pro-Nazi foreign minister, Matsuoka Yösuke.

The American diplomats discussed in this book are Nelson T. Johnson by Herbert J. Wood, John Van Antwerp MacMurray by Thomas Buckley, W. Cameron Forbes by Gary Ross, Grew by Edward M. Bennett, and Hornbeck by Richard Dean

Burns. The Japanese diplomats are Shidehara Kijūrō by Sidney DeVere Brown, Hirota Kōki by Lee Farnsworth, Shigemitsu Mamoru by Alvin D. Coox, Matsuoka by Barbara Teters, and Nomura by Hilary Conroy. Three Chinese diplomats are examined, V. K. Wellington Koo by Paochin Chu, Hu Shih by Paul Hyer, and Chou Fo-hai by Hansheng Lin.

JOHN H. BOYLE

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BERND MARTIN. Friedensinitiativen und Machtpolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939–1942. (Geschichtliche Studien zu Politik und Gesellschaft, number 6.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1974. Pp. 572. DM 82.

Bernd Martin's penetrating study of peace initiatives and power politics between 1939 and 1942 must be considered a major contribution to the historical literature on the Second World War. The book, as a monograph in peace research, is a fine companion volume to the studies of Hillgruber, Skalweit, and others, on high-level German wartime diplomacy and strategy. Against the broad background of political, economic, ideological, and racial policies, Martin traces and analyzes the many futile endeavors to end the armed conflict that began with the invasion of Poland. The author has thoroughly exploited a wide variety of sources and has made particularly good use of German and British archival materials. As for documentation on U.S., Russian, French, Vatican, and other peace initiatives, he had to rely primarily on official publications of selected documents. He has of course made use of private papers, interviews with individuals directly involved in some of the peace efforts, and the large body of printed literature. Aware of the problems imposed by limited access to primary sources, Martin has been judicious in his assumptions and conclusions. That is not to say that his study lacks either critical insight or constructive imagination in its approach to the subject. The first half of the book is devoted to mediation efforts and peace initiatives preceding the dramatic events of the summer of 1940. Of particular interest is Martin's study of Italian mediation efforts, in September 1939 and later, compounded as they were of a concern for the impact of German-Soviet collaboration and a desire for a major role in European power politics. The author also gives excellent coverage of the many other efforts launched either by the belligerents or by neutral states. The second half of the book covers the suspense-filled months from June 1940 to the late spring of 1942, when the conflict gradually assumed global proportions and generated new and complex strategies and aspirations. From Churchill's critical influence and Roosevelt's ambivalent attitude in the summer of 1940 to Hitler's *Friedensvorstellungen*, sparked by the initial victories over the Soviet army, Martin offers a fascinating and provocative account of efforts, motivated by a variety of impulses, to seek an end to a conflict growing increasingly destructive and savage. Martin deserves high praise for his model contribution to peace research.

WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER University of Delaware

ALBERTO BORGIOTTI and CESARE GORI. La guerra aerea in Africa settentrionale: Assalto dal cielo 1940-41; 1942-43. In two volumes. Modena: S.T.E.M.-Mucchi s.p.a. 1972; 1973. Pp. 205; 273. L. 3,500; L. 4,000.

Attention is called to a useful brace of soft-cover volumes that in highly technical detail, with black-and-white photographs, maps, and color airplane diagrams, describe the transactions of the Italian Royal Air Force in North Africa during the Second World War. At the outset the "Blue Arm" flew alone against the British; then it gained help from Hitler only to go down fighting both the Americans and the English. The first book supplies background aviation data and a narrative of the start of the conflict, the initial enemy offensive Compass, the seesaw war, and the arrival of the Afrika Korps. Clearly defined are the brutality of the terrain, the lack of water, and the poverty of fuel and parts.

The second tome is written along the same lines and carries the account to the fall of Tunisia in 1943. After working from German, English, and local references the authors-a lawyer-and-historian family team in Pesaro-agree that the German general staff was bewitched by Russia and realized too late the importance of Mediterranean control, that United States industrial production on application in the field was overwhelming, and "in a war among such giants, Italy, always wrestling with its habitual poverty, sent men off to a theater it ought to have understood thoroughlyinstead it was caught off balance from the beginning." The cooperation between the Royal Army and the air branch "was not very effective for technical and organizational reasons." For example, in 1941 at Sollum in Battleaxe it was quite deplorable.

Equipment lagged far behind both the Germans and the opposition. Here Erwin Rommel confirms that "the Italian pilots worked miracles. Their reconnaissance planes were old unarmed slow Caproni craft, deadly for anybody flying them." Giulio Lazzati in his memoir of wartime pilots, I soliti quattro gatti (1965), not cited by the writers,

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gives the ending, "The battle in Tunisia was a battle of desperation, the bitter chalice which had to be drunk to the bottom." Such sentimentalities are alien to the text by Borgiotti and Gori. Hard military facts are not.

DUANE KOENIG
University of Miami

PHILIP C. JESSUP. The Birth of Nations. New York: Columbia University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 361. \$14.95.

Philip Jessup had a distinguished career as a teacher of international law, as a diplomat, and as a judge of the International Court of Justice, Now he is remembering in retirement some of the great events of which he was a part. An earlier volume dealt with five cases that came before the International Court and with how international law has developed. The present one describes the coming into being of a number of new states and the part played in their birth by the United States and the United Nations. With the exception of Manchukuo, the states included are ones with whose genesis Jessup was directly concerned when attached to the United States mission to the UN from 1947 to 1949 or as United States ambassadorat-large from 1949 to 1953.

In the birth of the Republic of Korea, Jessup's part was so important that a grateful Korean foreign minister hailed him as the midwife of the infant state. This apparently suggested the obstetrical metaphor that appears in the chapter headings and in the text. Morocco and Tunisia suffer prenatal pains, Libya and Somalia are examples of delivery by the UN, Eritrea was stillborn, and Manchukuo was a case of illegitimacy. Indonesia and Israel, however, were just born ("Indonesia Is Born," "The Birth of Israel"). The ensuing discussion makes it clear that they were not cases of delivery through twilight sleep.

In the light of later lamentable events, special interest attaches to the chapter, "The Abortive Empire of Bao Dai," which provides insights into informed—and not so informed—American views on Indochina in 1949 and reveals early foreshadowings of the policy of Vietnamization. To this chapter there is added a short postscript on the still-unborn Pushtoonistan with whose tribesmen-advocates the Jessups had a friendly encounter when traveling in Afghanistan.

The use of something like a memoir form ("this highly personal account")—albeit one in which memory has been reinforced by research in the archives of the State Department and other sources—allows the author to stray a bit into attractive bypaths. There are delightful pages on early relations—or lack thereof—between Wash-

ington and the League of Nations as well as occasional anecdotes about the ways of the State Department in the early twenties. Numerous personalities are depicted, without acerbity and also without undue deference.

In his pedagogical days, Philip Jessup was noted for ability to expound the principles of international law with equal success to bold-tongued law students and to mild-spoken historians and political scientists. Here he shows ability to breathe life into interdepartmental memorandums and make UN debates almost interesting. Thus these retrospective rambles through the early years after the Second World War make what the English call "a good read." They are also informative about how policy is made. What an interesting book their author could write if he would take a similar ramble through academic groves.

THOMAS P. PEARDON Barnard College

ANCIENT

JOHN PATRICK LYNCH. Aristotle's School: A Study of a Greek Educational Institution. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1972. Pp. xiv, 247. \$10.00.

To a student of the history of ancient philosophy a "school" normally is no more than a convenient classifier of ideologies or a vehicle of doctrines. It is the great merit of John Patrick Lynch to have shown in this book Aristotle's Peripatetic School as the actual institution of learning it has been. Beginning with its physical setting, he treats, first, of the location of the Lyceum and adduces, apart from literary sources, ample archeological and epigraphical evidence—thereby illustrating how useful this kind of material can be even for the historian of philosophy who, as a rule, tends to neglect it-for his convincing conclusion that it must have been just outside the city wall of Athens (the Valerian extension of the city toward the east has brought it within the walls), south of modern Syntagma Square extending to the Olympicion; on its site are now the Russian Orthodox Church of Lykodemos (this name possibly being a survival of the ancient name "Lyceum") and the national

Chapters on the origin of higher education at Athens and the founding of the Peripatetic School lead to a discussion of the legal status of Aristotle's (not Theophrastus', as Ingemar Düring and others have contended) foundation. Lynch shows conclusively that Ulrich von Wilamowitz was wrong in assuming that the Athenian schools must have been thiasoi—religious fraternities dedicated to the worship of the Muses. The Lyceum, on the con-

trary, has always had a purely secular character, has never had any well-defined legal status, and consisted of private individuals, who undertook to give and follow lectures in public gymnasiums, where the gymnasiarch was the state official responsible for supervising these private activities.

In the following chapter the decline of the school after Aristotle and Theophrastus is explained in terms of the nonsectarian character of Peripatetic education. Lynch argues that Fritz Wehrli's explanation remains on the purely literary level by ascribing the school's decline to its failure to develop a Peripatetic orthodoxy. His own explanation starts from institutional considerations-first, the loss of the school library after Theophrastus' death; second, the instability and fragmentation of the school, which, in the case of the Lyceum, proved to be a serious weakness since Aristotle's conception of philosophy was oriented toward cooperative research rather than the discussions and dialectics that prevailed in other schools; and, third, its Macedonian connections. It seems quite justifiable to suppose that such observations may help to account for literary tendencies, rather than to seek the cause of the decline in these tendencies themselves, as Wehrli did.

After this chapter it does not surprise the reader to find that the author does not believe in a survival of the Lyceum—and, for that matter, the Academy as well—up to A.D. 529, when Justinian "closed the Schools of Athens," as it is so often repeated after Edward Gibbon. Undoubtedly Karl Zumpt's "Golden Chain" of scholarchs as it appears in Ueberweg-Praechter's handbook is too good to be true, and most likely a product of schematization in which every so-called Peripatetic is supposed to be a scholarch. One may be convinced with Lynch that Sulla's capture of Athens (86 B.C.) formed an upheaval which the schools as institutions may not have survived. But to believe that Rome and Alexandria were the real centers of Peripatetic activity from the first century B.C. until the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., when the Neoplatonic school at Athens concerned itself with the Corpus Aristotelicum, and that in Athens itself during the imperial centuries "Academic," "Peripatetic," "Stoic," and "Epicurean" were no longer the names for the various institutions but merely distinguished the divisions within the subject matter of philosophical studies, seems to be going very far indeed. For instance, can the Peripatetic renaissance with Andronicus of Rhodes' edition of Aristotle's works really be placed in Rome between 40 and 20 B.C., as Lynch does with Düring? This old and vexed question has recently been discussed anew by Paul Moraux in the first volume of his Aristotelismus bei den Griechen (1973). It is

clear from this thorough revision of the complicated evidence that a case at least equally strong, if not stronger, can be made for placing Andronicus and his edition in Athens during the first half of the first century B.C.

Such doubts, however, do not detract from the valuable achievement of Lynch's well-composed book: it has, for the first time, provided scholarship with a reliable account of Aristotelianism as an educational institution. It helps to efface in our minds all sorts of vague generalities and misconceptions about this Athenian "school," and, as it goes, other Greek schools of thought as well. The Lyceum can never be what it was to us before.

EVERT P. KWAADGRAS University of Leiden

MICHAEL H. CRAWFORD. Roman Republican Coinage. Volume 1, Introduction and Catalogue; volume 2, Studies, Plates, and Indexes. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1975. Pp. xiv, 566; xi, 919. \$95.00 the set.

Historians of the Roman Republic who have tried to use numismatic evidence in their researches have long been aware of the shortcomings of the current catalog (E. A. Sydenham, *Coinage of the Roman Republic* [1952]), and they have awaited with anticipation these volumes, in preparation for at least eight years.

They will not be disappointed. The new catalog is far more complete and accurate in its description of the corpus of the coinage, and the chronology has been vastly improved. Crawford, moreover, has given judicious attention to matters of particular interest to historians including the office of moneyer and its relationship with quaestors, the state of the treasury at various times, the volume of coinage in absolute and relative terms, monetary terminology in the literary sources, identification of specific moneyers, and many other problems.

The volumes include, besides the catalog itself and chapters on special problems, a lengthy introduction, appendixes, plates with apparatus, an extensive bibliography, five indexes, and concordances with E. Babelon, Monnaies de la république romaine (1885-86), and Sydenham (though, curiously, not with H. A. Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum [1910]. Moreover, one cannot easily trace a Crawford entry to the corresponding Sydenham one. The reverse is simple.) The catalog, though excellent, seems less easy to use than Sydenham's; it does not state the metal of the entry. Beginning students may not know whether the litra or the stater was bronze, silver, or gold. In fact, the beginner may not realize that the left-hand column describes the obverse and the

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right-hand, the reverse. The plates, unfortunately, are barely adequate.

For abandonment of style as a major criterion in the determination of chronology, scholars will be grateful—though not surprised, in view of the author's previous work on hoards. These hoards, and certain key coins and archeological data, are chief determinants in the placement of the coins. In comparison with Sydenham, this book changes the dates for the earliest coinage and places the introduction of the denarius system in 211 B.C.; the whole of the denarius coinage before 90 B.C. is shifted back in time.

Crawford's conclusions, though mostly judicious and sound, are occasionally overstated and sometimes shaky. For example, assignment of didrachms (1: 42–43) to specific censors is both tortuous and unconvincing. The dating of some coins that apparently allude to contemporary events may be wrong. For reasons that cannot be set forth here, I think the date for the retariffing of the denarius—and immediately subsequent issues—is placed too late. Also, it seems incredible that the Senate would issue a special coin to purchase grain under Saturninus' law (Piso-Caepio, catalog no. 330), which glorifies Saturninus, with its Saturn obverse. More likely it was issued to support some counterprogram of grain purchase.

Crawford is also unnecessarily harsh in assessing the views of others; he often describes the conclusions of respected scholars as "nonsense" or "fantastic" or "not requiring refutation." On one much-disputed question—whether all plated coins are forgeries—in which I think Crawford likely wrong, Crawford suggests that anyone who disagrees is attributing to the Romans a policy that would have been "idiocy." He clearly implies that the Romans were not the idiots. In extenuation it ought to be said that the great difficulties inherent in some numismatic problems have indeed led to flights of fancy such as would scarcely be tolerated in better-documented fields of study.

In a work of this scope there are hundreds of problems crying out for solution and thousands of decisions to be made. Crawford has not drawn back from attempting solution of the more important of them; his approach has been rational, his solutions logical and sometimes illuminating. This will become the standard work on the coinage of the Republic. It belongs in every college and university library.

HENRY C. BOREN University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

RICHARD BRILLIANT. Roman Art: From the Republic to Constantine. [London:] Phaidon; distrib. by Prae-

ger Publishers, New York. 1974. Pp. 288. Cloth \$15.00, paper \$6.95.

Professor Brilliant presents a stimulating survey. The first part, five chapters, treats a number of major themes: Roman architecture, triumphal monuments, ostentatious display, ornament and decoration, Roman realism, nonperiodic styles, Roman eclecticism, and curiosity about peoples, places, things, and events. Part two, only one chapter, affords a chronological survey. There are three hundred illustrations scattered throughout the text, mostly of less-than-page size, and numbered by chapter and sequence therein. The select bibliography, also by chapters, is in fact very full. There follows a "chronological companion" listing important historical events, a list of the illustrations, and an index.

The book presents three difficulties. The illustrations appear at the points of their major relevance but are often referred to both before and after, which necessitates much thumbing to locate the right chapter. Grouping all illustrations together in one numbered sequence might have facilitated reference, though at the cost of variety offered by combining illustrations and text on the pages. Second, the language is sometimes abstruse, for example, "fixated" (p. 12), "nontectonic" (p. 14), or "porticated" (p. 75). Third, references to the pictures are not always clear. For example, the baths of Septimius on the Palatine (p. 79) are referred to in chapter 1, figure 34 (p. 45), part of a plastic model of imperial Rome in which the buildings are not identified.

These and similar minor faults do not detract, however, from the suggestive interpretation of Roman art as an expression of Roman character and an instrument of Roman public policy. The realistic approach of Italic and Etruscan art was never wholly eliminated by the adoption of Greek polish, refinement, and idealization. Even Pompeian copying of Greek paintings, or Hadrianic imitation of archaic and classical Greek sculpture, did not crush the Italic spirit. These two approaches are often contrasted as "plebeian" and "patrician," but "Italic" and "Hellenic" are better terms, since realistic art was not restricted to lower social strata. Indeed, as Roman art spread to the provinces, the Italic tradition tended to prevail in the western and Danubian areas.

The Romans combined Italic realism with a commitment of art to public purposes (ch. 2). Propagandist art was not unknown in Greece, as for example, in the friezes of the Parthenon or of the Great Altar of Pergamum. The Greeks, however, generalized or symbolized the historical event, whereas the Romans portrayed actual

scenes. The Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, of the very late Republic (pp. 197-98), interestingly shows two friezes, one Hellenic symbolizing a naval victory by a parade of sea deities, and one Roman, an actual scene of sacrifice. Similarly Augustus's Ara Pacis has symbolic reliefs on its ends and real processions along its sides. The reliefs of the great imperial monuments of the early empire portray actual scenes.

Roman art is a major source for the historian, not only because it represents actual people and events, but because it evokes the Roman temperament and concepts. This book, therefore, affords valuable insights for the historian of ancient Rome.

MASON HAMMOND Harvard University

MEDIEVAL

N. J. G. POUNDS. An Economic History of Medieval Europe. New York: Longman. [1974.] Pp. xi, 562. \$14.50.

This is a well-balanced survey of the economic history of Europe from the late Roman period to the end of the fifteenth century. In that this is basically a textbook, it might well be asked why it is being reviewed in this journal. The justification lies in the depth of treatment accorded the subject and Pounds's concentration on economic developments to the almost complete exclusion of social history. There are not likely to be many courses in economic history that deal with the Middle Ages alone; hence the book, in spite of its textbook nature, will almost certainly fill the role of reference or secondary material found in a good college or university library.

Professor Pounds presents us with a volume that combines two methods of approach. The first three chapters and the concluding chapter are general surveys of the economic life of the time: the later Roman Empire, the early Middle Ages, the expansion of the medieval economy, and the late Middle Ages. Between this general material there is a series of chapters on separate elements of medieval economic life: population, agriculture and rural life, towns, manufacturing, trade, and the commercial revolution. Each of these central chapters is a complete unit in itself, presenting a general view of that facet of economic life and then analyzing in some detail the various interpretations of it that have been offered by recent scholars. Obviously Pounds is covering a number of broad fields and attempting to incorporate the work of a great many scholars; as a result he sometimes fails to do justice to the work of everyone.

But in general this work is very satisfactory. I

commend especially the material on agriculture and rural life, a subject so confused in the usual textbook on economic history as to be almost worthless. Pounds presents no unified interpretation of medieval rural life, but he does make it possible for the student to comprehend just why there were so many different agricultural systems being pursued at the same time and why we do not really know enough about them to offer any reliable conclusions about their relative dispersion.

K. F. DREW
Rice University

ALF J. MAPP JR. The Golden Dragon: Alfred the Great and His Times. La Salle, Ill.: Open Court. 1974. Pp. x, 224, 2 charts. \$8.95.

This book is a scholarly popularization with footnotes and bibliography. Translations of Alfred's laws and of his will are added as appendixes. The book deals with Alfred's military, administrative, literary, and educational achievements and with his influence on English and European history and culture. To make a fuller narrative, Mapp pieces out what facts we have with more or less probable conjecture. William of Malmesbury, who has something to say of royal education after Alfred and of Alfred's interest in English poetry, does not appear in the bibliography.

A few errors may result from Mapp's not being a specialist in the period. When he calls Ethelbald's marriage to his young stepmother Judith "contrary both to Christian custom and the pagan practices which the Saxons once followed," he ignores the fact that this Germanic form of levirate marriage had led to conflict between Eadbald of Kent and Laurentius of Canterbury and had persisted until the twelfth century in Scotland (Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica, 2: vi, and Plummer's note).

Material from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is not always handled judiciously. The chronicle's summing up of the long campaign against the Danes (s.a. 897) is given as, "By the grace of God, the army had not on the whole afflicted the English people very seriously." Even if this were the best possible translation, it should be followed by the next sentence, which Mapp omits, to give the full picture: "Nevertheless, they [the English] had suffered greatly . . . with the death of livestock and men, particularly because many of the best of the King's thegns . . . had died during those three years."

The account of the naval action off Devon in the same year is thoroughly botched. There was not one engagement, as Mapp implies; there were two. The Danes in the second had beached their ships to go ashore, not inadvertently run them aground; and two of these ships later drifted ashore because

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they had lost most of their crews, not because of particularly bad weather.

Although some passages in the book may annoy the specialist, it is a rather lively panegyric that should give the amateur a proper respect for Alfred without seriously misleading him.

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v. H. GALBRAITH. Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xxxv, 193. \$13.00.

R. WELLDON FINN. Domesday Book: A Guide. London: Phillimore & Company; distrib. by Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, N.J. 1975. Pp. xiv, 109. \$8.00.

When The Making of Domesday Book by Professor Galbraith appeared in 1961, it was considered the most important book on the subject since the fundamental studies by J. H. Round and F. W. Maitland in the late nineteenth century. It not only revised Round's classic explanation of how the data were collected and arranged in Domesday Book, but it also weakened the conclusion of most historians that William the Conqueror ordered the famous inquest of 1086 so that he would have a reliable record of the amount of geld he could collect from his new realm. Galbraith made a compelling argument that Domesday Book was a feudal, not a fiscal record. The present book elaborates these conclusions and convincingly argues that Domesday Book was a blueprint for the type of Norman-Angevin government that emerged during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In laying the foundation for this feudal government, Domesday Book became a point of reference, consulted throughout the Middle Ages by lawyers and by officials of the Exchequer and the Household. Galbraith's thesis is, of course, antithetical to the iconoclastic position of H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles that Domesday Book was a vast administrative mistake, a useless record produced at the whim of the Conqueror and forgotten after a generation. Domesday Book may not be the unique sort of medieval government record that most English historians consider it to be, but it certainly is not as inconsequential as Richardson and Sayles avow it to have been.

Noteworthy among the chapters of this book, where each is a distillation of Galbraith's immense erudition, are those concerned with Domesday Book historiography, the satellite sources, the compilation, and the geld fallacy. Ever mindful of the contributions of such Victorian scholars as W. Stubbs, Round, and Maitland, Galbraith shows how they were led astray in some of their research and asked the wrong questions of Domesday Book

because of their preoccupation with early Germanic freedom and their involvment in the epic struggle between Germanist and Romanist. The only weakness of this book-if it can be considered such-is that while citing with approval those scholars whose research has broken with the Victorian tradition, Galbraith remains faithful to the insular tradition of English scholarship and studies Domesday Book with no attempt to relate it to similar records of an earlier time on the Continent, with no thought that the English borough knew a social, economic, and institutional development comparable to that of the Continental town. Galbraith, however, has written a book that will delight and edify its readers; he is at present the only person with the knowledge required for the task.

Of a quite different genre is the little book by Mr. Finn, who until his recent death was also an acknowledged expert on Domesday Book. Written on an elementary level, it concisely explains the purpose of Domesday Book and describes the kind of information provided on such matters as geld, plowlands, plow teams, slaves, peasants, tenants-in-chief, animals, manors, churches, boroughs, forests, and agrarian equipment. It is a clear and succinct introduction to a record acknowledged by all to be cryptic and difficult.

Both Galbraith and Finn declare that further research must be done on Domesday Book before its true significance will be understood. Undoubtedly this is true, but little will be gained if the well-plowed furrows are merely plowed again. To justify future research on Domesday Book historians will have to free it from the insularity that has hitherto been its trade-mark and to explain it in terms of the feudal and institutional history of Western Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

BRYCE LYON
Brown University

R. H. HELMHOLZ. Marriage Litigation in Medieval England. (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1975. Pp. x, 246. \$23.00.

To start with the Latin footnotes, a few make sexy reading, and each contains evidence from Church-court records, notably at York and Canterbury, to support Helmholz's considered conclusions. Major ones are that the most common matrimonial case was a suit "to enforce a marriage contract" and that "divorces," in medieval parlance, were far fewer in England, 1200–1500, than the 1972 report of the Church of England implied. It stated that a medieval man and wife wishing to dissolve their marriage "could probably discover a ground

for its nullity." The cases prove that divorces "were not freely granted," and "historians do wrong to speak of the ease and the frequency of divorce for consanguinity and affinity." Moreover, marriage cases, compared with common-law litigation, were quickly settled, and many suits were compromised through "informal discussion and bargaining." Changes did occur over the three centuries in canonical practice. For example, "marriage as a penalty for fornication" was abandoned as inconsistent with the Christian matrimonial ideal. Helmholz concedes that the "unitary view of marriage practice . . . is largely correct," and yet the variations that he discloses are what enliven his history.

A motif recurrent throughout this topical analysis of marriage litigation is the triumph of practice over theory, of common sense over logic, and of case law over formularies and glosses. Actual cases of real-life litigation in the Church courts, with the very names of the parties, the proctors, and the judges, all go to make the story vivid. Likewise, lay usages, like private marriage contracts made at home with but few witnesses, "self-divorce" with the neighbors' acceptance thereof, and the settlement of marriage questions by "important men" meeting "in the parish church" did much to humanize medieval practice and to make credible medieval married life despite the technicalities of canon law. Judges, too, were flexible, and they used discretion to resolve many a marital dispute in a nonlitigious manner.

In his interpretations Helmholz has used imagination, but with due caution, and good judgment in reaching conclusions. He writes without dogmatism, yet not uncritically, he puts penetrating questions, and he answers most of them fully. His book suggests links between the two juridical systems of England rather than disjunction. The connection between marriage litigation in Church courts and derivative disputes over bastardy, dower, or inheritance in the king's courts needs to be expounded. Few today are so well qualified as is Helmholz to write such a complementary treatise.

WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR. Yale University

M. G. A. VALE. Charles VII. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 267. \$18.00.

Malcolm Vale's new book on Charles VII, the first in a projected series on monarchs of early modern France, is especially welcome because a new study of this important reign has long been needed. Except for a concluding chapter on ceremonial, the book is arranged chronologically. The author's main purpose is to present the reign's political history to educated laymen as well as scholars. He leads us through the feud between Armagnac and Burgundian, the dark years of the "Kingdom of Bourges," the career of Joan of Arc, the victories of the 1440s, the king's struggles against princely conspiracies, and his long estrangement from his son.

The most valuable feature of the book is the author's treatment of court politics. Personalities and factions at court had much to do with actual governmental policies in the critical years of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the early modern French state was born. They are especially important for the reign of Charles VII, since they help explain his supposed lethargy in certain periods and his bad relations with the dauphin. Vale handles the complexities of court politics with clarity and skill. Charles was subjected to many influences and many favorites, but he usually escaped their domination and kept them guessing as to where they stood with him. The most sustained influence at court was that of the queen's Angevin relatives, but Charles forced them to share their influence with rivals. Throughout his reign he had to trim in order to maintain peaceful relations with the powerful competing houses—Anjou, Brittany, Burgundy, and Orléans.

Because the book is intended for a wider audience than scholars alone, Vale devotes considerable space to famous figures like Joan of Arc and Jacques Coeur, but I regret the lack of attention to the administrative developments that gave the reign its main importance. The treaty with Burgundy in 1435 was followed by a decade in which Paris was recovered, regular annual taxation reestablished, the currency stabilized, and the standing army of compagnies d'ordonnance instituted. These changes helped bring an end to brigandage and re-established royal power on solid, permanent foundations. They deserve more emphasis than the peripheral treatment that Vale gives them.

JOHN BELL HENNEMAN
University of Iowa

HERBERT JANKUHN et al., editors. Vor- und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter: Bericht über ein Symposium in Reinhausen bei Göttingen in der Zeit vom 18. bis 24. April 1972. Volume 2. (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse. Third Series, number 84.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1974. Pp. 322, 77.

The second volume from the 1972 Reinhausen Symposium on early towns in medieval Europe comprises twenty-two lectures, mostly in German, on wider Scandinavia and the western Slavs together with Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria.

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Like volume 1 it has no index, and therefore it might be useful to note briefly the sites with which the papers are concerned.

According to Mårten Stenberger, only the third period of the circular wall of Eketorp on the island of Öland protected a townlike community since ca. 1000 (pp. 7-18). The Iron Age grain find of 1971 on the spot seems to come from a field of barley. Considering cereals and weeds, Hans Helbaek recognizes a cultivated area, a marshy soil, and possibly a high pasture land as the three habitats around the wall (pp. 19-20). Wilhelm Holmquist describes the islet of Helgö in Mälaren west of Stockholm as the predecessor of Birka from the fifth to the seventh century, especially regarding handicraft, trade, and dense population (pp. 21-29). For more than two centuries Hedeby was a center of industries and trade, showing even in the earliest stratum, already from the ninth century, some sort of planning and administrative guidance (Kurt Schietzel, pp. 30-39). The port as the economic basis of the inhabitants, though given up with the tenth century, is the intelligible thesis of Charlotte Blindheim for Kaupang in Skiringssal. south of Oslo (pp. 40-57). By means of the excavations of 1969-71 at Birka, Björn Ambrosiani dates the piers for the ninth-century town into the beginning of the tenth century; only then a smaller area was protected by a town wall (pp. 58-63). Viborg in northern Jutland is presented by Erik Levin-Nielsen as an agglomeration without handicraft and trade, originating only from the periodical assemblies of the regional thing, until it became a privileged royal town in the twelfth century (pp. 64-81). Per Lundström looks at Paviken I, south southeast of Visby on Gotland, as a possible trading station of Svear merchants (pp. 82-93). For the royal town of Arhus, the period from the tenth to the twelfth century is treated separately from the sea trade center since about 1200 by H. Hellmuth Andersen (pp. 94-100). Volker Vogel confirms the thesis of Schleswig's succession to Hedeby during the second half of the eleventh century by looking into the excavations of two churches and one local area until September 1972 (pp. 101-12). Archeological corroboration of the saga statement that Olav Kyrre founded Bergen in Norway about 1070 is discussed by Asbjørn Herteig, who additionally refers to 551 runic inscriptions from the spot (pp. 113-27). Though originating from a royal mint of Canute the Great about 1020, Lund, according to Adam of Bremen, was planned as a second London and developed into an important trading center for Europe north of the Alps (Ragnar Blomquist, pp. 128-45). No royal participation can be traced in the history of the kaupang of Borgund in Sunnmøre, western Norway. Staple trade in fish could not preserve its importance through the later Middle Ages, as Herteig points out (pp. 146-58).

Witold Hensel elaborates his system of protogerms and germs of towns and finally towns of local rights for Poland before the period of "real" medieval towns, but sees exceptions, mainly in Pomerania (pp. 176-89). Therefore his models are not mentioned by Władysław Filipowiak on Wolin as a center of handicraft from the ninth to the twelfth century (pp. 190-208) and by Lech Leciejewicz on Szczecin from the second half of the eighth century onward (pp. 209-30) or by Werner Neugebauer, who prefers Lübeck's market area as the first German settlement of 1143 (pp. 231-38). Bohuslav Chropovský offers amazing material for analyzing the Nitrava-Nitra of the Conversio Bagoariorum as an all-important place from the fifth to the eleventh century (pp. 159-75), and Miroslav Richter stresses the differences with regard to the covering of the sites with buildings even in small founded towns of Bohemia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (pp. 239-57). A castrum type of early agglomerations in Hungary since the tenth century is the thesis of Ladislaus Gerevich for Székesfehérvár, Esztergom, and Györ (pp. 258-76), and fortifications were the nucleus, too, for many towns of Romania since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Mircea Matei, pp. 277-88). On the other side Stamen Michailov stresses continuity in building traditions and water supplies for the early medieval residences of Pliska and Preslav in Bulgaria.

In his synthesis on the factors for town development in early medieval Europe, Herbert Jankuhn confirms the variety of motives and tendencies (pp. 305-22). For the non-Roman world he singles out the "emancipation of certain non-agricultural professions from the agrarian society" (p. 320), though not specially discussing Yakov A. Levitsky's artisanal theory, as proposed for more highly developed centers in tenth- to twelfthcentury England-or Michailov's confirmation that agriculture remained supreme even in early Bulgarian towns. Like Jankuhn himself, most of the authors are archeologists and emphasize not only the broadening of our knowledge, but again and again also stress the situation that archeology alone can provide materials for many sites or even whole types of agglomerations, which otherwise would remain unknown to the historian, because of lack of any information on them in written sources, for example, Eketorp, Helgö, Paviken I, and the smaller towns in late medieval Bohemia. Medieval archeology no longer looks at herself as an auxiliary science for historians, who-in advance of any digging up-prepare written source material and point to the spot where the spade has to do its work, but presents themes, questions, and solutions of her own. Nevertheless urban history is a topic of historical research in written sources also. And, considering the papers by Hensel, Gerevich, Michailov, and others, the old problem of ethnic correspondences of finds may even be transformed into the question of whether archeological data and their interpretation may contribute to the elucidation of the origin of nations in medieval Europe or not.

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JOHN MEYENDORFF. Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes. New York: Fordham University Press. 1974. Pp. 243. \$20.00.

There has long been a need for a substantial, definitive book on Byzantine Orthodox theology that takes into account both the theological and historical aspects of a subject which is absolutely indispensable for the understanding of both Byzantine history and civilization and the Greek Orthodox Church and religion. Professor John Meyendorff, certainly one of the most knowledgeable Orthodox scholars and clergymen in the world today, has produced the best synthesis of this subject in a highly compact but brilliantly developed book. His aim is "to describe the categories of theological thought as they were shaped in the framework of Byzantine Christian civilization, its philosophy of life, its liturgy, and its art, and as they persist in contempoary Eastern Orthodoxy" (pp. 1-2). The author is convinced and convincing in his position that the central theme of Byzantine theology is dynamic and highly relevant to contemporary man and that the Byzantines made a real and permanent contribution to the history of mankind in the field of religious thought because "Byzantium did indeed discover something fundamentally true about man's nature and its relationship to God" (p. 2). In this regard the Byzantine notion of theosis (sometimes translated by the Latin "deification") is central to a correct view of Byzantine theology, which constantly endeavored to express Church tradition in the living categories of Greek thought. Though the author does not seek to limit himself to a description of the idea of "deification" and its development in patristic Greek thought, he is constantly aware of its total significance in what proves to be a sophisticated analysis of the entire historical development of theological ideas in Byzantium relating to Godman relations. In the first part of the book the major historical trends of Byzantine theology are sensitively described, while in the second part a systematic synthesis describes the results of Byzantine theological thought. In the first nine chapters Byzantine theology after Chalcedon (the starting point of Byzantine theology for this study), the Christological issue, the Iconoclastic crisis, monks and humanists, monastic theology, the canonical sources of ecclesiology, the schism between East and West, the encounter with the West, and Lex Orandi are discussed with great precision and care-all leading up to the conclusion that the character and method of Byzantine theology are determined by the relationship between God and the world, between creator and creation, and embrace an anthropology that finds its ultimate key in Christology. The author is very meticulous in pointing up the differences in approach marking Eastern as against Western interpretations of crucial doctrinal issues within the larger context of differences of cultural orientation. The millennium of essential continuity in Byzantine theology from Chalcedon to the fall of Constantinople is duly noted. It is a continuity not imposed by any formal authority but reflected "in a consistent theological way of thought, in a consistent understanding of man's destiny in relation to the world" (p. 4), given authority by the consensus of theologians on basic theology in a living content of Christian theology that must always be consonant with apostolic and patristic witness, and transferred from generation to generation, although Byzantium was less prone than the West to conceptualize or to dogmatize the unity of tradition.

The first part of Dr. Meyendorff's book is incredibly rich in its coverage of theological controversies, distinctive Byzantine tendencies, and the basic sources of Byzantine theological thought. In the second part Meyendorff paints a more systematic picture of Byzantine theology in a plan that follows "the content of the Christian experience itself: man, created and fallen, meets Christ, accepts the action of the Spirit, and is thus introduced into communion with the Triune God" (p. 128). The eight compact chapters in this part discuss with admirable clarity and insightfulness the Creation, Man, Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Triune God, the Cycle of Life in sacramental theology, the Eucharist, and the Church in the world. In Byzantine theology it is clear that the Incarnation of the Logos was consistently regarded as possessing cosmic significance and that man through theosis achieves the supreme goal for which he was created, a goal already realized by Christ through God's love and involving both the significance of human history and a judgment over man to which man is free to respond, as he will. Theosis, then, as the chief theme of Byzantine theology, is the process by which man, through Christ, recovers his original relationship to God and "grows into God 'from glory to glory'" (p. 225). Byzantine theology reflects an anthropology that sees humanity as very much open, developing,

growing, and capable of responding to God's love through Christ in the human search for a God who is transcendent, existentially experienced, and immanently present in man.

Byzantine Theology, fortified by scholarly documentation after each chapter and a manageable but not exhaustive multilingual bibliography and index and equipped with a highly perceptive introduction, conclusion, and a superb main text, will become an extremely valuable and definitive source for a much-needed, brilliant synthesis of Byzantine Christian thought, now available for the first time in English.

JOHN E. REXINE Colgate University

GILBERT DAGRON. Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451. Preface by PAUL LEMERLE. (Bibliothèque byzantine, Études, 7.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1974. Pp. 578.

More than any other medieval society, the Byzantine Empire was dominated by its capital city; for much of its history we know almost nothing of Byzantine provincial life. Yet the history of Constantinople has yet to be systematically analyzed. Professor Dagron has made a major contribution to the subject in this massive and provocative work. Taking a period he considers formative, 330-451, the author traces the city from an emperor's personal residence to the permanent capital of the Byzantine world through the development of five major institutions—the imperial residence, the senate, the urban prefecture, the patriarchate, and the populace. The importance of the work goes beyond what the title promises, for Constantinople is never studied in isolation, and Dagron's institutional studies add fundamentally to our understanding of early Byzantine society. The book begins with an analysis of the traditions for the foundation of the city, most of which date no earlier than the sixth century. Dagron distinguishes between later tradition, which saw Constantine's foundation as an act of choice between the old and the new Rome, and early sources, where the city was above all a dynastic capital identified with the personality of its founder. Permanence came only when the city outlived the House of Constantine. The author believes that three elements dominated its development: the Thracian past, transplanted Roman institutions, and the presence of the emperor. An intensive study, using an impressive array of evidence, is devoted to the assimilation of these elements in each of Dagron's chosen institutions. He uses coins and symbolic representations to illustrate the position of the city in the empire, and he assembles a list of imperial movements to show the belated adoption of the capital as a permanent imperial residence. The treatment of the senate includes a chapter on the formation of the senatorial aristocracy and its impact on Byzantine society, and in tracing the urban prefecture, the author draws up a prosopographical dossier on each of the fourth- and fifth-century holders of the office. The section on the populace centers on the symbolic importance of the hippodrome, while the chapters on religion involve a detailed study of the role of the city in the Arian controversy. The work also makes contributions to the study of the demes and to the debate over the population of Constantinople. The work is not inclusive, and the author's interest in Constantinople as a symbol has forced him to omit topics important to any study of an ordinary city. But the book has more to offer than can possibly be conveyed in a short review. Dagron's study is clearly one of the most important works on early Byzantine institutions in recent years.

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MODERN EUROPE

PERRY ANDERSON. Lineages of the Absolutist State. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press. 1974. Pp. 573. \$25.00.

Anderson's work offers a notable contribution to our understanding of early modern European studies. A Marxist who has read widely in the scholarly literature of both Western and Eastern Europe, Anderson examines the relations between monarchy and aristocracy in the West—Spain, France, England, and Sweden are all contrasted to Italy—and in the East—Prussia, Poland, Austria, Russia, and the House of Islam—adding two lengthy notes on Japanese feudalism and the Asiatic mode of production.

Although decidedly not of Marxist persuasion, I nevertheless find a considerable challenge in Anderson's arguments. Defining Western European feudalism as a "system of parcellized sovereignty and scalar property," Anderson says the "contractual mutuality and positional inequality" of lord and vassal—provoking continual fissions of authority—permitted the consolidation of ethnic and linguistic plurality within the framework of a common religion organized without a superordinate political structure. The warrior's identification of contractual with sovereign relations caused him "to render the pride of rank compatible with the humility of homage." But the dispersal of sovereignty also allowed towns to free

themselves from direct domination by rural ruling classes, and patriciates often formed important centers of opposition to aristocratic ambitions and ideology. Moreover, the commutation of dues into money rents shifted the loci of politico-legal coercion upwards from the village and simultaneously strengthened the freeman's property rights in that the substitution of money for personal service tended to allodialize his ownership. This twofold process of centralization and silent allodialization-providing aristocracy with added security of ownership and greater opportunity for consolidation of larger property holdings-undermined the right of the nobility to political representation and, as a consequence, encouraged the reception of Roman law, a development contributing ultimately to a wholesale civic reappropriation of the classical cultural inheritance. Finally, the royal Renaissance state "created the general juridical conditions for a successful passage to the capitalist mode of production . . . in both town and country" by enhancing the social status and economic power of the nobility within a legal system altered so as to exclude them from effective exercise of rights associated with the traditional practices of auxilium et consilium.

We may disagree with Anderson's general views, but the value of his treatise lies in the wealth of insights that proceed from the breadth and depth of his comparative analysis. Anderson presents for the first time a systematic discussion of major problems in Marxist interpretation at a level somewhere between the realm of pure theory and the restrictive bounds of monographic research. There is no space here to review his treatment of Eastern Europe and the Orient. But, here again, he continues to compare one institution after the other with its Western counterparts. The sheer scope of Anderson's study raises the level of argument above the ordinary plane of scholarly literature. No serious historian will ignore this first-class work.

LIONEL ROTHKRUG
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E. JOHN B. ALLEN. Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe. (International Archives of the History of Ideas, Series Minor, 3.) The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1972. Pp. viii, 162.

This brief volume describes the growth of a royal courier service in the well-developed monarchies of Spain, France, and England in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The years covered are from 1559 to 1592, about the time and length of the reign of Queen Elizabeth in England. Embassies were set up in the three countries and were used as lookouts for possible dangers to the country the ambassador served. Regular routes were used by the couriers of the three states. There were, for example, four

routes out of London, two going westward and two to the nearby Continent.

The English-born author has gleaned numerous accounts of the travels of couriers from the state papers of Queen Elizabeth, which give a vivid idea of the work and dangers faced by the couriers. The couriers were a part of the household of the ambassador abroad and of the ruler and his important ministers at home. The book contains an appendix that lists some three hundred couriers by name, which seems hardly worthwhile as they were servants after all. The author believes that this royal service was conducted with integrity, because of the courier's double bond of loyalty to the state and to the master he served.

The volume concerns the working of the courier service and has little on the international problems of diplomacy. This service has no connection with the development during the same half century of a widespread network of postal services for the general population. This volume, published in The Hague, is listed, curiously, as the third volume of a series entitled International Archives of the History of Ideas.

HOWARD ROBINSON Oberlin, Ohio

PRESTON KING. The Ideology of Order: A Comparative Analysis of Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. 352. \$20.00.

This latest work of Preston King is cast in the same mold as his earlier Fear of Power: An Analysis of Anti-Statism in Three French Writers (1967), in which he used the ideas of Tocqueville, Proudhon, and Sorel to illuminate the pluralist bias against concentration of political power. In similar fashion, his Ideology of Order examines the thought of two absolutists, Bodin and Hobbes, for the light they may shed on the realities of centralized sovereign power. King's approach to Bodin and Hobbes is therefore novel. Instead of attempting an accurate exposition of their ideas, King states that his concern "is not just with what given historical figures thought, but with the nature and logic of social and political organization in so far as it may be perceived through or contradicted in their thought" (p. 23). In other words, he seeks to understand the nature and functioning of sovereignty by approaching it through the ideas of two outstanding theorists and evaluating their strengths and weaknesses, thereby expanding our knowledge of sovereign political power in all periods. The author's methodology is legitimate, and his effort is potentially rewarding, but in my opinion he fails to achieve his objective.

After very brief sketches of the chaotic civil wars in France and England, which caused both Bodin and Hobbes to seek peace and order through in-

creased absolutism, King analyzes and evaluates their social and political theories. His presentation of their positions properly focuses upon their ideas of sovereignty, and he makes many valid points that are, however, largely traditional despite his claim to the contrary and add little to the understanding of their thought. More important are King's critiques of Bodin and Hobbes. Here his method is merely to apply logic and recent political experience to the ideas of these men who lived and wrote more than three centuries ago. The result, inevitably, is that King finds their thought full of inadequacies and contradictions. A few examples will suffice. After correctly stating Bodin's doctrine that the sovereign was absolute within his sphere but limited by fundamental and higher law, King calls this doctrine inconsistent because no other power in the state could establish the line of demarcation between the two spheres of legal right and enforce the ruler's observation of it. He also accuses Bodin of ascribing illogical and impossible meanings to such qualities of sovereignty as "absolute," "unlimited," and "perpetual." And when Bodin advocates male supremacy and a single head for all families, King simply says that we know better. As for Hobbes, he finds his brand of absolutism indefensible as far as protection of individuals is concerned because it would actually increase the precariousness of their existence. And Hobbes was wrong because his type of absolutism was suited to a king but not a sovereign assembly. Many other instances might be cited. Throughout, King essentially uses Bodin and Hobbes as foils for his own reasoning, which is no better or worse than that of many other students of the science of politics. His conclusions, however, rest merely upon the authority of his logic and observations, both of which are limited. As an intellectual exercise the book may have a certain value, but it tells us little about Bodin, Hobbes, or the constants of politics.

WILLIAM F. CHURCH Brown University

K. G. DAVIES. The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century. (Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion, volume 4.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 366. \$11.00.

Utilizing his own research and that of many other scholars, K. G. Davies has packed into a single volume of 366 pages a remarkable summary and interpretation of European contacts with and expansion into North America during the seventeenth century. Unlike many students of the subject, Davies does not concentrate upon the region that became the thirteen British colonies but spreads his net wide to take in all of the Caribbean islands, Canada, and the West Coast of Africa—

source of slave labor for the American colonies. His treatment of Spanish influences in North America is somewhat less inclusive, but he emphasizes the vulnerability of the Spanish Empire in America during the seventeenth century, the impact of Spanish possessions overseas on Western Europe—especially the Mediterranean countries—and the eventual explicit recognition by Spain in 1670 of England's "right to have possessions in America" (p. 290).

For the reader who has not the time to keep up with the voluminous literature on the slave trade, Davies's observations and conclusions, based in part on his own studies, especially his The Royal African Company (1957), are particularly useful. He takes a somewhat skeptical view of a current doctrine that Spanish and Portuguese slavery in the New World was less oppressive than English and French slavery. Though Madrid and Lisbon issued humanitarian edicts, their enforcement overseas was another matter. Davies stresses a fact often overlooked by facile writers on the supposed white exploitation of Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: it was a graveyard for white men, and their forts and factories, few in number, had a precarious existence on the coast. The commerce in slaves was already old before the Portuguese first landed in Africa; blacks had been selling blacks from time immemorial to one another and even across the Sahara. The legend that internal African wars were incited by whites for the purpose of capturing slaves thus in Davies's opinion is myth. In short, Davies provides an objective and scholarly interpretation of this vexed topic, which, he observes, has been muddled by "speculation bedeviled by two centuries of breast-beating on the part of humanitarians as well as, more recently, the assertions of nationals" (p. 258).

Chapters on the first probing of North America by Europeans, the planting of colonies, the quality of the settlers, the products of land and sea, the governments established, the impacts on the native peoples, and the repercussions in Europe supply an excellent synthesis of the latest scholarship on these subjects. Specialists, of course, may complain that the author has slighted some important topic or given an interpretation with which they do not agree, but few recent books provide so fair and so useful an interpretation of this important century. Davies also supplies careful documentation and a valuable bibliographical essay. Academic and nonspecialist readers alike can thank the author for a work that is both scholarly and readable.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT
National Geographic Society

LOUIS T. MILIC, editor. The Modernity of the Eighteenth Century. (Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture:

Proceedings of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, volume 1). Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1971. Pp. xxi, 243. \$6.95.

Too often papers presented at scholarly conferences pass into obscurity as members of the profession scatter at the time of adjournment. At the first meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in 1970, the wise decision was made to record and publish not only the most important of the papers but also many of the challenging comments that followed during the discussion periods. The present volume is the product of that decision.

The essays are all original pieces, and some are controversial. The collection is a tribute to interdisciplinary studies; this is particularly gratifying because the society was founded in order to promote this type of inquiry. Only four of the nine essays published here deal explicitly with the stated theme of the conference; the modernity of the eighteenth century. The debate over the modernity of the eighteenth century is at least as old as Carl Becker's now discredited indictment of the philosophes as warmed-over medievalists, but the debate, as this volume demonstrates, is not yet settled to the satisfaction of specialists.

In the least-well substantiated of the essays concerning the modernity question, Robert E. Schofield concludes that the scientific method was decidedly not modern at all in the eighteenth century, but his exploration of the problem is more an expression of disappointment than an openminded investigation. Stuart Hampshire, on the other hand, is lucid and cogent in arguing that philosophy in the eighteenth century was modern because it dealt with the problem of the reconciliation between naturalness and urbanity. Ronald Paulson with typical brilliance addresses the question of what it means to be modern in writing a novel. Lester G. Crocker once more reveals his fascination with the irrational; he believes it to be characteristic of Western culture since the eighteenth century. My objection to this symposium on modernity is endemic to this means of asking questions-no criteria as to what modernity means are agreed upon by the participants; as a result, the best we can get is some insight into the problem (and we do), but no real consensus or lack of it is possible.

The most impressive of these essays are peripheral to the central theme. J. F. Bosher's delineation of Alfred Cobban's understanding of the relation between Enlightenment thought and the French Revolution—another inevitable question in eighteenth-century studies—is authoritative and reveals Bosher's intimate knowledge of both

Cobban's work and life. Aram Vartanian is as controversial and arresting as ever in his paper, "Intertextures of Science and Humanism in the French Enlightenment." And Irvin Erenpreis shows us that the problem of poverty was not a matter of great concern to the great Augustan writers.

We should welcome this effort for what it is without expecting that the cluster of papers, which form the proceedings of a conference, have more coherence as a volume in print than they had as they were actually read. We shall know always what major critics believed concerning some issues in eighteenth-century studies at the opening of this decade. The next generation of scholars should find this helpful indeed.

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CHARLES ROSEN. The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven. New York: Viking Press. 1971. Pp. 467. \$12.50.

It did not occur to the publisher to send a copy of The Classical Style to the AHR: both author and publisher must have seen its scholarly interest as limited to musicological circles, not as extending to historians in general. The book was widely and favorably reviewed and received a National Book Award; its reputation—and that of its author, who is both a scholar and a superb concert artistmade me turn to it, as a music lover and in connection with some writing I was doing in the year after its publication. But, as editor of the AHR at a time when the ultimate administrative and political authority over the journal was still favorable to the notion that its services could be expanded, I saw Rosen's book as a cardinal instance of the kind of coverage in the history of the arts that has (either from editorial caution or publishers' whims) characterized the AHR only sporadically and that should be broadened. The long delay in publishing this review—for which I apologize—is due, first, to my failure as editor to find an available reviewer who was technically equipped and who had the requisite musical and historical sensibility, and, second, to my hesitancy to review it myself. But I have continued to think that the book is of first importance to historians as historians though surely reading it will make it impossible for them as listeners ever again to hear the music of the three composers without the benefits of its insights-and so, despite my inability to cope with the formidable technical analysis on its own level, I have tried to say where that importance lies.

At the simplest level-leaving aside the not en-

tirely flippant notion that, if even a handful of musicological studies are as rewarding as this one, score-reading might be as useful a talent as the statistical techniques we are now all urged to acquire—the most valuable task Rosen performs for historians who must deal in their teaching or writing with general intellectual history is to demonstrate that Beethoven belongs firmly in the classical school, that he is not a Romantic or proto-Romantic composer, and that, despite his towering prestige, what was creative in the Romantic generation was worked out in reaction against, not as a development from, Beethoven's accomplishment.

Second, Rosen forces us to think in terms of a classical style, of a sonata style, rather than of form: a style that emerged swiftly from the creative experimentation of the third quarter of the eighteenth century and reached almost instant perfection at the hands of Haydn. After Beethoven there was no place for the style to go-though go it did, into a codification of form, of rules of composition that looked back to "classical" norms which were in fact only frequent and in no way obligatory characteristics of that style. A further and in some ways ultimate (note the increasing chromaticism and the gradual de-emphasis of the cadence in nineteenth-century composition) development of the tonal commitment of Western music, and also a stage in the long destruction of the linear aspect of music, the classical style, as Rosen sees it, is a musical language, or grammar, based on the manipulation in agreed (and frequently conventional) ways of short, articulated, periodic phrases, in contrast to the "encompassing and sweeping continuity" of the Baroque, with both parts and whole characterized by "the symmetrical resolution of opposing forces"—a language that lent itself to dramatic and comic expression with a naturalness and conviction unavailable to earlier generations and that Rosen shows informing the entire spectrum of compositional forms from serious and comic opera, to concertos and orchestral works, to chamber music and religious music. The ear must be educated, he argues (p. 296), to the stylistic language, not to superficial formalities: "Such rules as the classical style genuinely developedthe need for resolution, the sense of proportion and of a closed and framed pattern—are never broken at all. They are its means of communication, and it could say astonishing things without violating its own grammar. As for the conventional patterns that so many composers used unthinkingly, they were not the rules of grammar but clichés: they were turned into rules when the musical language changed, and the pressures and the forces that had produced the classical style (along with its idioms and formulas) were exhausted and died." To attempt a summary of a complex and subtle analysis is, particularly in an amateur's hands, risky; but what can be said is that the opening chapters and much of the argument elsewhere in the book profoundly repay close study by general intellectual historians because they force attention to definition and encourage, indeed enforce, consideration of similar stylistic developments in the other arts.

Finally, and perhaps most important, I must note what strikes me as the message of this book for the methods of intellectual history. We have heard a lot lately about the social history of ideas, and Rosen tells us much about the effect on classical composing of the technological limitations of instruments, the technical shortcomings of performers, the scarcity of resources, the changing nature of audiences, the spread of public performances, and the parallel rise of the skilled amateur. But in the end this book is about musical ideas and ways of handling them, about obligations, departures, and legacies. Its richness of insight and its interpretive importance derive from the author's technical capacity to cope with, and his willingness to confine himself to, the works themselves, from an authoritative analysis of the resolution of problems and the filiation of ideas on their own terms. The Classical Style is a caution against glib dismissal of the close and careful methods of traditional history of ideas—realized later perhaps in music history than in other fields-and it is also a triumph of good sense and imagination. What could be more encouraging than to know that Rosen is at work now on the Romantic style?

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MICHELE FATICA, editor. Le relazioni diplomatiche fra lo Stato pontificio e la Francia. Volume 1 (4 gennaio 1848–18 febbraio 1849), volume 2 (19 febbraio 1849–15 aprile 1850). (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi Potenze europee e gli Stati italiani, 1814–1860. Third Series: 1848–1860. Part 1, Documenti italiani.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1971; 1972. Pp. xiv, 554; xiii, 614. L. 5,500 each.

Now added to the five previously published collections of the diplomatic documents of Pius IX's pontificate are these two excellent volumes by Michele Fatica on Franco-Vatican relations in the very critical period of 1848 to 1850. The documents are drawn mainly from the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and from four of its principal series: Segretaria di Stato, Nunziatura di Parigi, Archivio di Pio IX (Francia, particolari), and Epistolae ad Principes. From these sources a total of 591 signifi-

cant documents have been selected to fill the 1142 pages of this two-volume subseries. Most of the contents are correspondence of the cardinals secretaries of state, Giovanni Soglia Ceroni and Giacomo Antonelli, with their Paris nuncio, Raffaele Fornari; but a half dozen of the documents are letters between Pius IX and the French heads of state, Louis-Eugène Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. The importance of these documents can be seen by the topics they cover: the French February revolution, the Italian revolutions and reforms of 1848 and 1849, the French June insurrection of 1848, the French legislative and presidential elections of 1848, the Austro-Italian wars, the overthrow of the papal government in Rome, the papal'flight to Gaeta, the French intervention and occupation in Rome, Franco-Austrian rivalry. British attitudes as relayed through the Paris nuncio, French ecclesiastical affairs, French demands for papal reforms, the famous letter to Colonel Edgard Ney, the pope's opposition to reforms and insistence on absolutism, the Rothschild loan, the proposed neutralization of the Papal States, and finally, the return of Pius IX to Rome in 1850. Of course this voluminous material also contains a great deal for biographical studies of such important men as Pius IX, Antonelli, Cavaignac, Louis Napoleon, Lamartine, Bastide, Tocqueville, La Hitte, Archbishop Affre of Paris. Drouyn de Lhuys, Falloux, Oudinot, de Lesseps, Hübner, Molé, and James Rothschild.

The previous high standards of selection, critical editing, and presentation in all the series of the Fonti per la Storia d'Italia are observed again in this collection. All documents, mostly in Italian, are presented in full and with exactitude. Each document carries its precise archival reference, and each volume has about forty pages of documentary listings and summaries in the front and twenty pages of index of persons in the back. In spite of the comprehensiveness of this work, one might have wished also for the inclusion, from these archives, of the famous letter to Colonel Ney and Pius IX's liberalization statute of March 17, 1848, and proclamation to the people of Rome of July 17, 1849. These omissions notwithstanding, we have here a very creditable addition to the Fonti.

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PAUL W. SCHROEDER. Austria, Great Britain, and the Crimean War: The Destruction of the European Concert. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1972. Pp. xx, 544. \$19.50.

This is an impressive but curiously uneven book. It is an extremely detailed, meticulous, sometimes

tedious narrative of Crimean War diplomacy bound between general reflections that are more speculative, certainly more arguable, and not particularly well integrated or even always consistent with the main body of the work. The aim of Professor Schroeder's narrative is frankly revisionist, but in a conservative direction. His goal is to rehabilitate Austrian policy and its director, Count Buolrepresentative of a conservative, defensive, European-oriented attempt first to prevent the war and then to end it with a speedy and stable settlement-all within the framework of the European concert, which Buol was devoted to preserving. On the opposite side stood British policy makers. Aberdeen was weak and pacific. Clarendon was alternately vacillating and hysterical. But Palmerston and the other "hawks," steadily and myopically self-centered and aggressive, were bent on altogether isolating and humiliating Russia, destroying her influence and stripping her of territory, and on joining with France to break up the Holy Alliance with a liberal British-led bloc. All this was at the expense of not only Russia but also Austria, a putative ally and an "odious antithesis to Whig ideals" (p. 416). Diplomatic and military victory was pursued at any cost, even prolonging an unintended, unnecessary, and bungled war.

Behind all this were motives either ignoble or misguided: to enhance the government's prestige at home and abroad, to defend British military honor, and to preserve the always precarious cabinet by playing to the worst instincts of a bellicose public opinion. So far as there were ideological purposes, they were to extend the (according to Schroeder) facile and superficial Whig-Liberal ideology of Victorian constitutionalism to areas like Turkey, the Balkans, Germany, and Italy, where it was ill-suited, destabilizing, and positively dangerous. For such ends the British resorted to "cant and distortions," continual escalation of war aims that could not be met, and peace terms not meant to be accepted, "arguments so shoddy and tactics so dishonest" as to amount to "the plain man's definition of treachery" (pp. 273, 294, 234).

If this thesis, which is not altogether new, is at times overstated, Professor Schroeder has nonetheless marshaled an imposing body of evidence from a very impressive array of archival sources. There lies the problem; at least within the limits of British, French, and Austrian diplomatic aims and strategy we are told perhaps even more than we care to know, in excessive and wearisome detail. The book conveys the impression of an author overburdened with the weight of his own massive research. But the book has more important conceptual problems. Its focus is narrow, traditional diplomatic history; and it would have been nar-

rower still if the author had followed his own unfortunate canons in the preface. In defending his traditional craft against contemporary efforts to broaden it (for example, into decision-making studies or psychohistory), he digs in his heels in quite the wrong place, insisting that "the main goal of diplomatic history ought to be accounting not for the determinants of policy, but for the results." "The dynamics of international relations operate to a considerable degree autonomously, independent of decisions and their determinants. It is less important to know why statesmen took certain actions than to know what reactions and results those actions produced in the international arena" (pp. xvi, xiv). Surely the responsibility of the diplomatic historian cannot stop here. Too much of what we want to know, in the diplomatic present as in the past, involves why and how a decision was made, which surely affects its substance. Results simply cannot be understood in isolation from their determinants. Indeed, when Schroeder leaves off theorizing and proceeds to his narrative, he examines at length the motives, attitudes, and ideologies of his major characters. His preface notwithstanding, he traces British recklessness to "the result of particular circumstances and personalities, especially Palmerston's," who made "the crucial difference in British policy" (pp. 419, 410), while "the policy Austria followed was distinctively Buol's" (p. 392). These are statesmen and governments making choices that matter, not abstract dynamics operating autonomously.

In the last chapter the preceding narrative themes are transformed into a theoretical analysis of the European state system in the nineteenth century. In Schroeder's sympathetic view, the maintenance of peace after 1815 rested not so much on "a crude, mechanical balance of power approach" (p. 420), as on three factors: the conservative, status quo, antirevolutionary spirit of the great powers; the moral restraint of the concert of Europe; and the loose defensive structure of Germany and Italy-all of these centering on Austria. It is perhaps no accident that Schroeder's conservative, empirical stance, which roundly condemns the ideological illusions and levity of doctrinaire Whig-Liberalism, is strongly reminiscent of Henry Kissinger's earlier treatment of Metternich (nor is this necessarily a criticism).

The author's concluding reflections on the necessities of life in an international system, like his narrative, contain much good sense. Nonetheless, they remain too Austro-centric, too uncritical of the price that Austro-conservatism exacted, and again too narrow in focus, tending to pass over the enormous movements in European life that do not fit between these two Austro-British political and ideological poles—as when he refers, in a single

passing phrase, to "the transformation the industrial revolution was creating in Prussia and Germany" (p. 390). No doubt the Crimean War changed a great many things—the relationships among the great powers not least—and opened the way to the truly momentous events of the following fifteen years. Still, to declare flatly that it destroyed "any viable European state system" (p. 423) and the concert of Europe along with it, mainly under the impetus of the British Whigs, is to give a wretched little war and a confused party of jingo reformers more credit than they deserve.

EDWARD B. SEGEL Reed College

GEORGES HAUPT. Socialism and the Great War: The Collapse of the Second International. New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. vi, 270. \$17.00.

In this book Georges Haupt has given us the benefit of his research in much unpublished material, supplemented by the use of a wealth of secondary sources, and has thus greatly enriched our knowledge of details in the futile attempt of the International to prevent the outbreak of World War I. Among the materials he has brought to light are documents relating to the preparations for the International Socialist Congress, scheduled to be held in Vienna in 1914 but canceled because of the outbreak of hostilities, and the minutes of the last meeting of the International Socialist Bureau, held immediately before the beginning of the war.

The book is cautious in its attempts at analysis. For instance, in discussing the various hypotheses about the reasons why in August 1914 the German Social Democratic party adopted the policy of its right wing, Haupt refuses to accept the task "to examine these apparently contradictory interpretations" (p. 213). This reticence is commendable because of the ambiguity of much of the material; but such analysis as the book does contain is not always convincing. One of Haupt's major themes is the struggle, in the last fifteen years before the war, between the German and the French socialists over the means that should be employed by the International for the enforcement of peace. The French—under the leadership of not only Vaillant but also Jaurès-pressed for a commitment to the general strike as an antiwar weapon, and the Germans consistently opposed it. But Jaurès, the author of L'Armée nouvelle, was neither an antipatriot nor a radical antimilitarist. Why did he, though essentially a reformist, take the more radical side in this matter? It can only be because by temperament he was an activist whose judgment about the probability of success in strong action was often blurred by his inability to countenance passivity. Most of the Germans saw clearly that any sabotage of the war effort at the beginning of hostilities would be futile and suicidal for the socialist party; the strength of nationalism had been demonstrated in the Reichtag elections of 1907. In Haupt's presentation, the attitude of Jaurès and his followers seems more of an expression of fundamental radicalism than it really was, and the resistance of the Germans seems caused by deep-rooted hesitations, whereas in fact it was motivated primarily by tactical considerations. Thus the significance of the conflict is overrated.

Through a wealth of evidence Haupt shows the changes in the evaluation of the international situation made by the socialist leadership: at times the leaders became very fearful that war would break out immediately, but they soon fell back into a mood of optimism, assuming that the big powers wanted to avoid war in their own interest. This optimism prevailed especially in 1914, and its reasons are not easy to explain. Haupt mentions both Rudolf Hilferding's theory of the supercartel that would distribute the spoils of imperialism among the great powers without resort to war and Karl Kautsky's related suggestion of the possibility of "ultraimperialism," joint exploitation of the colonial world by the imperialist states. The book shows, as hardly anyone has done before, that these ideas had penetrated into the minds of many socialist leaders (see especially Jaurès's speech of December 1911, mentioned by Haupt on page 152, and Willem Vliegen's draft of a report to the Vienna Congress on page 160). But why was this line of thought so widely accepted just in the years before the holocaust? To be sure, the socialists were on solid ground when they argued that the capitalist governments had excellent reasons to avoid war, but why did they fail to see that both the mechanism of alliances and each government's fear of having to face an enemy coalition alone would paralyze the forces working against war in high circles?

Haupt brings up much material to answer this question, but he does not himself formulate a clear answer; and it may indeed be impossible at this late date to explore sufficiently the complex psychological situation among the socialists on the eve of the great catastrophe. Only guesses are possible: was the optimistic mood the result of wishful thinking? and was that wishful thinking produced by the feeling—superficially covered by boasting of the proletarian strength—that in the event of actual hostilities between great powers the socialists would be helpless and that therefore the avoidance of the great clash was utterly desirable not only in the interest of humanity in general but specifically as a matter of socialist self-preservation?

Haupt also discusses, but does not conclusively answer, the famous question of whether the socialist leaders, by supporting the war effort, betrayed the masses, or whether the masses, by turning to nationalism, deserted the leaders. Certainly in August 1914 the masses, with few exceptions, suddenly abandoned the fight against war. The main reason for this turnabout lies in the difference between the situation in the last days of peace and that after war had become a reality. As Jaurès said, "Having watched the storm clouds gather, the people . . . cannot act when they have been struck by lightning" (quoted on page 226). The questions of what defeat would mean for one's own country and what government repression, supported by the patriotic middle classes, would mean for the workers' movement had been removed from the level of theory to the level of stark reality. This change made the earlier positions of the masses as well as the leaders appear entirely futile.

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DIMITRI KITSIKIS. Le rôle des experts à la Conférence de la Paix de 1919: Gestation d'une technocratie en politique internationale. (Cahiers d'histoire de l'Université d'Ottawa, number 4.) Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1972. Pp. x, 227. \$4.50.

SIR JAMES HEADLAM-MORLEY. A Memoir of the Paris Peace Conference, 1919. Edited by AGNES HEADLAM-MORLEY et al. London: Methuen; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1972. Pp. xlii, 230. \$15.50.

In a very real sense these two relatively brief volumes treat generally or specifically the same basic subject. They therefore belong together and may well be considered together. Professor Kitsikis sketches the role of the expert at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, and he has written a perceptive account of the varied uses-or misuses-of experts, with stress on the American and British delegations, which made wide use of historians, geographers, political scientists, and economists. The United States made use, especially, of university professors and other specialists. Among many others, the names of James T. Shotwell, A. C. Coolidge, A. H. Lybyer, W. L. Westermann, Robert J. Kerner, Harold Nicolson, R. W. Seton-Watson, and Arnold J. Toynbee come to mind. Kitsikis states the proper function of the expert, whether at a great international conference or in a foreign ministry, noting that he should be "on tap, not on top." Formulation and development of foreign policy cannot be the sole prerogative of the so-called expert, however indispensable his work may be, since he is not politically responsible. As a recent publication of the Department of State has put the matter, foreign policy cannot be effective "if it reflects only the sporadic and esoteric initiatives of a small group of specialists. It must rest on a broad

national base and reflect a shared community of ideas."

Sir James Headlam-Morley, an expert par excellence, attended the Paris Peace Conference as assistant director of the Political Intelligence Division (PID) of the British Foreign Office, and later became historical adviser in the Foreign Officeinterestingly enough—as David Hunter Miller, legal adviser on the American delegation, became historical adviser in the Department of State. Headlam-Morley played an active and leading role in many of the important and controversial territorial settlements, such as those involving the Saar Valley, Danzig, and the Polish frontiers. He was also primarily responsible for implementing the treaty provisions for the protection of Jews and other minorities in the new states in Eastern, Central, and Southeastern Europe. On the problem of Jewish minorities, Sir James once wrote to his fellow historian, Sir Lewis Bernstein Napier, that "although it was legitimate for the Zionists to seek national independence in Palestine it would be most dangerous for them to claim separate nationality within the states to which they owed citizenship" (p. xxix).

Sir James's daughter Agnes, formerly professor of international relations at Oxford University, has written a lengthy introduction to the volume, which includes extracts from the Headlam-Morley diaries, notes, memorandums, letters, and other items. These illuminate contemporary issues as seen by a member of the British delegation, who was also a well-trained, well-informed, and well-balanced historian. While the selections make for a somewhat disjointed volume, albeit brief, they also amply illustrate the positions adopted and the important role played by Headlam-Morley.

Both volumes fit into a growing library of materials dealing with the role of the specialist at international conferences. They may well be studied along with the works—the diaries and journals—of Shotwell, Nicolson, and others.

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ANGEL VIÑAS. La Alemania nazi y el 18 de julio: Antecedentes de la intervención alemana en la guerra civil española. Madrid: Alianza Editorial. 1974. Pp. 558.

This is a carefully researched study of the relationship between Spain and Nazi Germany in the critical period prior to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Its author made excellent use of his assignment as a commercial attaché in West Germany to mine archival sources there. His painstaking search for elusive details makes his study almost a definitive treatment of the subject.

Viñas points out that the roots of Germany's

relationship with Franco's Spain go back into the 1920s. In that period the future Admiral Canaris played a significant role in initiating contacts between the German and Spanish military establishments. German undercover agents were placed in Spain; German aviation firms were active there; and a German-type submarine was built in Spain only to be sold to Turkey. In 1928 Franco visited several German military installations. But the coming of the Spanish republic brought a decline of Spanish-German relationships. The advent of Hitler brought no immediate renaissance. Spain was not a significant facet of Hitler's plans. Inertia on both sides stymied efforts for military and police cooperation. Although Spanish exportation of iron to Germany increased, the change was small in comparison to France's quadrupling of her iron exports to Nazi Germany, and Spanish ore was less valuable than Swedish. Spanish pyrites were more significant, but the critical stage of German concern for these was reached just as the Civil War began.

Viñas not only discredits the common legend of German intervention in Spain for the sake of raw materials but also underscores the minimal extent of German investments and the minuscule size of the Nazi party in Spain. The decision for intervention was a personal one on the part of Hitler. Admiral Canaris, active in earlier and later periods of German-Spanish military cooperation, was not involved in the decisive conferences. Franco's emissaries were members of a tiny group of thirtyone Nazis in Spanish Morocco. Their meeting with Hitler was arranged by Rudolf Hess contrary to the judgment of the German foreign office and military leaders. Hitler's most significant motives were strategic. His initial aid to Franco was more than requested, but neither he nor Franco anticipated the long and stubborn conflict that followed.

Viñas's study revises in detail previous accounts of Hitler's intervention in Spain. An English-language edition would be valuable. Meanwhile, Viñas's further work in Spanish-German relations during the remainder of the Civil War will be eagerly awaited.

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BRIAN BOND. France and Belgium 1939–1940. (The Politics and Strategy of the Second World War.) London: Davis-Poynter. 1975. Pp. 206. £3.75.

A balanced assessment of Anglo-French politics and military strategy and the decisive role of Belgian neutrality between 1936 and 1940 has been achieved by this young British historian. The volumes of literature that previously focused on the misconceptions and miscalculations of Paris and

London and on the "limited liability" brand of Belgian foreign policy have never quite pieced together the elements of Western friction, resentment, and disorder that characterized those tragic months and days up to the Dunkirk debacle. Bond, in a short, clear, and precise fashion, has examined the background and conduct of the confused May campaign, illuminating those old enmities and suspicions. He aptly breaks down the elements behind the dilemma of the international status of Belgium. The often misrepresented part that Belgium had in the short series of battles is thoroughly revised, for Bond's verdict is positive on that army, yet negative on the French. Concerning the actions of the king of the Belgians, the author-without considering some major scholarly treatments like those by E. R. Arange—finds his military judgments "honourable and sound," but his political decisions lacking in "wisdom."

The depiction of the nadir of Anglo-French military relations in the nine months before May is one of an alliance "disintegrating beyond repair." Numerous telling examples of lost confidence and insular arrogance in London and faulty accusations and inept leadership in Paris fill this work. This third publication in the series, The Politics and Strategy of the Second World War, makes answers on the key questions about the debilitated Belgian-French-British triangular relationship more possible and convincing, primarily through the use of virtually new private papers of Lord Gort, Sir Roger Keyes, and H. R. Pownall. Those who have argued that military defeat-and the absence of prior joint planning and coordinationwas the central facet in the collapse of the Continent to nazism will find more abundant and detailed evidence here. In sum, a profitable piece of historical research, inquiry, and reflection for all to read.

PIERRE-HENRI LAURENT Tufts University

HENRI MICHEL. The Shadow War: European Resistance 1939–1945. Translated from the French by RICHARD BARRY. New York: Harper and Row. 1972. Pp. 416. \$8.50.

MILTON DANK. The French against the French: Collaboration and Resistance. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1974. Pp. 365. \$12.50.

The absence of any good general survey in English of the European resistance to German occupation during World War II has been astonishing. That lack offers indirect confirmation of Henri Michel's reproach in *The Shadow War* that the Anglo-Saxon powers first underestimated and then distrusted resistance movements on the Continent. It is probably no accident that global assessments of the

resistance experience have been something of a Gaullist and Communist preserve.

Even in those quarters, general surveys have been a rarity. Despite the flood of particular works (Michel's Bibliographie critique de la résistance [1964] examines some twelve hundred titles for France alone), scholarly synthesis in any language was limited until now to Michel's brief earlier Les Mouvements clandestins en Europe, 1938-45 (1961), Heinz Kühnrich's strictly party-line Der Partisanenkrieg in Europa, 1939-45 (1968), and the collective Soviet-East German Die Wölker in Widerstandskampf (1961).

The subject has more pitfalls than most, after all. The scholarly history of clandestine activities is almost a contradiction in terms. Even at their most authentic and most moving, the survivors' adventure tales inevitably distort an activity that consisted more of countless small tasks than of spectacular exploits. The necessity to work without knowing the assignments or even the names of one's fellows produced rival claims to the same deed. And the primacy of nationalist motives and the bewildering range of local experience tend to break the subject down by countries, as in the now-classic conference reports, European Resistance Movements, 1939-45 (1960, 1963).

This welcome translation of *The Shadow War* now offers English readers a judicious, relatively dispassionate, thoroughly informed, and genuinely comparative examination of the motives, components, and achievements of the resistance throughout Europe. Though written for a French audience—Michel has presided since 1954 over the semiofficial French Comité d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale and since 1970 over the International Committee for the History of the Second World War—the book takes a global perspective without excessive weight given to French examples.

Michel has organized his work topically. Unanecdotal almost to a fault, he takes the view that such mundane tasks as supply and false papers—on which there are fascinating details—were more central than daring acts. He has no illusions about the hesitant beginnings of resistance and accepts the prevailing non-Communist view of the official neutrality of the party until June 1941. Finding class and ideology somewhat inconclusive as explanations for joining the resistance, he suggests that most participants were already outsiders of one sort or another.

The crucial issues are the military impact and the postwar influence of the resistance. Michel argues that the European resistance had operational military effect only in cooperation with regular armies. Intelligence made a greater contribution, though even the most brilliant intelligence achievement, the capture of an intact V-1 rocket by the Polish underground, did not spare London the buzz bombs. Everything depended on the Allies. Michel judges them harshly for their failure to use resistance potential more fully. He finds the Americans, in particular, too ignorant of Europe and too incoherent in their postwar planning to do more than waste the opportunities offered them. By the same token, whether or not resistance led to a change of regime upon liberation depended mostly upon Allied policies in Eastern and Western Europe. In the end the most important contribution was a moral and political legacy to postwar Europe. Even those who do not agree on every point will find this work the standard general survey.

Milton Dank, by contrast, has almost nothing to offer a scholarly reader. He is altogether absorbed by anecdote, and while he writes with good effect and with relatively few errors of fact, he shows little interest in general explanation. To take only one concrete example, he shows that in 1944 France underwent "a civil war . . . in numbers one of the most terrible in its history" by describing several of the more celebrated killings. He makes no attempt to assess the extent of disorder at the liberation, even though Peter Novick has already brought the controversy over the number killed under control in his *The Resistance vs. Vichy* (1968).

ROBERT O. PAXTON Columbia University

MARGARET SPUFFORD. Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. xxiii, 374. \$23.50.

This study depicts a section of rural England experiencing a succession of cultural and economic crises during the crucial centuries of the Reformation and Civil War. The book is the product of a decade of local research in Cambridgeshire records. Scraps of information from a large range of documentary sources are skillfully pieced together to illuminate the agrarian, educational, and religious history of three selected communities. Spufford has packed a mass of detail into her study, making most of it clearly accessible through graphs, maps, and tables. The book has a welcome freshness. One feels that it is much more the product of time spent in the archives than in the library.

Even within the small compass of one English county there was considerable diversity of occupation, farming activity, social structure, educational opportunity, and religion. Our overall generalizations about rural England or even seventeenth-century East Anglia need qualification or amendment in the light of local studies like this.

One of the crucial elements in this diversity was the structure of the land itself. The extraordinary variegation of the English landscape—with chalk outcropping a few miles from clay and fenland a little further on-produced a concomitant variety and patchwork of soil types, each requiring a particular type of husbandry. Different farming practices-for example, having more or fewer workers on larger or smaller farms generating greater or lesser wealth—were responsible for certain variations in social organization. This may explain why some districts were better suited to weather the economic strains of the seventeenth century than others. The fenland, for example, was able to support a class of small landowners long after they had been squeezed out in the nearby chalk and clay uplands.

Of course, Spufford is too subtle a historian to fall prey to simple geological determinism. Her insights into the similarity and differences in the lives of her three chosen villages are fully supported by the evidence; and when she has doubts she says so. The major criticism of the book is its apparent lack of theoretical direction. A series of important research problems are tackled with grace and vigor, but we are given little guidance on how to harness this material for our other concerns in the period. Mrs. Spufford has described her method as "serendipity," a state not to be despised. She draws intelligently on the work of English demographic and social historians and has now earned a position of esteem among them.

DAVID CRESSY Pitzer College

DAVID G. HEY. An English Rural Community: Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts. Leicester: Leicester University Press; distrib. by Humanities-Hillary House, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1974. Pp. 260. \$17.50.

A brilliant teacher I know tells students that the key to writing excellent history is to ask important questions. He enjoys warning them that not all questions are equally important, particularly relishing the tale of the unfortunate student who began a term paper with the question: "Queen Elizabeth was born in 1533; what happened next?" Hey's book, though a fine example of historical craftsmanship, suffers because it lacks an important question.

From a wide variety of sources, Hey re-creates the geographic and economic base of Myddle parish and speculates intelligently about its social and cultural atmosphere. He handles the sources meticulously. In analyzing patterns of land transfer and population he weighs all available evidence to arrive at impeccable conclusions. His distinctions between various types of freeholders and renters are models of how sophisticated historians treat class and status. The use of inventories demonstrates how much information skilled professionals can extract from seemingly unrewarding sources. Anyone who wishes to write local history could learn much of the craft from Hey's lucid and honest account.

There is, however, a tone of antiquarianism. Often, reading the endlessly detailed histories of families or parcels of land, one asks why we need to know all this. Even if Hey needed these details to make his generalizations, he should have placed them in appendixes, summing up their significance in a few paragraphs.

Hey grants some nods to sociology, but had he considered the other social sciences, particularly anthropology, he might have developed a stronger sense of why his study mattered. The fascination of seventeenth-century English rural life is that it is a society on some levels almost as sophisticated as ours and on others as traditional as the most undeveloped economies. Exploring the tensions between those levels, as, for example, Keith Thomas did in *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971) yields vital insights about traditionalism and modernity. But why else is a small parish in seventeenth-century England of interest today? Hey should have considered this problem more carefully before embarking upon his research.

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ELLIOT ROSE. Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans under Elizabeth I and James I. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1975. Pp. viii, 266. \$21.00.

Elliot Rose has addressed himself to one of the most intricate and difficult problems in the Elizabethan-early Stuart milieu—"the moral issue of principled civil disobedience" (p. 2). Rose recognizes that religious questions were the central concern of the age and were not mere masks for political and economic ambition; therefore, civil disobedience would be found among religious dissidents to the Anglican Church.

In a sound, carefully reasoned, solid examination of both Catholic and Puritan elements, Rose purposefully ignores martyrs and prophets to focus his attention upon "those members of either group who were law abiding by inclination and who hoped to stay out of trouble so far as their principles would let them" (p. 1). This problem of conscientious objection, then as now, provided a multitude of possibilities between full compliance and full defiance, and Rose has attempted valiantly to ferret out this myriad array, to dissect, analyze, delineate, and suggest by inference posi-

tions and answers. The author is honest in admitting that the questions he asks are nearly impossible to answer, except "impressionistically" (pp. 4, 5, 55). He admits that objective, statistical evidence can never have existed—for example, in relation to the poor recusant. Even where a statistical approach is feasible, Rose rejects this as a method of no interest to him. He has focused, rather, upon selective use of tracts and casuistic writings of the period for their teachings on resistance and evasion of the law. This is the real value of his work, as well as its major drawback, for a few sources must suffice as a sampling of the great pamphlet literature that emanated from this moral question in the early seventeenth century. However, Rose has brought clarity, logic, careful research; scholarly acumen, and a deeply thoughtful critical attitude to his study of the documents on moral theology, such as William Perkins's Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience (1608) (pp. 185-94). It is a pioneer effort and one that is immensely valuable in what it does achieve. But one might wish that Rose had attempted less and elucidated with more specific materials and examples actual provable effects on the groups being examined, either the recusant Catholics or Puritans. In his excellent chapter on comparisons and conclusions he admits that there are few similarities in approach and purpose between the two groups; therefore, their coupled examination in this monograph seems strained, somewhat confusing, and not as helpful as a more thorough concentration on one group would have been.

Professor Rose indicates a solid familiarity with the primary and secondary materials that substantiate his work, although he is admittedly at his best in materials and bibliography dealing with the recusant and Church papists. While the overall organization and method are satisfactory, the rather bewildering minutiae of internal problems and logic do not produce easy answers or provide bedtime reading—but then neither does the whole question of cases of conscience. This is a work that requires Rose, trained in the school of Sir John Neale, Elton, and Hurstfield, to be at once historian, moral theologian, and lawyer. He has succeeded admirably in handling this three-hatted role with caution, judiciousness, and humility. This is a stimulating, important addition to recusant-Puritan historiography, but it is not a work for a novice in the field.

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F. M. L. THOMPSON. Hampstead: Building a Borough, 1650-1964. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974. Pp. xi, 459. \$25.00.

F. M. L. Thompson explains how Hampstead developed as a middle-class residential district, with a detailed analysis of its land tenures and the housing market in metropolitan London during the nineteenth century. Fortunately for both Hampstead and its historian, a few large estates dominated landownership, notably those of the dean and chapter of Westminster, Eton College, and the Maryon Wilson family. This discouraged piecemeal, premature building and encouraged the preservation of records.

Thompson challenges the traditional story that Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson had planned to exploit his powers as lord of the manor to cover Hampstead Heath with houses. The local gentry who led the fight against him deliberately confused the legal status of the ancient common with that of the adjoining undeveloped land that added beauty to it. In 1871 the Metropolitan Board of Works purchased the manorial rights. More important, in 1889 it bought the adjacent freehold estates of the Maryon Wilson family and Lord Mansfield.

Thompson has written a model monograph in urban economic history. His book is concerned with landowners, estate agents, and builders and with topography, estate boundaries, and finance. He shows an eye for the pungent quotation and the revealing statistic. For instance, in 1901 Hampstead was "the best-servanted borough in London" but, true to its middle-class status, had few butlers. Among his cautious generalizations he establishes that the market for middle-class housing suffered from chronic surplus. Expensive housing profited builders but offered landowners financial advantage only when the characteristic ninetynine-year leases expired. Thompson minimizes the importance of the railroad in encouraging suburban building. In the largely routine chapter that summarizes the public life of Hampstead, he credits the Anglican churches for what community feeling existed. He allots twentieth-century Hampstead only a few pages.

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JEANNETTE BLACK, editor. The Blathwayt Atlas. Volume 1, The Maps; volume 2, Commentary. Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press. 1970; 1975. 48 facsimiles; pp. xx, 244. \$500.00; \$25.00.

The Blathwayt atlas consists of thirteen manuscript and thirty-five printed maps, mostly of Britain's colonial possessions in America, dating from about 1651 to 1683. They were in use in the office of the Lords of Trade and Plantation, the committee of the Privy Council charged by Charles II with the duty of advising him on colonial affairs. The atlas survived in the library of the sometime secretary of the committee, William Blathwayt, at Dyr-

ham Park in Gloucestershire. The volume was acquired by the John Carter Brown Library in 1911. The story of Blathwayt, who entered on his administrative duties in 1675 under Sir Robert Southwell, clerk of the Privy Council, has been told by Gertrude Jacobsen, in her William Blathwayt: A Late Seventeenth Century English Administrator (1932). Blathwayt was a nephew of Thomas Povey, a powerful if shadowy figure in colonial affairs, whose incompetence and maladministration outraged Samuel Pepys and Governor William Berkeley of Virginia alike. The "List of Maps, as they ly bound in this Book," is written in the hand of John Povey, Blathwayt's cousin and clerk. Because the Blathwayt atlas "is apparently the only part of the map collection used by the Lords of Trade that has remained substantially intact as a unit," it was decided to reprint the entire atlas rather than merely a selection of the more important maps. The scholar will welcome this decision, though it has meant that the price of the volume soars far beyond the reach of most individual scholars.

The quality of the reproductions—all full size and many in color-reflect the high standards of the Meriden Gravure Company under its president, Harold Hugo. Of great bibliographical interest is the fact that the atlas may well be the last example of collotype printing in the United States, since that form of reproduction, which many believe provides better quality reproduction than other methods, is gradually giving way to other techniques. The only man at Meriden Gravure expert in the process retired as the book was in production. The manuscript maps, handsomely reproduced by multicolor lithography in all their vibrant colors, will be of greatest interest to students, but the engraved maps possess special interest also.

Volume 2, the Commentary, by Jeannette D. Black, curator of maps at the John Carter Brown Library, is a model of cartographic analysis. Black's contribution is primarily her gloss on the origin and state of the individual maps. Her major contribution has been the identification of what she has called the "Thames School," a group of map makers living in the Thames area near the Tower of London and the hamlets to the east of it, whose names or style are evident in most of the manuscript maps contained in Blathwayt's atlas. Black has approached her task with diffidence and even doubt. Initially she decided that research on the individual maps should be limited to published sources, and she still modestly asserts that the commentaries are presented "as points of departure for further study" (2: xvi). But her commentary is laced with references to the manuscript sources, and I doubt very much whether others will push far beyond the limits she has set. Black's indebtedness to the late R. A. Skelton and

to the former director of the John Carter Brown Library, Lawrence C. Wroth, is frequently acknowledged, but the work stands firmly on her own scholarship.

The maps of the Blathwayt atlas do not throw startling light on colonial administration, or maladministration, but they do show us, better than we have ever known before, the geographical understanding held by the administrators of the colonies in this crucial period of English life. Black in a short introduction provides evidence of how and when many of the maps were acquired and used. Sometimes Blathwayt bought printed maps in Europe for inclusion in the atlas used by the committee. Sometimes manuscript maps were commissioned by the committee. The plantations were assuming, as Sir William Berkeley then, and Benjamin Franklin later, warned, a new dimension of importance. English administrators sought to keep abreast of their importance and location, but neither the maps, nor the impressive customs revenues, nor the urgent pleas of colonial governors could elevate colonial affairs in the minds of the king's advisers to a position equal in importance with domestic affairs. The Blathwayt atlas is a reminder of this failure in English administration, and it is an important reminder for scholars of the period to absorb.

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FRANK E. MANUEL. The Religion of Isaac Newton. (The Fremantle Lectures 1973.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. vi, 141. \$11.25.

The case of Isaac Newton ought to be a favorite in the popular "nothing in history is as it seems" sweepstakes. For starters, the standard general account—familiar ever since Voltaire, who probably started it-presents the great scientist as a pioneer of a new intellectual era, who destroyed ancient error by bold original thinking, and who went far to dethrone the old religious outlook by introducing a mechanistic deism, if not a godless materialism. Julian Huxley thought that "Newton's great generalization of gravitational attraction made it possible and indeed necessary to dispense with the idea of God guiding the stars in their courses." The truth is that Newton believed that "he was part of an ancient tradition, a rediscoverer rather than an innovator." He was, of course, a devout Christian who intended all his scientific work as a deciphering of the Divine message and spent far more time on the Biblical prophecies than he did on the law of universal gravitation. He believed the former researches to be as "scientific" as the latter. The universe in

which he continued to believe was a thoroughly medieval one, peopled with angels and a plenum.

Ignorance about this can be excused because the great bulk of Newton's work on religious questions was unpublished and virtually unknown until comparatively recent times. It is to be suspected that the Enlightenment and the nineteenth-century age of Positivism did not want to know about these works. To explain what they did know, they invented the theory that in his later years Newton suffered from a softening of the brain. The history of this very large body of writing, the equivalent of ten or fifteen standard-size books, is too complicated to tell here, but the manuscripts have finally come together again in Jerusalem, which seems a logical place.

Frank Manuel has previously explored this side of the great mathematician and scientist in his Isaac Newton, Historian (1961) and A Portrait of Newton (1968). The present series of lectures delivered at Balliol College in 1973 enlarges upon this interest. It is presumptuous for anyone to quarrel with such distinguished scholarship, but in fact the book for all its delights-from a historian who is not only a master scholar but a witty and able writer—has its disappointing features. Manuel pursues, rather languidly, a dubious Freudian interpretation that would have Newton finding in God a surrogate father. Though he says he seeks historical context, one misses a feeling both for the particular situation of English Protestantism in the later seventeenth century-which was suspicious both of papalism and enthusiasm yet clung to Christianity as a principle of social order and sought to establish it on "rational" grounds-and for the large contemporary literature on the Trinity, the prophecies, the miracles, and deism, which surrounded Newton. A greater feeling for this context would, for example, have dissolved Manuel's surprise at Newton not supporting William Whiston (p. 62). On the other hand, the philosophical issues are well handled, there being a good exposition of Newton's debate with Leibniz and some stimulating discussions of Newton and Platonism. This short book is not a complete handling of the manifold issues raised; I hope that Professor Manuel will go on to provide this in a future book. If he does not, those who come after him, in a field that, one suspects, will attract a good deal of future attention, will have to lean heavily on his work.

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P. D. G. THOMAS. British Politics and the Stamp Act Crisis: The First Phase of the American Revolution, 1763-1767. New York: Clarendon Press of the Oxford University Press. 1975. Pp. 394. \$25.75.

P. D. G. Thomas as a historian in the tradition established by the late Sir Lewis Namier is concerned with the eighteenth-century House of Commons. In this volume he has applied a considerable acquaintance with the sources-many of which are unfamiliar-to the political history of the Stamp Act crisis. Readers previously unconversant with the enormously complex parties and factions at Westminster during the period may not find the introductory chapters easy reading. But British Politics describes—often revising earlier interpretations-the motivation, passage, repeal, and aftermath of the Stamp Act and should be carefully studied by all interested in the causes of the Revolution. Thomas stresses the rapidly growing unanimity in British opinion. By 1767 there was a consensus about parliamentary sovereignty, about the desirability of exercising it over the colonies, and about obtaining from the colonists further assistance in defraying civil and military expenses. The less control enjoyed by local assemblies-often seemingly capricious and unreliable-over financial affairs the better. Imperial policy developed in a direction entirely contrary to American political ideology.

Once the Declaratory Act had passed, the distinction between external and internal taxation could be regarded as illegal, though Charles Townshend bore the old arguments in mind when imposing new duties. To these arguments none of the Rockingham Whigs offered any effective opposition. Merchants, who had supported repeal as a means to recover returns from trade, quickly lost any sympathy with the colonies as those returns continued to decline. This attitude, Thomas remarks, markedly precedes the indifference to American affairs, so often attributed to the opening of markets elsewhere. British ministers failed to appreciate that the postwar depression in America was responsible both for this diminished trade and for part of the colonial reluctance to shoulder further financial responsibilities.

Few reported speeches and unpublished letters reveal any significant divergence from the consensus. William Pitt, earl of Chatham, to be sure, recognized the principle of no taxation without representation and would have welcomed, like George Grenville and Thomas Pownall, an acceptable plan for colonial participation in an imperial legislature. Supposed sympathizers with America did little to obtain repeal or modification of the tea tax in 1770. Among would-be conciliators, none denied the supremacy of the British Parliament. "The lesson of the Stamp Act Crisis," Thomas concludes, "was that there would be very few friends of America in Britain in any future clash with the colonies" (p. 371).

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PATRICIA HOLLIS, editor. Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. ix, 334. \$19.95.

Before 1832 voluntary organizations agitating for moral and social reforms through legislation were denounced for seeking to intimidate the elected authorities in Parliament. By 1867, however, "pressure from without" had been legitimized, providing a channel for the expression of public opinion and contributing to the emergence of participatory democracy in Victorian England. For those middle-class elements increasingly conscious of the disparity between political rights and effective power the pressure group became the means by which their views could be collectively articulated. In addition these organizations served as instruments for co-opting working men into the mainstream of Victorian politics, thereby softening social tensions that might have proved disruptive.

Instead of attempting a systematic treatment of pressure group politics, this useful collection of essays by a dozen British historians moves selectively over a broad spectrum of activity. It examines such diverse topics as those movements involving suffrage, dissent, and land reform, specific bodies like the Liberation Society and the Administrative Reform Association, and a handful of the more prominent leaders, among them Edward Baines, William Lovett, and David Urquhart. Since many of the notable participants-Joseph Sturge, Samuel Morley, and John Arthur Roebuck, for example-figured in several causes, there is some inevitable overlap, but this does not detract from the quality of the book. While in no way definitive as individual studies, these essays are nonetheless carefully researched and based to a considerable extent on unpublished correspondence and society minutes. If the biographical chapters rarely supersede the standard works, those that deal with specific organizations shed a good deal of light on the structure, tactics, ideology, and social composition of pressure groups, and thus furnish the reader with material for comparative analysis.

Aside from similarities in institutional structure and propaganda techniques, what is perhaps most striking about Victorian pressure groups is their reliance on moral exhortation—the concerted effort to transcend class interest by appealing to the conscience of their audience in a quasi-religious crusade. Not only was this true, as Howard Temperley demonstrates, of the antislavery movement, but also of the Liberation Society, the land-tenure reformers, and the various advocates of moral reform like the Lord's Day Observance Society and the RSPCA, whose operations Brian Harrison describes so ably. Moral righteousness, which Richard Shannon attributes to Urquhart and which was equally characteristic of Baines or Shaftes-

bury, was frequently coupled with an attack on aristocratic privilege—an essential feature of the suffrage movement, the Anti-Corn Law League, and the Administrative Reform Association. Many of these groups exploited the middle-class frustration at being excluded from power, particularly in provincial towns, where the proliferation of local branches offered opportunities for participation. Although the leadership tended to be drawn from middle-class Nonconformists with a sprinkling of benevolent aristocrats, the emphasis on improvement and on the need for an enlightened public struck chords within the artisan class, of whom Lovett stands as an example. Far from seeking to stir up the masses, men like Edward Miall or Richard Cobden tried to mobilize working-class support for middle-class purposes; working-class deference was presumed in the hierarchical structure of most societies.

If measured in terms of realized objectives, the history of Victorian pressure groups is one of negligible success. There is little evidence that they had significant impact on parliamentary opinion, or that reforming legislation owed much to their endeavors. The moral absolutism that characterized their propaganda disdained the exigencies of politics and the need to compromise. Several organizations, notably the Administrative Reform Association and the Foreign Affairs Committees, found it difficult to translate a general critique into specific measures; others were essentially single-issue movements, unable to sustain a high level of support once the precipitating circumstances of the agitation had either passed or been appeased by legislative amelioration. Above all, as William Thomas remarks in his chapter on the Philosophic Radicals, they were "amateurs in politics," wellintentioned, egoistical zealots who were no match for the professional politicians and administrative experts. Indeed their preoccupation with voluntary effort, education, and moral suasion, reflected a hostility toward centralized authority and a reluctance to sanction state intervention that suggests a profound distrust of collectivism.

If pressure from without had a role to play it was not in influencing legislation but in widening the political community to include newly articulate elements. It acted, as Olive Anderson concludes in a perceptive essay, as "a school for citizenship in an increasingly plural society. It was thus not the extent to which pressure group activity achieved its goals which made it important, but rather the activity itself" (p. 287). In recognizing both the shortcomings and the accomplishments of nineteenth-century pressure groups and their leaders, this collection makes a substantial contribution to the study of early Victorian social history.

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D. W. SYLVESTER. Robert Lowe and Education. (Cambridge Texts and Studies in the History of Education.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. 240. \$13.50.

PAMELA SILVER and HAROLD SILVER. The Education of the Poor: The History of a National School, 1824–1974. (Routledge Library in the History of Education.) Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974. Pp. x, 197. \$12.25.

Brilliant, arrogant, and cold, Robert Lowe has had, on the whole, a bad historical press. He has suffered most of all from historians of education. In 1862, as vice-president of the Committee of Council on Education, he imposed the Revised Code on the jumble of English primary schools. By tying state aid (and teachers' salaries) to the outcome of examinations in the rudiments—"payment by results"—Lowe, so the story runs, cut short the creative experiment of the preceding two decades, emphasized the three R's to the exclusion of all else, turned teachers into mere drillmasters and interrupted their growth as a profession, and made plain the elitist, class-bound bias of the age, for which he was so frank an advocate.

In an important book, Mr. Sylvester has set out to redress the balance at last. It is troubling that at this late date, Sylvester must still hammer away at the Whig interpretation of history and at the illegitimacy of applying twentieth-century expectations to nineteenth-century performance; but his footnotes testify to the persistence of the tradition he seeks to qualify, a tradition that in the present climate of educational polemics in England is still more likely to be listened to than is this clear and judicious revision. On the Revised Code, Sylvester plays down the accomplishments of the early years of "national education" and points to the improvement in literacy that probably flowed from Lowe's initiative. He also unearths precedents on which Lowe built and stresses, rightly, the sovereign expectations of economy and efficiency, championed in season and out by Gladstone. Sylvester notes on several occasions the partnership, in the Committee of Council and later at the Treasury, of Lowe and Ralph Lingen but does not set out so clearly another imperative which I think is suggested in that collaboration-the necessity of reducing a relatively loose educational establishment to bureaucratic order. It is startling to find Lowe willing, five years later, to overthrow his creation as his successors in office had extended it; it is more important that attention is drawn to Lowe's creative role in establishing the dual system of voluntary and provided schools, which has descended from Forster's Act of 1870; to Lowe's corrosive, utilitarian, modernist criticism of secondary and university education; and to his advocacy of curriculum reform. One can wish, though scarcely

hope, that the need for economy these days (on either side of the Atlantic) might turn up an educational statesman of comparable intellect and radical common sense.

Thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Silver we can glimpse the difficulties into which the new examinations plunged the teachers at the Kennington Oval Schools in South London in 1863-64. Yet the policy of 1862 does not appear in the long run to be a watershed in the sense that we are likely to think of it; rather the schools emerged slowly from their monitorial origins through changing methods and a succession of able and devoted teachers to impressive accomplishments—as measured by grammar school scholarships won-in the late Victorian years. The biography of any small institution like these schools is filled with the ordinaryprizes, entertainments, drainage problems, fund raising-and anyone who has worked through similar records will know how frustrating are the anonymity that shrouds so many of the actors and the reticence that overtakes the minutes at just the point when something awkward seems to be happening. But the Silvers have done an admirable job in reconstructing the life of a school that has served a relatively disadvantaged group of children for a century and a half.

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PHILIP N. BACKSTROM. Christian Socialism and Cooperation in Victorian England: Edward Vansittart Neale and the Co-operative Movement. (Croom Helm Social History Series.) London: Croom Helm; distrib. by Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, N.J. 1975. Pp. vii, 238. \$16.00.

The subtitle of this exercise in revisionist rehabilitation should be its title, because so much of the book concentrates on the busy and largely futile activities of E. V. Neale in the cooperative movement. The Christian Socialists make fleeting appearances and Neale's own Christianity becomes a sort of theistic activism. Neale's chief enemy was the Co-operative Wholesale Society, a meretricious octopus within the movement that was excessively devoted to dividends. His biographer's chief antagonist is Beatrice Webb, who wrote off the general secretary of the British Co-operative Union as an impractical idealist.

Neale's character in itself obstructs this zealous attempt to show him as a practical leader. Backstrom allows that Neale repeatedly misjudged people, was swindled in private transactions, could not deal wisely with his own money, and was mercurial in making decisions. Moreover, Neale wrote lengthy, turgid, repetitious treatises and was often a wretched speaker. Before concentrating on

cooperation as his career, he was an undistinguished student, mediocre barrister, and unhappy husband.

Considering all of his disadvantages, why was he so prominent in the movement? That he was a most generous angel, willing to strip his family fortunes to support cooperative projects, was of no small importance. Neale's nostalgic communitarian philosophy about cooperation may have been attractive to some. It stressed profit sharing and was based upon a strange amalgam of Christian and German idealism, French utopian socialism, a dislike of competition, and political conservatism.

Backstrom wishes us to see Neale as a behindthe-scenes "organizational genius" who was too altruistic to seek applause for his efforts, which centered around a losing battle to save the idealism and some participatory aspects of the cooperative movement from its own bureaucrats. Yet we are informed of how this "genius of constructiveness" presided over one failing scheme after another, including those for cooperative production, banking, home building, friendly societies, and international trading.

The author must be congratulated for plowing through heaps of what must be among the dullest of historical records. Nevertheless, Neale's personal journals do add a note of color, and the author's own writing, given the limitations of the subject, is clear throughout and even lively in a few places.

Backstrom blames Beatrice Webb's "haphazard and opinionated" book, *The Cooperative Movement in Great Britain* (1904), for "permanently branding" Neale and his coworkers as impractical and for "assigning many of their most valuable contributions to historical oblivion." While Backstrom's study has rescued some of them from oblivion, signs of the brand still seem to remain.

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KENNETH O. MORGAN. Keir Hardie: Radical and Socialist. (Radical Men, Movements and Ideas.) London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 1975. Pp. xii, 343. £8.00.

A biographer must answer two questions: What sort of man was his subject, and why was he important? This biography sets out to separate Keir Hardie the man from the legend, in effect to put together a true portrait of an intensely political individual who can be distinguished from the Labour saint, "The Man in the Cloth Cap." As everyone who has read Morgan's Wales and British Politics (1970) can testify, he is a first-rate researcher—although he ought to know that "South Bend College" in Muncie, Indiana, does not hold

the Norman Angell Papers and would be unable to answer his letters. He has produced a well-documented portrait of the self-educated, emotional, inconsistent but politically shrewd Lanarkshire miner who stands in legend, if not quite in actual fact, as Morgan demonstrates, as the founder of the Independent Labour party and the first independent working man in the House of Commons.

But what did Hardie accomplish? Why is he regarded as one of the founders of the Labour party and, for Morgan, a more influential, not to mention attractive, figure than Ramsay MacDonald? Here the book is disappointing. Hardie's influence is pervasive but indefinable. He was a failure during his short tenure as leader of the Labour party, yet his tremendous hold on the Edwardian working class, described but not accounted for, is undeniable. Morgan attempts to construct for him a coherent political theory but is forced to admit at the end that "his philosophy was imprecise and illformed . . . almost at times to the point of disintegration." It is easy to discover what Hardie opposed—nearly everything that any other politician did. It is much harder to find what he supported.

In the end, the reader is left where he began. What, after all, did Hardie leave behind? Perhaps his greatest achievement was indeed the creation of a legend upon which the Labour party could build. This, as is frequently the case, may have been more potent than reality.

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PAUL G. HALPERN, editor. The Keyes Papers: Selections from the Private and Official Correspondence of Admiral of the Fleet Baron Keyes of Zeebrugge. Volume 1, 1914–1918. (Publications of the Navy Records Society, volume 117.) [London:] the Society. 1972. Pp. xxiv, 547. £5.00.

Since 1894, the Navy Records Society has been producing volumes of unpublished letters and papers, journals, and biographies pertaining to the Royal Navy since Tudor times. The latest volume (not actually published until the end of 1974), the 117th in this on-the-whole distinguished series and the first of two on Admiral Keyes, is one of the stronger ones of recent years. The editor, Professor Halpern, of the Florida State University, is the author of the highly regarded Mediterranean Naval Situation, 1908–1914 (1971).

My two criteria for judging a work of this kind are the breadth of and skill in the selection of material and the quality of the informational material, in footnotes and in introductions to the chapters or parts. By these standards Halpern has brought off his assignment with conspicuous suc-

cess. The footnotes are models of succinctness, and the introductions combine a narrative of Keyes's career in a particular period with perceptive observations. That introducing part 4 (October 1917-December 1918) is especially well done, as when Halpern observes: "It is ironic that Zeebrugge is the action most linked with Keyes's name, for perhaps the real achievement of his command at Dover was barring the Dover Straits to German submarines" (p. 415). The source material reproduced, 256 items, includes reports and memorandums but consists overwhelmingly of correspondence to and from Keyes. The great bulk of the material is from the Keyes Papers, now at Churchill College, Cambridge (all 125 cartons of them), with a few letters from the papers of Sir John Michael de Robeck, David Beatty, Horatio Herbert Kitchener, Sir Henry Jackson, Ian Hamilton, and Walter Cowan, and the Admiralty records in the Public Record Office. I am not aware of any important collection that Halpern failed to check. (It is a pity that Keyes's many letters to Sir Reginald Tyrwhitt no longer exist.) He had a selection problem, since Keyes's two autobiographical volumes on the war quoted extensively from his papers. "On the whole," writes Halpern, "I have tried to avoid publishing documents already printed. However, Keyes or his editors occasionally altered or cut a document, usually for clarity or brevity, and when these alterations were extensive the original is reproduced here" (p. vii).

There are no great surprises in the volume. Keyes comes through pretty much as we have known him: full of initiative and boyish enthusiasm, possessed of exceptional leadership talents, and eager for battle-but lacking an outstanding intellect. De Robeck, whose chief of staff Keyes was in 1915-16, summed up his dominant trait well: "The best and bravest fellow in the world and always for having a go." Keyes's sensitivity over matters of seniority is a facet of his character of which I was unaware. If the documents now published tell us little that is really new and important about the Dardanelles campaign, the Dover command in 1918, and the Zeebrugge operation, which represent the highlights of Keyes's war service, they do enhance our knowledge of these periods. Note, for example, Keyes's letter of July 2, 1915 (pp. 154-58), on the inanities of the army at Gallipoli.

Halpern has given us so much that it would be churlish to dwell on two minor imperfections, in places a not sufficiently vigorous use of pruning shears and a peculiar comma usage—or nonusage! Otherwise, nothing but the highest marks.

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ALDO BERSELLI. L'opinione pubblica inglese e l'avvento del fascismo (1919-1925). (Istituto Nazionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione in Italia.) [Milan:] Franco Angeli Editore. 1971. Pp. 225. L. 3,500.

In this contribution to the historiography of antifascist resistance, Aldo Berselli, the director of modern and contemporary history at the University of Bologna, widens the scope of research beyond consideration of fascism as a purely Italian national movement in the early twenties and resistance to it as a solely national affair. He examines some fifteen British newspapers and journals to discover if there was any understanding of what was happening in Italy during the first years of Mussolini's power and any thought of at least well-wishing, if not outright support, for anti-Fascist sentiment in Italy. He asks also if there were any parallels to political developments in the two countries and if politics in Great Britain in any way affected attitudes toward Mussolini.

The English were largely indifferent to Italian affairs until d'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume in September 1919 and the sit-in strikes of the late summer 1920, and they were almost wholly ignorant of Italian problems up to the march on Rome. Though the Fascist coup was a surprise, it stimulated greater interest in Italy, not only because of possible repercussions in international affairs but also because of its significance internally.

Reactions and attitudes followed British political lines. The conservative press accepted Mussolini's own statement that his was the anti-Bolshevik party of law and order. The Conservative victory at the polls on November 15, 1922, was equated with the Fascist success—the end of weak coalition governments and the rescue from bolshevism. The attitude of the Conservative government toward the Italian government reflected this sympathy. The leftist press was persistently and to some extent ideologically hostile. Between the two extremes there were serious critical expressions of curiosity and concern. However, whatever anyone thought of the Fascists, there was general agreement after the Corfu incident in 1923 that Mussolini had the support of the entire Italian nation.

Then, in 1924, when the Labour party was in power in Great Britain, the Italian elections of April 6 revealed that there was still active opposition in Italy from liberals and socialists. While British conservatives continued to defend Mussolini, liberals expressed hope that the Italian situation could be normalized, and labourites expressed interest in the possibility of socialist solidarity in Europe as it was being invoked by the Italian Socialist deputy, Matteotti. His murder exposed the true nature and fruits of fascism. Conservatives were concerned that good relations with

Italy might be jeopardized by the Labour government. Liberals thought the best that could be hoped for was that the reactions to the murder might have a temporizing effect on the regime. If there were any hopes that the liberal and socialist opposition in Italy could join forces against the Fascists, such hopes were dashed when the Socialists seceded from the Chamber of Deputies on June 15.

As Mussolini weathered the post-Matteotti storm and clamped down on opposition, new British elections on October 29 brought the Conservatives back to power. Berselli closes with this line. "The barometer indicated, then, fair weather for the conservatives; 'tranquility' was, then, assured in Italy as in England. Here, therefore, began the period of the 'golden years'" (p. 204). Berselli concludes with one sentence. "In the wider European panorama the 'trend' [he uses the English word] was not different" (p. 204). This closing observation may be valid but it is not substantiated by evidence presented in this study. Similar studies of press opinion about Mussolini in relation to political developments in other European countries have yet to be made.

Berselli appends to his work a succinct statement about ownership, political posture, editorial policy, and influence of each of the newspapers and journals he uses.

ALBERT W. GENDEBIEN Lafayette College

ROGER PARKINSON. Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat: The War History from Dunkirk to Alamein, Based on the War Cabinet Papers of 1940 to 1942. New York: David McKay Company. 1973. Pp. ix, 538. \$7.95.

CHARLES CRUICKSHANK. The German Occupation of the Channel Islands. Published for the Trustees of the Imperial War Museum. New York: Oxford University Press. 1975. Pp. xii, 370. \$21.00.

When the British government opened most of its records of World War II, there was a rush to the Public Record Office followed by a spate of quickly researched books. Roger Parkinson's trilogy, of which this is the second volume, was among these. After a strong start the series went rapidly downhill. The principal memoirs and diaries published since 1945 and the official histories provide the framework of the book. Into this Parkinson has fitted material from the records of the War Cabinet, the chiefs of staff, and their more important subcommittees. There is nothing from unpublished private papers. Where memoirists, diarists, official historians, and committee minutes are not very revealing, neither is Parkinson-his discussion of strategy in the Far East is the chief, but by no means the only, example of the inherent weakness of his approach. The result is a book that has little for the specialist, although it is a good general introduction to the most crucial years of Britain's war effort.

Cruikshank's book is almost a reversed image of Parkinson's: a meticulous study of a small but fasinating corner of the war, utilizing all surviving official documents, British and German, as well as private papers and interviews. The British evacuated and demilitarized the Channel Islands, a relic of the British monarchy's Norman phase, during the cataclysmic events of June 1940, and the Germans arrived in early July. Seen at first as a staging post for the invasion of Great Britain, and, perhaps, as a testing ground for occupation policies there, the islands gradually became one of Hitler's obsessions. His only piece of conquered "British" soil, each island became a Gibraltar. Nearly ten per cent of the resources available for the Atlantic Wall was sunk into them, and a reinforced infantry division, together with substantial numbers of Luftwaffe and navy personnel, was tied up there for the duration. In strategic terms the loss of the Channel Islands to Hitler was net gain to the British. Cruikshank is fascinating on the almost inspired clumsiness of the German occupation administration, which was often its own worst enemy. Equally intriguing are his chapters on the few actual, and many abortive, raids on the islands hatched at Combined Operations Headquarters. The raids that occurred were remarkable for their lack of results. Reading about those that were cancelled makes Dieppe more comprehensible. Throughout, no one, from Churchill down, considered the probable consequences of the raids on the civilian population. There is a detailed account of the lives of those civilians during the occupation, marred only by a certain reticence about the extent of collaboration-active resistance, with two soldiers for every three civilians, was out of the question. This blemish, inevitable perhaps in a history sponsored by the Channel Islands, is nevertheless only a slight flaw in an otherwise model, and eminently readable, study.

RAYMOND CALLAHAN University of Delaware

BRUCE WEBSTER. Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603. (The Sources of History: Studies in the Uses of Historical Evidence.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1975. Pp. 239. \$12.50:

This is an admirable survey of the sources available for the study of Scottish history before the union of the Crowns. Mr. Webster, who is known for, among other things, his contributions to the recent revisionist work on the reign of David II, devotes the bulk of this book to the period stretch-

ing from the end of the eleventh century, when written record in the form of charters becomes available, to the reign of James III. There are chapters, neither numerous nor reliable, on the narrative sources; on charters, with a careful explanation of what a charter is and what to look for when reading one; on the various sorts of government record, mostly having to do with money and land; on legal record, very thin before the later fifteenth century; and on various foreign sources, especially English and papal. There is also a welcome and unusual chapter on such unwritten evidence as topography, archeology, architecture, and place names. The final chapter deals with the sixteenth century, and in a way it is a pity that Webster had to write it. He does as good a job as he can in twenty-seven pages, but, as he himself points out, the whole nature of the source problem changes after about 1460. Government record proliferates, church record becomes extensive; there are notaries' protocol books, collections of public and private correspondence, burgh records, and so much judicial material from the court of session that no one has had the courage to tackle it. Furthermore, with respect to Scottish sources, the date 1603 means almost nothing. The only significant source that ends in 1603 is the correspondence of the English agents in Scotland; it is partially replaced by the letters, official and unofficial, that passed between Edinburgh and Whitehall.

Those responsible for planning this useful series would have done better to have allowed Webster to end in the later fifteenth century and say more about the medieval sources, and should have arranged for a separate volume on the sources for the period from James III to 1707, a much more logical stopping place than 1603. Webster, of course, is in no way to blame for this. He has skillfully put together a handbook that will be immensely useful to students and of great interest to older scholars of this period in Scottish history.

MAURICE LEE, JR.
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F. N. MCCOY. Robert Baillie and the Second Scots Reformation. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 244. \$10.00.

Professor McCoy has written a competent lifeand-times study of Robert Baillie (1602-62), Glaswegian, minister of Kilwinning, and student, regent, first professor of divinity, and Restoration principal of Glasgow College. In his letters and journals spanning the years 1633-61 (edited in three volumes with a good introduction by David Laing in 1841), Baillie is one of the most reliable witnesses directly and through his informants to many of the major political and religious events of this period in Scottish history.

As D. J. Stevenson and Gordon Donaldson have both indicated in their recent books, while the majority of the ministry of Scotland in 1637 were not radicals or revolutionaries, a small minority of radical ministers and lawyers in alliance with the power of the nobility and the lairds carried Scotland into as cautious and legal a revolt as they could devise. If the "moderates" had an intellectual leader, it was Baillie. He managed to accommodate, reluctantly, to the Jamesian church settlement of 1618-21 (Perth Articles, bishops), the Covenanter arrangements of 1638-49, and the Cromwellian imposition of 1650-59. He also remained throughout the period a constitutional royalist prepared to accept both Charles I and II if they would respect the legal autonomy and preserve the unity of the Church of Scotland.

Neither the king nor the radical Covenanters trusted Baillie, but it speaks well for the political acumen of the latter that they used Baillie effectively on the committees of the General Assembly and as a commissioner to the Scots army in the First Bishops' War and to the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

There are some disappointments in the book given the amount of research that McCoy has done on Baillie's career. One criticism is the lack of social ambience or context to Baillie's activities. With regard to Glasgow, the author provides a good general description of the town, the burgh government, and the college, but we do not get a sense of the small middling-class oligarchy of families—the Porterfields, the Bells, the Campbells—who ruled Glasgow for most of the seventeenth century. Baillie came from this group and shared its viewpoint.

In addition McCoy does not place Baillie, a university teacher and a respected theologian, in the wider intellectual context of the first half of the seventeenth century. We know, for example, that Johnston of Wariston, a leading lawyer and Covenanter, was reading the works of Althusius and a number of Continental divines. But what Baillie was reading, what books he ordered from the Continent, and his attitude toward Descartes, Grotius, or Bacon are not included in McCoy's work.

Last, there is the question of John Cameron. Baillie in his undergraduate years and in his ministry was closely associated with members of the radical wing of the Kirk—Boyd of Trochrigg, John Livingston, Robert Blair, and David Dickson—and as a theologian he well knew the strict Presbyterian position of Alexander Henderson and Samuel Rutherford. McCoy, however, does not elaborate on why Baillie was so deeply affected by John

Cameron, the theologian and principal of Glasgow College in the fall term of 1622, a man who was considered an Arminian and Erastian by Baillie's close friend and colleague in the college, Robert Blair (pp. 18, 37). There is information about Cameron in the works of G. D. Henderson and G. B. Maury that would have contributed to a clearer understanding of Baillie's "moderate" position in McCoy's presentation.

A study of Baillie's thought and actions offers an opportunity to define what was meant by a "moderate" and to discover those ministers who accepted Baillie's middle way as Scotland began its experiment with theocracy. Perhaps the problem with McCoy's book is that the narrative story of the Covenanting period has been told many times, using Baillie's work as one of the major sources, and that what is needed now, as Stevenson suggests in his recent book, The Scottish Revolution 1637-1644 (1974), is for those of us interested in Scottish history of the period to try to define, to get behind such terms as the "lairdry," the "moderates," and the "lawyers." Perhaps it is time to see what the use of Sir Lewis Namier's concept of "connections" would do for the history of seventeenth-century Scotland. Such an approach would not violate the central fact of religion as the test of men's allegiances in this period, but it would give us a deeper sense, I suggest, of why they did what they did.

THOMAS S. COLAHAN
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CHARLES HIGOUNET et al., editors. La seigneurie et le vignoble de Chaleau Latour: Histoire d'un grand cru du Mêdoc (XIVe-XXesiècle). Volumes 1 and 2. (Études et documents d'Aquitaine.) Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest. 1974. Pp. vi, 317; 321-602.

The private archives of Chateau Latour reach from the Middle Ages to encompass chartes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, terriers and other documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth, and, from the eighteenth on, a nearly complete record of minutes, statements, and account books with a superb series of correspondence from the regisseurs of Chateau Latour to its proprietors—the latter documents being marked by an unusual amount of human and social interest. These sources are supplemented by public archives, archives of other chateaux, and the notebooks of shippers, especially the house of Tastet-Lawton-English in origin with beginnings going back to the eighteenth century. A group of historians and geographers from the University of Bordeaux-H. Enjalbert, J.-B. Marquette, J. Cavignac, C. Huetz de Lemps,

P. Butel, R. Pijassou, and P. Guillaume—under the direction of Professor Charles Higounet have explored this treasure. The result is two handsome but densely documented volumes that are a landmark in viticultural history and that triumphantly avoid the annoying exclusivism of many local or specialized monographs.

No vineyard, even as lordly a premier grand cru as Chateau Latour, stands alone. Thus Latour's history must touch those of the other grands crus of the Médoc, their less exalted neighbors, and the vineyards of other Bordeaux regions. A prominent place is given the wine trade, which was so instrumental during the eighteenth century in permanently orienting the Médoc toward export and quality production, but whose relations with the growers since have not been without difficulties on both sides. Other focuses of the story are the vagaries of weather, the heartbreaking insect invasions, and the vine diseases, including the famous phylloxera whose qualitative and economic effects on vineyards in the class of Chateau Latour, as Pijassou argues in one of the more important contributions, have been greatly exaggerated. Two interesting themes are the boom-and-bust cycle winegrowers seem fated to live with and the prudent adaptation of Chateau Latour over its many years-more than two hundred of them under the ownership of the same family-to changing technologies of viticulture and vinification, business techniques, and labor conditions. Because grands crus are a luxury and export article, their market is particularly susceptible to outside factors. Changes in taste, fluctuations of international exchange, economic conditions in general, political developments, wars, and revolutions are therefore all part of the long history of Chateau Latour.

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JEAN JACQUART. La crise rurale en Ile-De-France: 1550–1670. (Publications de la Sorbonne, N.S. Recherches 10.) Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1974. Pp. 795.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the region of Hurepoix extended south from Paris as far as the towns of Rambouillet and Étampes on the road to Orléans and as far as Milly and Corbeil along the Seine. Dominated by cereal crops (especially marketable winter wheat), substantial tracks of wood, and spreading plantations of vineyards, the agricultural economy of this part of fertile Beauce was increasingly subjected to "the needs, ambitions, and requirements" of the French capital (p. 757). Jean Jacquart's substantial volume is in large part a description of this progressive subordination of the countryside to the expansionist,

indeed rapacious, city. Reminiscent of Gaston Roupnel's description of the conquest of the land around Dijon by the newer robe nobility after the Thirty Years' War (see *La Ville et al campagne au XVIIe siècle* [1922, 1955]), Jacquart's Parisian officers, increased by a limited number of court noble families and a swarm of city artisans and small merchants, tightened their hold on the land after each of the two major crises of the period—the religious wars, 1560–1600, and the Fronde, 1640–60.

Jacquart draws an ambivalent conclusion from this century-long conquest of the countryside. On the one hand, it reflects the penetration of a "new mentality," that of "profit and nascent capitalism" (p. 757); on the other hand, the process reinforced the "Society of Orders" because the citadins used their new lands and seigneuries not to increase productivity but as a means of social ascent in the hierarchy of dignities. Jacquart places particular stress on the complicity of the marchands-laboureurs, the only social group in the rural world to profit from the long-run trends of population, production, prices, and rents as well as from the short-run crises of war, famine, and pestilence.

Despite the determinism implicit in the long-run conjoncture of demography, climate, and essentially stagnant food production, Jacquart provides a place, albeit a secondary one, for the more contingent actions of seigneurial administration—the Church, the royal government, and even the accidents of war and pillage. Surely he has exhausted the traditional sources—notarial, seigneurial, fiscal, and administrative-yet the author still laments the "laconic quality" of many of his materials (p. 447). Indeed it is a pity that the sources did not permit much elaboration about popular attitudes or mentalities. His allusions to the "resignation" or "alienation" of the peasantry (p. 758) can be no more than suggestions. But Jacquart is without peer when he describes the physical environment and appraises the material effects of this century-long time of troubles on a very complex rural world.

ROBERT FORSTER
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ALFRED SOMAN, editor. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew: Reappraisals and Documents. (International Archives of the History of Ideas, 75.) The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1974. Pp. xi, 269. 70 gls.

This is an important book for historians of early modern Europe generally, including as it does fresh assessments of and insights into the tangled politico-religious events of the second half of the sixteenth century across traditional national and confessional lines. The twelve authors, all ranking specialists in their respective subfields, participated in one or both of two conferences commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the massacre in 1972, one at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington and the other at the Newberry Library in Chicago. Alfred Soman, who organized the Newberry conference, has edited the papers to present an unusually coherent and distinguished collection opening with an introduction by H. G. Koenigsberger and concluding with a comment by T. K. Rabb.

The substantive papers are grouped under three headings. The first, "St. Bartholomew and Europe," begins with N. M. Sutherland's analysis of the relation between Spain and events in France. In it she makes necessary distinctions among the long-range, ultra-Catholic policy of "eliminating" the Huguenot leadership, the first assassination attempt on Admiral Coligny, and the massacre itself two days later, showing the importance of timing in regard to events in the Netherlands. If Coligny had led a Huguenot army into the Netherlands, planned for the following week, the French Crown would have faced a war against Spain it did not want and could not have won. The following articles are concerned with the historical impact of these events outside France. Robert M. Kingdon analyzes reactions in Geneva and Rome, bringing out the hitherto unremarked influence of the events on papal policy and administrative techniques. His article is supplemented by Pierre Hurtubise's comment on the increased stimulus to Catholic reform. Reactions of the Elizabethans are discussed by A. G. Dickens, and Lewis W. Spitz undertakes the effects of events in France in the Holy Roman Empire.

The middle section of the book comprises two unpublished documents, carefully edited and interpreted: Tomasso Sassetti's account of the massacre, edited by John Tedeschi, and a discourse dedicated to Count Guido San Georgio Aldobrandini, edited by Alain Dufour. In each case the editor has a fascinating detective story to tell about the provenance of the document, its history, and the problems of identification involved; both making comparisons with well-known contemporary accounts and interpretations. These articles add considerably to our understanding of the impact of French events on Italy, especially in Rome, and fill out the picture of the so-called Wars of Religion in France as the crucible of the ideological and political conflicts of the period throughout Europe.

In part 3, "Martyrs, Rioters and Polemicists," the authors look at the massacre in long-range historical perspective. Donald R. Kelley shows how the events of 1572 conformed to patterns of martyrdom established in Huguenot myth earlier in the century, while Natalie Zemon Davis

analyzes the rites of violence, comparing Catholic with Protestant religious riots in sociological and psychological terms. Both of these articles highlight the interplay of symbols with "facts" in the sixteenth century. The final article, Elisabeth Labrousse's "Wars of Religion in Seventeenth-Century Huguenot Thought," not only brings out vividly the differences between French Protestants in the two centuries, but constitutes a brilliant, capsulated answer to a fundamental question raised by any consideration of the massacre: "What happened to Protestantism in France?"

Each of the articles presents new and important material that any serious scholar of the Reformation needs to assimilate, and each is worthy of detailed review in specialized journals and inclusion in the relevant bibliographies.

NANCY L. ROELKER Boston University

DONALD R. KELLEY. François Holman: A Revolutionary's Ordeal. [Princeton:] Princeton University Press. 1973. Pp. xvi, 370. \$13.50.

Donald Kelley's excellent and well-written biography of François Hotman (1524–90) provides the reader an entree to that passionate—indeed overheated—world of the second generation of French Protestants who carried the burdens of polemic, propaganda, and political organization against the Crown and the Roman Church during the Wars of Religion. A prolific legal scholar and humanist, Hotman placed his learning—and his remarkable talent for invective—in the service of John Calvin and the Genevan church. Kelley portrays him as a committed revolutionary who, during a career spent mainly in exile, sought the restoration of both Christianity and the French state to a condition of pristine virtue.

This biography is to be read not only for the rich detail on Hotman's life and works that it offers, but also for the collective study of the Calvinist "international" of the mid- and later sixteenth century that Kelley presents. Some of the best pages of the book are devoted to the feuds, rivalries, and scholarly wrangles that divided the Calvinists among themselves. There was no firm, hard-core band of Calvinist revolutionaries, but rather there were shifting allegiances and alliances, subtle nuances of thought and commitment, and, not infrequently, defections from the cause. Thus it is the variety of religious and political experiences among the scholarly Protestant activists that emerges most clearly from Kelley's work.

Hotman, however, remained consistently loyal to his faith and, in politics at least, was more intransigent than Calvin. In his hands, historical and legal scholarship became a powerful political weapon that, Kelly argues, polarized French thinking about the character of the nation and of its constitution. Hotman was not the first, but he was probably the most important political writer of the period to identify the liberties of the French with the tribal or barbarian origins of the country. Kelley's fine analysis of the "germanist" character of the Franco-Gallia constitutes an essential chapter of the constitutional history of the Old Regime.

As is true of so many major French figures of the sixteenth century, the record of Hotman's life remains incomplete. He was, after all, a subversive, and much that he did politically took place in the shadows. Despite the difficulties and inevitable lacunae, Kelley has pursued his subject through the archives and libraries of six European countries and has constructed as complete a biography of Hotman as we are likely to see.

RAYMOND F. KIERSTEAD
Catholic University of America

YVES-MARIE BERCÉ. Histoire des Croquants: Étude des soulèvements populaires au XVII^e siècle dans le sud-ouest de la France. In two volumes. (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, 22.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1974. Pp. viii, 533; 538–973, 11 plates, 5 maps.

There were 450 to 500 revolts in southwestern France from 1590 to 1715. Yves-Marie Bercé has chosen to study one type, les grandes révoltes paysannes. Lengthy peasant protests engulfed Aquitaine in 1593-95, 1624, 1635, 1636, 1637-41 (the Croquants revolt), 1642-43, 1648-52, 1665, 1675, and 1707. There were fewer in other provinces, perhaps six including the 1639 Nu-pieds revolt in Normandy described by Madeleine Foisil. With careful scholarship, Bercé analyzes common patterns and proposes models for this type of popular revolt. His extensive archival research provides new information, answering for Aquitaine many of the questions on popular revolts posed by Roland Mousnier in the questionnaire reported by Pierre Deyon in the Revue du Nord, 44 (1962): 281-90.

Finding that popular revolts in the southwest—sixty per cent of which occurred from 1635 to 1660—were a direct response to the fiscal demands of the Thirty Years' War, Bercé analyzes in detail the disastrous effects of high taxation, epidemics, famine, and pillaging by soldiers. He believes that popular revolts were economic in motivation and describes four types: revolts against bread shortages, troop billeting, collection of the taille, and tax farming. Most occurred at harvest time. Community participation tended to be unanimous, a characteristic peculiar to the region, and women often led protests against bread shortages. There is

a fascinating chapter on revolt myths and ideologies. Since outcomes were usually profitable—suspended taxes and amnesty for crimes—Bercé suggests that revolts represented a popular strategy to protect the community against fiscal aggression and corresponded to stages in the creation of a centralized tax machinery.

Bercé's models are not entirely convincing because the role of the provincial elite is not explained. Omitting protests in which the lower classes participated through the stimulus of other social groups, Bercé concentrates on spontaneous rural and urban uprisings in which leaders were elected, but he does not provide a profile of popular leaders or fully explain the role of rebel officials and nobles whose names appear throughout his narration of the revolts. After his excellent articles on noble criminality in the southwest, one expects more from Bercé's brief chapter on the provincial nobility, for instance, a discussion of the impact of clientele systems. Bercé does not analyze the repressive measures customarily taken by provincial and municipal officials, although the reactions of the authorities helped to determine the outcome of popular revolts. He perceptively suggests that provincial officials often rebelled indirectly through the level harassment of royal agents, an insight he does not pursue. Nor does he develop the provocative statement on page 166 that Chancellor Séguier protected the officiers against the commissaires. Choosing to cover ground already traversed by Mousnier, Foisil, and others, he has achieved massive material confirmation of their theories, which is useful, and he has added much of his own that is original and significant. Bercé offers intriguingly original models of popular revolts, which are described with a baroque richness of detail and color. But his book would be even more valuable if he had pursued some of these "tangential" insights and observations.

SHARON KETTERING Montgomery College

WILLIAM DOYLE. The Parlement of Bordeaux and the End of the Old Regime 1771-1790. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 355. \$21.95.

William Doyle has filled a serious gap in our knowledge of the French parlements with an important thorough study of the Bordeaux Parlement. Combining the techniques of François Bluche and Jean Égret, Doyle analyzes the socioeconomic background of the Bordeaux parlementaires and examines in detail the conflicts between the Bordeaux Parlement and the Crown before the Revolution. He shows that the special character of the Bordeaux magistrates came from a unique combination of factors—money, prestige,

and ambition-and a tight social cohesion within the parlement resulting from frequent intermarriage of parlementary families and frequent successions of fathers by sons. The magistrates' investments in the brisk land market and wine production of the Bordelais, and their involvement in commercial speculation and colonial proprietorship, gave them deep local roots: they became the champions of the privileges of the region. Unlike elsewhere, a career in the Bordeaux parlements usually did not provide entree into lucrative administrative posts; moreover, the prospects for promotion within the court were limited. Most could not uproot themselves from the Bordelais, and a career in the parlement proved a "dignified dead end"-hence the failure of the Bordeaux parlementaires to develop a truly national vision during the pre-Revolutionary crises.

In the second part of his study Doyle expands the revisionist interpretation of his article, "The Parlements of France and the Breakdown of the Old Regime, 1771-1788," in French Historical Studies. He analyzes the chancellor Maupeou's rise to power in terms of personal ambition and attempts to show that Maupeou's remodeling of the Bordeaux Parlement began a long series of administrative intrusions in the Bordelais. The parlement was placed in the position of fighting a rear-guard action against royal "despotism." Yet, as he himself shows, at almost every critical juncture—in the alluvions affair, the attempted reform of the corvée, and the call for provincial assemblies—despotism yielded to the obstructionism of the Bordeaux parlementaires. By isolating the disputes between the Crown and the Bordeaux Parlement and treating both them and the Maupeou coup d'état in terms of advancing royal despotism, Doyle assumes the viewpoint of parlementaires to describe historical actuality. He neglects the larger constitutional crisis caused by a growing challenge of all the parlements to the royal fiscal system that began before 1711.

RONALD I. BOSS
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DAVID M. VESS. Medical Revolution in France 1789–1796. (A Florida State University Book.) Gainesville: University Presses of Florida. [1975.] Pp. 216. \$12.00.

If Professor Vess had limited himself to French military surgery during the wars of the first coalition, the area of his expertise, this would be a fine book. By attempting to survey the contemporary revolution in French medicine from the vantage point of battle surgery and to understand the evolution of medical education and professionalization by relying heavily on the archives of the war

ministry, Vess has produced a biased and partial account.

The new plan for medical education, for example, did not originate with the ophthalmologistsurgeon Louis Bernard Guérin in 1794 (p. 100) but resulted from the progressive thought current among civilian physicians in the 1780s. Or again, only three of the twenty professors appointed to the new health schools at Paris and Montpellier in 1794 had any military experience. The liberal thought of the Old Regime and civilian experience loomed much larger than Vess would have us believe. He is correct in arguing that the three-year military emergency trained neophyte doctors in anatomy, that thousands of autopsies furthered localized pathology, and that surgeons saved lives while physicians were left helpless for want of drugs. But from there to arguing that these lessons "produced significant modifications in French medicine [and] medical education" by 1796, the limit of his book, implies a causal relationship that Vess cannot establish. A perusal of certain books and journals might have remedied this faulty perspective and emphasis-Henri Ingrand on the health committee (1934), Jean Imbert on hospital law (1954), many relevant articles in the Bulletin of the History of Medicine, the Journal of the History of Medicine, and Clio Medica to name but a few. The good chapters on surgery (3, 5, 7, and 9) do not suffice to prove Vess's thesis that the "new foundation that had been laid for French medicine and surgery by 1796 was the direct consequence of the trauma of revolution and war" (p. 6).

DORA B. WEINER

Manhattanville College

CHARLES REARICK. Beyond the Enlightenment: Historians and Folklore in Nineteenth Century France. (Indiana University Publications. Folklore Institute Monograph Series, volume 27.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 206. \$7.50.

Beyond the Enlightenment is a thoughtful, gracefully written essay on that generation of French historians and philosophers of history whose challenge to the assumptions of historiography à la Voltaire was itself to be overborne by historiography à la Seignobos. It was in fact the "Romantic" generation—an adjective that Rearick uses sparingly and within quotation marks—of Augustin Thierry, Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet, and Pierre-Simon Ballanche as well as of those less-remembered figures like Barante and Henri Martin. Rearick provides both a biographical sketch and a critical dissection of the published works of each author. The novelty of his treatment is to be found less in his explanation of why this generation-born of the postrevolutionary revulsion

against "reason" and dissatisfaction with the formal sterility of life under an increasingly indefensible juste milieu-conceived new definitions of the aims and materials of history, than in his account of the varying uses they made of their shared discovery that popular customs and traditions were not the remaining debris of "centuries of barbarism and ignorance" but fundamental clues to the story of human development. The actual fruits they harvested from this discovery were perhaps rather meager. The fact that most chose to find in folklore evidence of some teleological thrust to history-whether toward national selfrealization or toward universal Christianity-suggests that for all their new-found cultural relativism they had not really emancipated themselves from the ethical didacticism of earlier generations. With the notable exception of Michelet, in fact, their new historical vision seems to have served them chiefly in writing programmatic statements that remained unfulfilled when they actually wrote history—a history concerned more with the development of philosophical universals than with what today we should call the histoire des mentalités. Nevertheless, Rearick concludes, they "founded a tradition of historical research which could be later resumed and better developed. . . . Jacques Bonhomme and his folklore had at last gained a place in French historical thought."

One wonders if this has been achieved today, a century after the founding of the Revue Historique, which symbolically marked the end of this generation of historical franc-tireurs. The Romantics' interest in soil-rooted traditions might ultimately have taken French historiography farther in what might unkindly be called a völkisch direction than the triumph of the positivistic professionals permitted; yet it cannot really be said that Romantic historiography was superseded—or forsaken, as by Quinet himself-without loss, or that its folkloric preoccupations have been fully reintegrated into present-day historical practice. One searches almost in vain for Jacques Bonhomme in most of the great regional thèses of the last three decades. We may know how much land he owned and the price of his hectoliter of grain but still know relatively little, except from isolated scholars like Philippe Ariès and Roger Thabault, of what he felt about life and death.

One may gently remind Rearick that his historians who owed so much to Herder were not really "beyond the Enlightenment." Although the efforts of his historians to apprehend the popular past through the humblest evidence were often abortive or naive, Rearick's book affords a stimulating opportunity to reconsider the new dimension they gave to historical inquiry.

JOHN ROTHNEY
Ohio State University

ROMUALD SZRAMKIEWICZ. Les régents et censeurs de la Banque de France nommés sous le Consulat et l'Empire. (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IV^e Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Fifth Series, Hautes études médiévales et modernes, 22.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1974. Pp. lviii, 422.

The Bank of France was managed by eight régents and three censeurs throughout the nineteenth century (in the strictest sense, for the founding acts were of February 13 and 16, 1800), and these officers were, in effect, elected by the two hundred greatest shareholders. The régents and censeurs were therefore the flower of French capitalism, but little has been known of them until now. This thesis, from the French École Pratique des Hautes Études, is a biographical dictionary of the forty-three men who held offices as régents or censeurs during the bank's first fifteen years. The author has done thoroughbut not exhaustive-research in all accessible sources, private and public, in Paris, the provinces, and Geneva. For each subject he summarizes his findings under seven heads: family background, marriage, descendants, business and professional life, wealth and property, honors and public offices, and personal character. Statutory clauses defining the selection and functions of régents and censeurs are appended to the volume, and there is an introduction of some thirty pages, which is in fact a general conclusion. It is a useful reference book for all who are interested in the history of the French ruling classes, and, of course, many interesting links can be found with prominent families of the eighteenth and later nineteenth centuries.

About half of these régents and censeurs may be loosely classified as bankers, the rest were an assortment of business and professional men. At the same time, many of them were vast landowners, and even more of them had speculated profitably in confiscated property (biens nationaux) during the French Revolution. Thus, much of their wealth was in land and this fact qualifies another major conclusion: that they were predominantly bourgeois, only one, Le Couteulx de Canteleu, having been indubitably a nobleman before the Revolution and only six others having had fathers who had purchased the ennobling office of secretarie du Roi. The composition and sources of their wealth are difficult to generalize about, and their political connections and patronage are even harder to unravel. But their geographical origins are clear and seem to reflect the decline of French Atlantic trade, owing to the triumphant pressure of British sea power-only nine of the forty-three came from the Atlantic Coast, none from Nantes or any other Breton port, whereas twenty-five came from Montpellier, Lyons, Grenoble, Marseilles, and other points to the southeast. Only four of their wives came from Atlantic ports, none

from south of Saint Malo, whereas eight came from Lyons and nine more from the southeastern towns. Books such as this are of great and lasting value to social historians.

J. F. BOSHER
York University

CHRISTOPHER H. JOHNSON. Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839–1851. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1974. Pp. 324. \$17.50.

With Christopher Johnson's study of Cabet, our knowledge of utopian socialism is considerably advanced. Previous publications about the early socialists have tended to concentrate on the ideologies of their protagonists and to neglect early socialism as a movement—as a kind of embryonic political organization involved in winning over, socializing, and preparing the working classes for their rise to power. There is a plethora of intellectual studies, but none that explore deeply into the social context. Johnson's is the first effort to probe extensively the archives and to try to discover the role and strength of Cabet's following in Paris and the provinces. He has been about as successful as one can expect, given the sparsity of documents on the beliefs and allegiances of the lower classes before the rise of opinion polls and micro-sociological investigations. With the aid of police reports, Cabet's private papers, the subscription lists of his journals, observations by contemporaries, and the local history available in monographs, Johnson presents some indications of the size of the movement, its geographic location, and a profile of the typical Icarian communist. All this is admittedly "soft" data, and with it he can do little more than suggest or offer enlightened guesses when answering the questions he posed because his questions had to do with quantities.

Given these limits, I find his approach to be adequate; most of his conclusions seem reasonable. At times he has perhaps gone beyond his data, as when he asserted that "tailors, shoemakers and cabinetmakers flocked to the Icarian cause." Table 3 shows that these three crafts provided forty per cent of a sample of 497 declared Icarians; but it does not indicate their clearly minute percentage in the total number of workers in these crafts. This is, however, a minor issue and by no means detracts from the value of the book. Much of this value lies in Johnson's explanations of the reasons why workers became Icarians in several provincial cities and in his assessment of Cabet, not as a theorist, for Johnson acknowledges his subject's mental limits, but as a leader involved in the practical problems of tactics, organization, and recruitment. Until 1847 Cabet was an effective, practical leader; but afterward he became a dictatorial messiah-a development of personality that

won the approval of large numbers of his followers as the movement assumed the character of a sect. Johnson's explanation of this transition is quite interesting; he combines factors within and without the sect and relates the transition to Cabet's decision to emigrate. His empirical explanation should prove valuable to students looking for a theory about millennial movements in general.

LEO LOUBERE
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Buffalo

HANS-DIETER MANN. Lucien Febvre: La pensée vivante d'un historien. Preface by FERNAND BRAUDEL. (Cahiers des Annales, 31.) Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1971. Pp. 189. 30 fr.

In 1950, when Fernand Braudel succeeded Lucien Febvre at the Collège de France at Paris, the famous medievalist Ferdinand Lot was reported to have remarked that the election was the "shame" of French scholarship. One can still find opposition to the successors of what H. Stuart Hughes aptly has called the "Febvre pontificate," although today the Annales historians remain the virtual masters of the French historical profession with a charismatic influence upon historians throughout the world.

In this slender book, the historian Hans-Dieter Mann contributes to our further understanding of a remarkable historiographical movement with an impressionistic analysis of the historical ideas of Febvre (1878-1956), a chef d'école who was without doubt one of the most brilliant and imaginative historians of the twentieth century. Mann has divided his study unevenly into three parts. The second part, devoted to Febvre's role in the development of a new history, is the nucleus of the book and the section that will be of greatest interest to most historians. By skillful documentation of Febvre's reactions to the seminal ideas of his contemporaries, scholars such as the sociologist Emile Durkheim, the geographer Vidal de la Blache, and especially the philosopher Henri Berr, Mann has exposed remarkably well the long roots of the Annales revolt against the positivistic and narrative history (histoire événementielle) of the French academic establishment of the early decades of the twentieth century. Indeed, historians today will find it sobering to see how Febvre, and his followers in the Annales, retained a passionate attachment to a unique and independent historical discipline in spite of a constant fascination and involvement with the methodologies of the social sciences.

Given the solid grounding of Mann's book in Febvre's incredibly prolific writings, it would be churlish to dwell upon the fact, noted by Fernand Braudel in an otherwise enthusiastic preface, that the author has not utilized archival material in preparing this study. Indeed, since the book was written—the most recent item in the bibliography is 1967—several American scholars have discovered in letters and official reports written by Febvre important new dimensions of his thought. But Mann's talents and inclinations lie closer to Isaiah Berlin's philosophical fox than to the hedgehog. One hopes that in future studies Mann will explore further such fascinating themes as the filiation of ideas between Febvre, linguistic theory, and structuralism, which are too hastily presented throughout this book.

But readers of this book will be well rewarded by becoming more familiar with the mind of a historian who has been called with some justice the "intellectual banker of his age," while specialists should rejoice that this guide to the *outillage mental* of Febvre brings us closer to the time when a more definitive history of the *Annales* historical school can be written.

MARTIN SIEGEL
Kean College of New Jersey

RICHARD L. KAGAN. Students and Society in Early Modern Spain. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1975. Pp. xxv, 278. \$13.50.

The central chapters of this book examine the development of an important facet of early modern Spanish society: the three-part relationship between the Colegios Mayores, an important facet of the universities; the evolving letrado class, analogous to a nobility of the robe; and the upper levels of Spanish government and bureaucracy. The Colegios Mayores expanded rapidly in sixteenth-century Castile, accounting for much of the growth of university education stimulated by growing governmental demand for trained legal administrative personnel. As the Spanish empire evolved, however, the Colegios Mayores increasingly became the preserve of a cluster of letrado dynasties. Colegio scholarships for poor students were perverted to support the sons of successful graduates, while colegio teaching chairs became temporary positions for graduates who were candidates for high government appointments. By 1600 Colegio admission was largerly restricted to sons of previous graduatés, while the higher bureaucracy was dominated by the same group. Simultaneously, Colegio training became a prerequisite for high office. Serious education became irrelevant to the system, and a closed structure perpetrated a conservative set of values and attitudes within the very administrative elite that was crucial to implementation of any reform under the Old Regime. The development of this closed system of education and co-option to office was under way by the 1550s, was completed

by 1650, and continued to operate into the eighteenth century. These findings go far toward explaining in social and educational terms the observed characteristics, such as incompetence and lack of commitment, of both the Spanish bureaucracy and the Castilian universities in the early modern period.

These results make Students and Society in Early Modern Spain an important book for the social history of modern Spain, despite some problems of perspective and emphasis. The initial impression is of a study of higher education in a fairly wide sense, but the real concern is with a particular facet of that system and its relationship with the state. While the central chapters represent thorough and imaginative scholarship, the coverage of the eighteenth century is less effective than for the two preceding centuries. There are annoying mechanical problems that are surprising given the reputation of the publisher, who apparently gave the author little help in tightening style and syntax.

Despite these concerns, however, the important parts of the book are based on thorough research and penetrating insights. Students and Society in Early Modern Spain is an innovative book that should be examined carefully by any scholar of early modern European society.

DAVID R. RINGROSE University of California, San Diego

MARIA DO ROSÁRIO DE SAMPAIO THEMUDO BARATA. Rui Fernandes de Almada: Diplomata português do século XVI. Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, Centro de Estudos Históricos. 1971. Pp. xiv, 361.

Rui Fernandes de Almada's career as bureaucrat, noble diplomat or ennobled merchant, and royal confidant spanned a period between 1480 and 1540 when Portugal forged important economic ties with Northern Europe. Almada was associated with many of the outstanding businessmen of this age, and the author seeks to assess the diplomatic contribution of this Portuguese man of letters. He traces Almada's active service to the Portuguese Crown, first in North Africa at Oran and Safi, then on to Flanders and special missions in France and the Germanies. Unfortunately, the extant documentation does not always afford a chronological continuity, and at times Almada's role in events under discussion seems almost contrived, or at best marginal. The book is not strictly biographical, but rather it affords a panoramic view of trade relations between Portugal and her European suppliers and markets.

Of special interest is this diplomat's quest for new sources of copper ore, which Portugal needed for overseas trade. The author suggests that it was Almada's desire to seek out smaller German mining companies directly and to avoid dealing with massive consortia like the Fuggers and Hochstetter interests, who were reluctant to exchange Portuguese spices for metal. By bartering with small concerns, the mounting specie shortage in Portugal could be alleviated.

JOHN VOGT
University of Georgia

JAN DE VRIES. The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500-1700. (Yale Series in Economic History.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 316. \$15.00.

Chroniclers of the early modern economic history of the Netherlands have paid scant attention to rural development. They have tended, properly, to focus on the great feats associated with Dutch shipping and commerce in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, secondarily examining the outstanding industrial activity and leaving the countryside pretty well alone. As Jan de Vries amply demonstrates in this welcome study, however, the Dutch rural economy figured significantly in the overall economic progress, and rural as well as urban society received the benefits of the achievement.

De Vries approaches his subject in terms of patterns of economic development and behavior. His testings of general economic theory and his explanations of his methods of analysis are doubtless more useful to specialists in rural development than to most historians, but the results are clear enough for all to see. In the early sixteenth century, the five provinces of the Netherlands examined by de Vries—South and North Holland, Utrecht, Friesland, and Groningen—constituted a thinly populated agricultural backwater of Europe. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, when growth was to level off, the rural economy of these provinces was the most advanced in the Western world.

Once the Dutch had secured a plentiful and inexpensive source of grain from Baltic suppliers and wealthy burghers began to look to the country for profitable investment, the Dutch rural inhabitants, with few seigneurial institutions to hold them in place, rapidly ceased functioning as all-purpose peasants. Vast drainage projects, networks of windmills for motive power and of canals for transportation, the intensive mining of peat for fuel, and the nearness of markets in this small area speckled with towns: these features contributed to a highly specialized agriculture and, for over half the rural population, to a large variety of occupations as craftsmen and laborers and in trade and

commerce. The new farmers concentrated on crops for the manufacture of oil and hemp and soap, on dairy products, and on vegetables and fruits. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the wares and services of the rural populace were yielding visible returns. The more affluent among them, like the thriving burghers, were building spacious brick homes, furnished with oak, linens, and pewter. They owned clocks, mirrors, silver, porcelain, paintings, and books, and they sent their children to school. (The majority of the rural population was literate by 1660.) Such amenities were virtually unknown, outside of the aristocracy, elsewhere in rural Europe. Indeed, de Vries's thorough research depicts an economy that was no longer rural in the traditional sense. While countrysides to the east and south were to remain essentially unchanged for many generations, town and country had blended in this northwest corner of the Continent into a vital and prosperous economic entity.

JORDAN E. KURLAND
American Association of University Professors

J. G. VAN DILLEN. Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen van Amsterdam [Sources for the History of the Trade and the Gilds of Amsterdam]. Volume 3, 1633–1672. (Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, Major Series, volume 144.) The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1974. Pp. x, 959.

When J. G. van Dillen began this series in 1926, he intended it to include sources for Amsterdam's commerce and trade gilds during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The first volume, 1512–1611, appeared in 1929; the second, 1612–32, was published in 1933. Busy with other duties for many years, he lately resumed work on volume 3 and largely completed it before he died in 1969.

The collection includes charters, council resolutions, memorandums, and other documents pertaining to gilds and trade from the Amsterdam burgomasters' archives, treasury archives, legal archives, bankruptcy court archives, and the soapmakers' gild archives. But by far the largest number come from the Amsterdam notarial records. These are some of the most interesting sources: apprenticeship contracts, declarations concerning the abuse of apprentices, a tentmaker's contract to make a royal tent for the king of Sweden, and a house-remodeling contract.

Despite its large size, this volume contains only a very small sampling of the mass of documents that it represents. Of the relevant notarial archives only fifteen per cent were systematically researched, and of these only twenty per cent are included in

the volume. Obviously no quantitative judgments can be formed from such a selection. Percentages for the earlier volumes are considerably higher. The editors are aware of the problem. "In essence," they write, "these three volumes have the character of contributions to the knowledge of the sources for the history of the trade and guilds of Amsterdam. The term 'Sources for the History' in the title is not restrictive but declarative in nature." Perhaps, as they contend, the project is useful in that it provides researchers with some idea of what may be found in the archives, of which this is a sample, but whether such publications are worth the effort and expense involved may still be questioned.

EDWIN J. VAN KLEY Calvin College

ANNETTE ANDRÉ-FÉLIX. Les débuts de l'industrie chimique dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens. (Centre d'Histoire Économique et Sociale.) Brussels: Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles. 1971. Pp. 148. 220 fr. B.

The early history of chemical technology shows that it progressed purely by trial and error. The rate of diffusion owed everything to a combination of entrepreneurial initiative—occasionally aided by the state—and mere chance, and nothing to theory, formal teaching, or the laboratory. Contemporaries recorded the resulting isolated and unrelated developments because they were of local significance, and also because chemistry was then a subject of fashionable attention. But the economic consequences often remained unrecorded, and the absence of cost and production figures means that we remain remarkably ill informed about the origins of the chemical industry.

This slim book adds something to our technical and economic knowledge. The author relates her description of eighteenth-century sulphuric and nitric acid manufacture to the broader commercial background of the Austrian Netherlands. The description of the government's import substitution policy, culminating in the support given to Thomas Murry's chemical works in the 1760s, is interesting. Alas, Murry was a bad businessman and the Austrians lost most of their money.

The narrow, local scope of this scholarly and clearly written study does not allow any general conclusions to be drawn. It will therefore have only a limited appeal to those concerned with the early stages of growth in European industry.

L. F. HABER
University of Surrey

MARTEN G. BUIST. At Spes Non Fracta: Hope & Co. 1770–1815. Merchant Bankers and Diplomats at Work.

[Amsterdam:] Bank Mees & Hope NV. 1974. Pp. x, 716.

After twenty years of preparation, during which most outside researchers were refused access to its archives, a company-appointed Dutch historian has published a history of Hope & Co. (Amsterdam), a large and important merchant bank of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. A sixty-page introductory chapter describes the Hope family as exceedingly righteous—if not always sympathetic; it is followed by about 250 pages of informative but somewhat tedious enumerations of loans dispensed to Sweden, Poland, Russia, Spain, and others. We hear of the size of the loans, their rates of interest, and the difficulties of their placement, as well as about Hope's less successful competitors, but are told little of the political circumstances surrounding the loans, the negotiations beyond the narrow financial framework, or the questionable procedures that other historical sources reveal. Thus, the dubious relationship between Hope and Napoleonic France is largely passed over, and likewise many aspects of the Russian business. Then comes a chapter on the decline of the firm, and, in the last seventy pages, something about Hope's merchant activities. Enlightening though it could have been, this part suffers not only from brevity and confinement to specific topics, but also from not being related to Hope's other activities. There are added some twenty illustrations and, finally, quite a number of statistics. Some of these-including the longest, a nine page list of pictures owned by Hope and their prices—are not very relevant; others, giving the capital and loss accounts, the turnover, and selected figures about merchandise transactions, are useful but neither integrated into the story nor evaluated.

The book deals with an important topic; it contains much, but it leaves out more. Many additional sources should have been consulted or, if they were, better exploited, including the archives of Barings, Brandts of London, and Rothschilds, as well as political correspondence, consular reports, trade statistics, and port books. Moreover, aside from a book like Ralph Hidy's House of Baring in American Trade and Finance (1949), various excellent histories of banks, merchant houses, and industries could have been taken as models. But perhaps the author was restrained by "public relations" considerations of his employers. Thus, a volume was produced that is welcome for what information about banking activities of the time it gives—and this is an extensive contribution. But it is far from being an acceptable history of Hope & Co. and its time.

WALTHER KIRCHNER Princeton, New Jersey

IMANUEL GEISS and BERND JÜRGEN WENDT, editors. Deutschland in der Weltpolitik des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. [Gütersloh:] Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag. 1973. Pp. 594. DM 38.

Historians are not always well served by Festschriften, too many of which, despite their editors' best intentions, become disarticulated collections of inconsequential stuff that have little relevance to the achievements of the men they are meant to honor. This is not true in this case. Professors Geiss and Wendt have done their work well; the trivial and the purely laudatory have been rigorously excluded, and all of the essays presented here deal with important problems that received negligible attention from German historians until Fritz Fischer startled them with the publication of Griff nach der Weltmacht in 1961. The level of scholarship is generally high, and the volume as a whole is an impressive demonstration of Fischer's influence on the profession.

Fischer's students and followers have always, to be sure, tended to be hot-gospellers, and some of these essays show the weaknesses that result from this: excessive polemicism, reluctance to abandon Fischerian positions that have proven untenable. and a preoccupation with continuity that threatens to become an obsession.

Thus, in an otherwise absorbing essay on Kurt Riezler, Imanuel Geiss goes out of his way to invent a new "Magic Flute Effect" (based on Mozart's transformation of the good Queen of the Night into an evil Queen of the Night and the ogrelike Sarastro into the noble Sarastro) to describe what he believes are radical reversals in the interpretations of Bethmann Hollweg's foreign policy by Fischer's critics. This is amusing, but it is also distracting and not entirely persuasive, particularly since Geiss's own views of Bethmann Hollweg seem to have been modified. At least, he has backed away from Fischer's original argument that the wartime chancellor's policy was indistinguishable from that of the most rabid militarists and expansionists. Geiss does cover the retreat, awkwardly enough, by writing that the Machtwille of German society was more important than the chancellor's "subtle spiritual agitations" (subtilen Seelenregungen) (pp. 411-12).

Less inclined to yield is Adolf Gasser, who, in his article on the deutsche Hegemonialkrieg von 1914, still maintains, as Fischer did in his book Krieg der Illusionen (1969), that the German decision to go to war was made in a meeting of the Kaiser with his military and naval chiefs in December 1912, although this theory has not stood up to subsquent criticism. Indeed, he himself adds qualifications that take away on one hand what he asserts on the

other.

A good deal is said in this volume about "conti-

nuity," appropriately enough, since Fischer has made much of it, particularly with respect to foreign policy. But in one of the volume's best essays, Fritz Epstein gives a convincing demonstration of how easy it is to overplay this theme at the expense of the truth by demolishing the connection that Fischer tried to make, in the fifth chapter of Knieg der Illusionen, between Bismarck's attitude toward Russia in 1887 and the terms of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918. Epstein's point is clear: too great a desire to prove continuity leads to a tendency to ignore nuances and to confuse chance likenesses and similarities of formulation with identity in essence. This volume is not free of such faults. In an interesting essay on the resistance leader General Ludwig Beck, for example, Klaus-Jürgen Müller writes that Beck believed that, in foreign affairs, the German government should try to pursue "a German great power policy that was better thought out, more intelligently planned, and implemented more carefully and with better and more sensible means, and thereby, as far as possible, to avoid the mistakes of Wilhelmine policy and to pay a little more attention to the interests of the other great powers." He then adds, surprisingly, "On the basis of this kind of continuity, albeit modified, no convincing alternative to Hitler's foreign policy could develop" (p. 528). This is to disregard nuances with a vengeance.

These tendencies are not as obtrusive as these remarks may seem to indicate. There is not an essay in this volume that will not reward the careful reader. At the risk of seeming to slight other excellent articles, special mention should be made of Arnold Sywottek's comprehensive analysis of the Fischer controversy; Günter Moltmann's account of an early example of American military assistance—the sale of the frigate United States to the Frankfurt national government in 1849-and his generalizations from the case; and Theodore Hamerow's careful analysis of the motivations for the enfranchisement of the masses in 1867. Also noteworthy are Dirk Stegmann's exposition of the evolution of Miquel's Sammlungspolitik from 1890 to 1897; Peter-Christian Witt's intriguing revelation of the financial jiggery-pokery that was hidden behind the myth of the incorruptible Prussian civil service-"The Prussian Landrat as Tax Official, 1891-1918"; Gerald Feldman's important contribution to our growing knowledge of the attitudes of the academic elite before and during the first World War-a study of the political views and activities of the chemist Emil Fischer from 1909 to 1919; and the essays of Helmut Böhme and Peter Borowsky on the special role of Finland and the Ukraine in German imperialistic thinking. The list of contributors is well balanced, including not only Fischer's most productive students but specialists in other countries like Hans Gatzke, John Moses,



James Joll, John Röhl, Raymond Poidevin, Pierre Renouvin, Anneliese Thimme, and George W. F. Hallgarten.

The editors have also included a bibliography of Fischer's works and a complete list of the dissertations he has directed that is in itself a striking proof of his impact on German historiography.

GORDON A. CRAIG Stanford University

GEORGE L. MOSSE. The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich. New York: Howard Fertig. 1975. Pp. xiv, 252. \$14.00.

Professor Mosse argues in this book that since the time of the French Revolution people have come to worship themselves, that is, the nation, and that in the nineteenth century a new politics sought to express and enhance national feeling and unity "through the creation of a political style which became, in reality, a secularized religion" (p. 2). The new style consisted of the use of national myths and symbols and the creation of a liturgy that permitted the people to participate directly in national worship. The mass movements of the twentieth century adopted this style with little change and thus became the heirs of a tradition that had long presented an alternative to parliamentary democracy. Mosse discusses the new style as it developed in Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Underlying the festive ceremonies and the mythmaking in Germany was the idea of beauty as the unifying element in society, as the absolute that could bring together opposites and ennoble national life. The new politics, the effort to nationalize the emerging masses, relied heavily on the appeal of the beautiful in Mosse's view. Specifically, he describes the symbolism and mythical significance of national monuments, public festivals, the theater, and the ceremonial role of organizations including the gymnastic associations, choral societies, sharpshooting clubs, and labor groups. He discusses Hitler's taste, showing both his idiosyncrasies and his continuity with the established patterns of mythmaking and national worship. The new politics, Mosse concludes, was not the conscious application of a political theory but the encouragement of esthetic, objective expression of the basic longing for wholeness or totality, which the masses felt as they emerged in a partisan, pluralistic, and confusing world. Monuments symbolized and festivals and ceremonies personalized this expression.

Mosse's work rests upon extensive use of monograph and periodical literature. He has not overlooked such relevant works as those of Thomas Nipperdey and Albert Speer. The book is pleasant

to read and coherently organized. The reader will not, however, find very much systematic social analysis. We are conditioned today, perhaps overconditioned, to expect an author to place the ideas, emotions, or psychological needs with which he deals in the context of social groups. One could argue that the emerging masses were not socially undifferentiated and are, therefore, susceptible to social analysis and that different elements of these masses doubtlessly perceived the need for totality differently and therefore most likely participated differently in any expression of national feeling. An exploration of the social context would have been of considerable interest. I do not mean, however, to detract from the value of Mosse's book. He has made an important and unique contribution to the literature on nationalism and totalitarianism. Moreover, by demonstrating the power and prevalence of various nationalistically oriented mythical and ritualistic practices in the nineteenth century and their influence on the twentieth century, he reminds us of the importance of keeping in mind the principle of continuity in history.

ROBERT W. LOUGEE
University of Connecticut

HANS LIEBESCHÜTZ. Von Georg Simmel zu Franz Rosenzweig: Studien zum Jüdischen Denken im deutschen Kulturbereich. With an afterword by ROBERT WELTSCH. (Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts, number 23.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1970. Pp. 258.

The Leo Baeck Institute—founded in 1955 by former German-Jewish groups with its main center in New York and smaller centers in Jerusalem and London—is designed for research in history, sociology, and the development of German Jews, giving that group, as it were, a spiritual identity. Intellectual history based on German idealism and critical idealism (belief that events are controlled by ideas), which developed in Germany, also served as a basis for German-Jewish intellectual activity in Germany, and it continues to play a considerable role in this sort of research combined with a kind of filiopietism.

Liebeschütz's book fits into this category. In fact, the subtitle would be a more appropriate title. The book is a collection of five or six studies only loosely connected, if at all, dealing with about half a dozen German-Jewish philosophers, theologians, and others. They range from Hermann Cohen (1842–1918), professor of philosophy in Marburg and founder of the Neo-Kantian school, who convinced himself that Judaism, Protestantism, and Germanism were compatible and shared an identity of purpose in the service of mankind and who, in the last years of his life, formulated the concept

of a "religion of reason," which he found in the sources of Judaism, to his pupil Franz Rosenzweig, who around the time of World War I became active in seeking ways to bring Jews back to Judaism (Cohen's *Religion of Reason out of the* Sources of Judaism has recently been published in an English translation by Simon Kaplan [1971]).

Liebeschütz's studies—like some others—strive to explain the relation (or dependence) of German-Jewish thought to German thought generally, either as an adaptation of the latter or as a reaction to it, as the case may be, and point out the backgrounds and appropriate changes in Judaism. The studies may be good as such things go and may depict the intellectual trends among German Jews, mainly intellectuals, showing the dichotomy between Jewishness and Germanism and the attempts to form a synthesis during a few generations prior to the catastrophe, but they are not unproblematic.

I feel some unease regarding some studies of this sort—Liebeschütz's included—that concentrate on externals of the personalities instead of on probing deeper into the specifics of Jewish thought in order to disentangle its dialectics of "similar and separate" in relation to German thought. This may be epitomized by the unprovable speculation about the "Jewishness" and the Jewish traits in the ideas of Georg Simmel (1858–1918, professor of philosophy and sociology in Strasbourg), who was a Protestant of Jewish origin—his father having converted—and the later attempt to "blame" him for regarding Jewish religion as obsolete and for negating Jewish tradition and positive Jewishness.

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WERNER SCHIEFEL. Bernhard Dernburg 1865–1937: Kolonialpolitiker und Bankier im wilhelminischen Deutschland. (Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, volume 11.) Zurich: Atlantis. [1974.] Pp. 277.

Fritz Epstein's wish has been fulfilled; we now possess an excellent biography of Germany's controversial colonial secretary. The heart of the book, more than half the text, as well as the center of Dernburg's own existence, is his tenure as colonial secretary from 1906 to 1910. During this time he changed colonial policy from empirical action, congenial to each colonial secretary, to a program of rational economic development. He intended to convert each colony into an economic unit that would cover the cost of its own government. Schiefel maintains that the main impetus for reform came from the centralized colonial regime rather than from the colonies. If the author had limited

his consideration to Dernburg's secretaryship this biography would have benefited only African historians. Schiefel, however, pursues Dernburg's career through the Second Reich into the Weimar Republic and, finally, to Dernburg's demise as an "unperson" after 1933. As a businessman in high political office, Dernburg personified that close connection between economics and politics so characteristic of the last years of Wilhelmian Germany. His career illustrates the limited upward mobility of the times; occasionally outsiders breached the citadel of Junker officialdom even if they were not socially accepted.

Schiefel devotes few pages to the young Dernburg. This gap is caused by the problem of sources; fifty-one boxes of Dernburg's memorabilia were burned in Berlin in 1943. His youth contained unhappy instances, which might have affected subsequent action: the failures in preparatory schools, the inability to achieve a reserve officer's commission, and the discrimination because of his Jewish heritage. Dernburg, however, apparently experienced neither ambivalence nor hostility because of his father's conversion from Judaism to the evangelical faith.

For diplomatic historians Dernburg's career illustrates the limits of personal diplomacy. Always an Anglophile, he sought an entente with England on the basis of an all-Africa colonial agreement. Schiefel reveals Dernburg as one who recognized imperialism as an aid to peace rather than as a cause of war; territorial exchange in Africa would smooth the way for a bilateral agreement with England. His attempt failed because it could not be harmonized with higher priorities in the German Foreign Office. One wonders, too, if Dernburg's lewish background impeded the acceptance of his detente proposal. Equally unsuccessful, though for different reasons, was his semiofficial mission to the United States in 1914 to raise money and support for Germany.

Schiefel's portrait of Dernburg is masterful. Without eulogizing or incriminating but with an astute balance, the author candidly renders Dernburg the banker, Dernburg the statesman, and Dernburg the diplomat between two worlds.

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GERHARD A. RITTER, editor. Gesellschaft, Parlament und Regierung: Zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus in Deutschland. (Veröffentlichung der Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1974. Pp. 458. DM 24.

MICHAEL STÜRMER. Regierung und Reichstag im Bismarckstaat 1871–1880. Volume 54. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politi-

schen Parteien.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1974. Pp. 376. DM 68.

For many years, the Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien in Bonn has sponsored a distinguished series of monographs, of which Michael Stürmer's study of the first decade of the Reichstag, the fifty-fourth volume in its offering, is a worthy continuation. The essays edited by Gerhard A. Ritter, also sponsored by the commission, serve as a promising foretaste of the monumental *Handbuch der Geschichte des deutschen Parlamentarismus*, which the commission plans eventually to publish.

Stürmer argues that the depression which began in 1873 accelerated the demise of the fragile claim to parliamentarianism exerted by the Reichstag. Bismarck, shrewdly playing upon economic malaise and fears of Socialist radicalism, eventually brought about the parliamentary alliance of Roggen und Eisen, the hallmarks of which were the anti-Socialist law of 1878 and the protectionist tariff of the following year. The chancellor was confronted by a difficult task, for the Reichstag, dominated by free traders, was recalcitrant and the Prussian ministry antagonistic. In the course of his battle to forge the alliance, the Bonapartist strain in Bismarck was revealed in his repeated threats of parliamentary dissolution with accompanying dramatic appeals to the electorate, in dark hints of coups d'état, in his mobilization of public opinion through interest groups, and in his growing awareness of the tactical desirability of promoting social welfare legislation. It was only the two attempts on the life of William I in the summer of 1878, the first of which was perpetrated by a Socialist and the second suspected of Socialist inspiration, that provided the chancellor, already adept at capitalizing on the emotions of the masses, a chance of success. The result of the union of industry and agriculture was an enhancement of Bismarck's position, an increasing measure of financial independence for the Reich, the transformation of political parties based on principle into agents of economic interest, the assumption of the Sozialfrage by the state rather than the parties, and the reduction of the Reichstag to an "Interessenbörse" and rhetorical forum. Bonapartism in Germany was not caparisoned in imperial regalia but in Bismarck's rumpled Gardeiäger uniform.

Stürmer's argument is quite persuasive when he deals with the chancellor and the bourgeois parliamentary leadership. His narrative is rich in suggestion and sensible conclusions, and it is enlivened in the footnotes by critical or appreciative references to the recent literature on the Bismarckian Reich. Like Ritter, in his introductory contribution to the volume of essays, Stürmer

discounts the view of Ernst Huber and others that the German Constitution of 1871 represented a viable resolution of the dualism of monarchical executive and parliament. The constitution was in fact an improvisation, and it consequently worked to the advantage of the force most skilled at manipulation. In such circumstances, Bismarck was easily triumphant.

Stürmer's treatment of the motivation that led the agricultural conservatives to close ranks with industry is less satisfactorily developed. The depression of 1873 was an industrial, not an agricultural, phenomenon, for financial misery did not descend on East Elbian farmers until about 1880. The bond between Roggen und Eisen, never without its abrasions, cannot convincingly be attributed a mutuality of economic despair but should be treated as a common response to the Socialist peril, its maladroit assassins, and its incontestable success at the polls. Stürmer is aware of the shallow roots of the alliance, but his analysis would profit from further exploration of the equivocal nature of conservative support for protection in the 1870s. The decisive development enabling the chancellor to assert his thralldom on German politics was not the economic misfortunes of 1873 but the assassination attempts on the emperor five years later. It was only those outrages which pushed the landed interest into the arms of industry and the electorate into the snares of Bismarck's policy of reaction, which on the surface was directed against the Socialists but which in fact had the destruction of the liberal Reichstag as its aim. The ideological Sammlung of landed proprietors and industrialists would survive the collapse of the empire in 1918, but the economic bond between the two endured hardly more than a decade.

The nineteen essays marshalled by Ritter, including a useful one by Stürmer on the military budgets under Bismarck, span the period from 1815 to the present. Some are general, even speculative, while others, such as Rudolf Morsey's interesting evaluation of the authenticity of Heinrich Brüning's memoirs, are quite specific. Some of the contributions are fortified by considerable statistical elaboration. Every historian concerned with the Reichstag should read Alfred Milatz's exemplary portrayal of the way in which the geographical division of electoral districts and the increasing frequency of run-off elections tended to work to the advantage of East Elbia and to those parties whose strength was concentrated rather than distributed among the population. Many of the articles, such as Milatz's dissection of the Reichstag, are useful in providing background for Stürmer's treatment of the early Bismarckian era. Hans Boldt points out that German constitutional theory in the Vormärz-and thereafter-proved

unable to devise a formula that would delineate the prerogatives of Crown and parliament. Manfred Botzenhart analyzes how the attachment of the liberals in 1848 to parliamentarism was compromised by their fear of social unrest. The refuge they chose was to endorse the principle of a strong executive. An essay by Klaus Erich Pollmann shows that the talent of Bismarck and his conservative allies for employing a democratic franchise to its advantage was already well developed in the North German Confederation.

As Stürmer himself makes clear, the ground in Germany was ripe for Bonapartism long before Bismarck, the depression of 1873, or the Socialist menace came on the scene. It was Bismarck's genius, or his perversity, to know how to manipulate the Furcht und Hoffnung of those who mistrusted him but who feared the future even more. Bismarck's conservative alliance of 1878-79 succeeded in undermining parliament and halting the Socialist threat, but its legacy, as Stürmer aptly points out, was deathly. It carried in its train the imperialist adventures of the 1880s, Bülow's Weltpolitik in the following two decades, Tirpitz's navy, and the ultimate poisoned fruit of Bismarck's victory over parliamentary liberalism, the personliches Regiment of William II.

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BRUCE WALLER. Bismarck at the Crossroads: The Reorientation of German Foreign Policy after the Congress of Berlin, 1878–1880. (University of London Historical Studies, 35.) London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1974. Pp. 273. \$18.00.

This valuable study, based on exhaustive research in the sources of four of the five great powers, deals with the two years following the Congress of Berlin, which had the unintended result of engendering Russian hostility and forcing Bismarck to reassess his policy. By 1880 Bismarck had entered into the Dual Alliance and was embarked on re-establishing the *Dreikaiserbund*. Waller's detailed treatment gives us a welcome look into the minute workings of European diplomacy, but it does not essentially alter the traditional picture. The only exception is that he assigns greater weight to the personal animosity between Bismarck and Gorchakov than to the policy issues that divided them.

He is partially correct, particularly as we know that Bismarck was a hater par excellence; but it is an inadequate appraisal. Underlying the execution of the agreements of the congress, especially the Romanian problem—we have to thank the author for revealing that Bismarck's stance was strongly influenced by economic motives-and the entire Near Eastern settlement, was the shift from a senior-junior partnership between Russia and Prussia before 1856 to one of equality between Russia and Germany after 1871. This development, coupled with the Russian-Austrian rivalry in the Balkans, may have led Bismarck to overreact. But the man who realized that states do not have friends, only interests, was also aware that even with different chancellors. Russia would be averse to seeing the Russian-German relationship reversed. Determined to preserve the peace, Bismarck tried to deflect the interests of France and England to the periphery of Europe but then came to the conclusion that an improved understanding with St. Petersburg could only be reached by way of Vienna.

It would have helped had Waller more than alluded to the German domestic policy changes around 1879 and tied them to the foreign policy reorientation. The reader misses above all, however, an adequate presentation of the policies of the other great powers to which Bismarck was compelled to react. If, as could easily be deduced, the burden of European politics lay solely on Bismarck, it is no wonder that he suffered from neuralgia and had cauchemars des coalitions.

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GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN and JOACHIM RADKAU. Deutsche Industrie und Politik: Von Bismarck bis Heute. Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt. 1974. Pp. 574.

Nowhere in the West has there been a greater change in historiographical approach over the last fifteen years than in Germany. An almost exclusive preoccupation with constitutional, diplomatic, and intellectual history has yielded to a preoccupation with economic and social history. This has brought, together with undeniable benefits, the temptation to see all politics as determined by social and economic forces. The authors, the first a veteran and the other one of the most brilliant younger members of the new school, escape the temptation almost, but not quite. Aware that history cannot be restricted to narrative detail, they are nevertheless more successful in tracing the efforts of industrial lobbies than in evaluating the long-term effects.

Hallgarten deals with the period up to 1933 relatively briefly. He is aware that during the imperialist period, heavy industry was at best one of the principal lobbies. He is rightly skeptical of the economic worth of colonies, rather too dismissive of imperialism as a "social safety valve," and eminently right in concluding that the only viable

object of German expansion was the Near East, with industry's support, though not necessarily on its initiative.

On the vexed question of industry's role in helping Hitler to power, neither author offers definitive answers. Rightly dissatisfied with H. A. Turner's oversimple question, "Who paid whom?" they nevertheless leave loose ends. It may have been "typical" of the Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie to prefer Krupp to the pragmatic Duisberg of I. G. Farben as president in 1931 (p. 195), but, since this is not interpreted as a reversion to old rivalries (pp. 259, 288), why typical, and with what effect? The abrupt assertion that, structurally, German capitalism had "cut off or paralysed all alternatives to Nazism" (p. 12) does scant justice to the subtlety of their detailed presentation.

Radkau takes over in 1933, and the book's center piece is his account of state-industry relations in the Third Reich. The Nazi regime's inherent aggressiveness and its lack of economic policy aims made it heavily dependent on industrial support from the beginning, despite its retrogressive social utopianism. The weight of evidence surely supports the conclusion that "the leading circles of industry were able to pursue their interests . . . to an exceptional degree" under nazism (p. 301).

Hallgarten's and Radkau's arguments, often provocative and rarely politically neutral, are always intelligently presented, and the wealth of well-selected material alone makes their book valuable.

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A. J. RYDER. Twentieth-Century Germany: From Bismarck to Brandt. New York: Columbia University Press. 1973. Pp. xviii, 656. \$12.95.

A general history of this type, based entirely on published sources, generally appears under the imprint of a commercial publisher. University presses usually reserve such an indulgence for the rare scholarly titan who has spent a lifetime opening new vistas in his field. Mr. Ryder, an Englishman whose monograph, *The German Revolution of 1918* (1967), provides the basis for his reputation as a historian, is in fact more of a popularizer than a titan of scholarship.

As such, he is a capable writer who knows how to organize his material into a coherent whole. As one regrets, therefore, the absence of references to even published documentary sources—except for a rare nod to the *Grosse Politik* and the listing of some documents in the select bibliography—one marvels at the skill with which it is all put together.

Synthesis without reinterpretation, expression of doubt, or cavil of any sort; is the strength of this work.

It gives the reader a chance to develop a general impression of the quality, direction, and coherence of the historiography of contemporary Germany. On that basis alone, the book should be considered worth reading. Certain weak spots-not necessarily in the narrative, but rather in the available published sources-may be more readily discerned from the overview provided by Twentieth-Century Germany. For instance, the Enabling Act of 1933, the legal—or legalistic—foundation of the Third Reich, is discussed in vague terms, as if it were an odd-colored cow that one has just caught a glimpse of while traveling in a fast train. This is not altogether the writer's fault. He has dutifully mentioned the act, as others have before him, and moved on.

Likewise, even the valuable efforts of K. D. Bracher, Erich Matthias, and Rudolf Morsey do not fully explain the sudden demise of the parties or unions in the same period. Ryder himself dealt with one of the most multifaceted episodes in modern German history—the military collapse and revolution of 1918—in his earlier work. Even in that monograph a chronicling of what happened leaves open the question of what people in different circumstances thought happened, and then what they thought about that, and how their behavior was thereby influenced.

While an interdisciplinary approach is considered useful in all fields of history, it may be that these areas in particular require such an approach for the purpose of achieving basic coherence.

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BEVERLY HECKART. From Bassermann to Bebel: The Grand Bloc's Quest for Reform in the Kaiserreich, 1900–1914. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 317. \$17.50.

Friedrich Naumann, Protestant theologian turned politician preaching democratic reforms, is among the few sympathetic political figures of Wilhelmian Germany. As leader of a short-lived party, editor of a Left-liberal weekly, pastor, indefatigable speaker and organizer, writer, and member of the Reichstag, Naumann strove to transform Germany into a parliamentary democracy by amalgamating the forces of democracy and nationalism. Calling for a party coalition that embraced the Social Democrats, Radicals, and National Liberals—that is, by creating a grand bloc "from Bassermann to Bebel"—Naumann intended to isolate the conservatives, direct the monarchy to head the

elements advocating reform, and thus achieve political modernization along the lines of his British model.

Heckart attempts to explain what chance of success Naumann's scheme had before 1914; whether the political atmosphere was conducive to such an approach; how his plan fared in the dreary world of Reichstag politics; what impact it made; why it eventually failed; and what the consequences of its failure were. Starting with a brief recapitulation of Naumann's idea, the author analyzes the disposition of the parties toward a Bassermann-to-Bebel coalition during the Bülow era, narrates the Badenese experiment in grand bloc politics, and describes its attempted application in the Reichstag.

The main theme of Heckart's study is that after 1900 a party-political democratic unity in the form of a Basserman-to-Bebel coalition was possible on the national level and that such unity had in fact come about momentarily, only to be destroyed in early 1914 as the result of the obstinacy of the National Liberals over the questions of national defense and social reform. With this failure ended Germany's chance for developing into a parliamentary democracy. "Parliamentary democracy," the author concludes, "was truly necessary for the maintenance of German power in the twentieth century. Its absence led to war, humiliating defeat and the revolution. As the prime obstacles to democratic unity the National Liberals must shoulder the responsibility for this destruction" (p. 287).

Heckart's optimistic assessment for the possibility of Wilhelmian Germany's evolving into a parliamentary democracy is unsubstantiated. In fact many passages in her book document that such a process was unrealistic. On most major issues the bloc parties were unable to maintain a common front. In my opinion the main assumptions and conclusions of the book are the result of a misjudgment of political realities. First of all, Heckart overestimates the actual political significance of the Reichstag; second, she also overestimates the desire of the potential bloc parties to push for "democratic unity" or a parliamentary democracy; and third, she underestimates the actual strength of the conservatives, the bureaucracy, and the monarchy to resist parliamentarization. Naumann's slogan "from Bassermann to Bebel" actually seems to have been more the wishful thinking of a few politicians and a convenient facade for parties lacking the courage of their cliches than a serious guide to political action.

Heckart's book, well written and well organized (although the bibliographical essay is disappointing, as are some of the footnotes), is a useful introduction to the history of the grand bloc idea and aspects of its party-political ramifications.

It is restricted, however, almost exclusively to party politics. Before it is possible to present a convincing exposition of the history of the grand bloc idea—let alone "its setting, development and political implications" (p. 3)—it is necessary to draw heavily upon a detailed sociopolitical analysis of the parties, major interest groups, and the bureaucracy, as well as a thorough investigation of the complex problem of political modernization.

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HANS-JOACHIM SCHOEPS. Ja—Nein—und Trotzdem: Erinnerungen—Begegnungen—Erfahrungen. Mainz: v. Hase & Koehler Verlag. 1974. Pp. 286. DM 25.

This book is the third and most revealing in a trilogy of memoirs that Professor Schoeps has published since 1956. It deserves attention as an index to his scholarly work and as a documentation of the changing spirit of recent times. By his sixty-fifth birthday (1974), Schoeps's oeuvres included forty-six books (ten of which have been translated into foreign languages), eighteen source collections and editions, 192 articles, and the supervision of fifty-seven Ph.D. dissertations, all of which he lists or annotates in the last chapters.

Besides working as a historian of religion, primarily Judaism and Christianity; of ideas, especially as they affect the spirit of an age; and of politics, usually concerning the Prussian past and conservatism, Schoeps himself became a center of controversy when he took public stands on current issues, which he in turn documented as a Zeitgeistforscher. Thus Schoeps's memoirs are not so much an apologia pro vita sua as an application of his methods of Zeitgeistforschung by which he tries to indicate the climate in which the opinions of a certain period are prevailing. Ideas that hibernate in cold storage may burst into bloom in a hothouse. It is this catalytic and climatic quality of the Zeitgeist that Schoeps wishes to make transparent-veranschaulichen.

In this context, Schoeps's book covers a multitude of topics. It takes issue with the unhistorical manner in which Thomas Mann "plagiarized" in Doctor Faustus (1947) a circular written by Schoeps in 1931. It psychoanalytically explains an impromptu meeting between Schoeps and Ernst Roehm, whom he faced shortly before Roehm's fall with the "Jewish question," and a subsequent attempt by Schoeps to confront Hilter himself with the same question. Equally dramatic, it puts into the historical perspective of such untranslatable terms as "Zeitgeist," "Volksgeist," and "Gleichschaltung" most recent trends by which Schoeps—the most

popular professor at Erlangen University in postwar years—became the first target of student demonstrators whom he dubbed "red sons of brown fathers."

Schoeps's life work constitutes a learned and long-range response to a revolutionary age of radical change and continuous dislocation by a man who would not renounce his birthrights. He declined to "dissimilate" himself from the German Kulturnation when this was demanded by the Nuremberg Laws in 1935. He refused to give up the "Prussian spirit" as exemplified by the Gerlach brothers, H. Leo, and F. J. Stahl, when his native state was dissolved in 1947. He espoused Humboldt's ideal of higher education when recent reforms adjusted the West German universities to the needs of a consumer society. A Zeitgeistforscher who defies the Zeitgeist is bound to arouse his contemporaries from their dogmatic slumbers.

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HEINRICH BRÜNING. Briefe und Gespräche, 1934–1945. Edited by CLAIRE NIX, with the collaboration of REGINALD PHELPS and GEORGE PETTEE. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1974. Pp. 556. DM 39.80.

The memoirs of the late Chancellor Heinrich Brüning, a work of major importance for the student of German history (see my review in AHR, 76 [1971]: 1560-62), unfortunately cover only the period from 1918 to 1934. They tell very little about his formative years and nothing about his role in exile, after he had escaped from Nazi Germany in May 1934, going first to Holland, then to England, and finally settling in the United States. His executrix Claire Nix, a former student of his at Harvard and then his loyal assistant, has now sifted through his correspondence—with the collaboration of Reginald Phelps and George Pettee-and prepared the more important letters and documents for publication. The present volume is devoted to the crucial years 1934-45. A second volume, soon to follow, will go up to 1960. The method of selection used by the editor has recently been criticized by German Brüning experts, but the comprehensive annotations deserve recognition.

Through these letters, interviews, and memorandums, the enigmatic and somewhat remote figure of Brüning becomes much more human than it appeared in the rather chilly prose of his memoirs. The reader is made aware of Brüning's physical frailty, owing to frequently recurring heart trouble, which perhaps also explains his unusual sensitivity. There is once a revealing outburst: "Why have I stormed through life since 1914, al-

ways fighting, almost without pleasure, often very lonely, instead of being happily married and not worrying every day about the fate of my country?" (p. 87). Up to 1939 Brüning exerted a certain influence behind the scenes because of his contacts especially with English statesmen like Ramsay MacDonald, Stanley Baldwin, and Lord Halifax. In several long meetings with Winston Churchill, Brüning explained to him the actual situation under Hitler's dictatorship.

From 1936 on Harvard was Brüning's "home base." There he lived rather comfortably at Lowell House, He had frequent exchanges of view with some of Harvard's luminaries and enjoyed the contacts with his graduate students. In wartime he was restricted in his travels, since he wanted to retain his German citizenship. He did not seek meetings with leading statesmen, except for one not very fruitful visit with President Roosevelt in November 1939 and occasional contacts with Secretary of State Henry Stimson who held him in high esteem. He was, however, deeply concerned about the future of his country. As long as possible, he kept in touch with leaders of the German Resistance such as Carl Goerdeler and Adam von Trott zu Solz. But he did not wish to become head of a government-in-exile, for he was certain the Germans would want to be ruled after Hitler's demise only by people who had suffered with them under the Nazi dictatorship.

There was another reason for his seemingly aloof attitude. Brüning did not wish to associate with most leaders of the German emigration. He condemned their attitudes again and again. There was only one major exception. He greatly respected and admired Wilhelm Sollmann-the former leader of the Social Democrats in the Rhineland and minister of the interior in the cabinet of Stresemann-with whom he corresponded frequently. There are two recent publications about Sollmann's many-faceted personality and his relations with Brüning: the documents "Heinrich Brüning im Exil: Briefe an Wilhelm Sollmann 1940-1946," by Thomas A. Knapp in Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, 22 (1974): 93-120, and my own comprehensive essay on Sollmann in Rheinische Lebensbilder, 6 (1975).

Those who knew Brüning may be surprised and sometimes seriously disturbed by his attitudes and comments in some of these letters. But they will feel confirmed by this publication in their respect for his sincere personality and brilliant intellect.

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JAY W. BAIRD. The Mythical World of Nazi War Propaganda, 1939–1945. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1975. Pp. xii, 329. \$15.00.

The guiding moral and ideological force behind Nazi propaganda was the heroic myth that the best blood of the German nation, through triumphant struggle against satanic forces, was building a Greater German Reich that would fill men and gods with awe for the next ten thousand years. Propaganda was the party and the party was Hitler—"In the beginning was the world." Hitler and the best blood of the Germans would create a myth, a key to the mysterious symbols with which history provides us about the greatness and decay of peoples. The Nazis would leave this myth as their legacy to the world or would fall fighting for it: "And even if heaven, hell and the world were to be allied against us, / We would hold our heads high and fight until our last man fell wounded" (Baldur von Schirach).

Jay W. Baird has written a useful guide to the Nazi heroic myth. Taking a chronological approach, Baird deals with the myths espoused by Nazi propaganda during the war years. A clearer definition of the concept "myth" would have been in order, but the author is quite successful in his delineation of the themes and visions fabricated by Goebbels's propaganda machine. Baird has interviewed former employees of the propaganda ministry, and these discussions add something to the book, though not as much as one might have expected. The author uses his interview material—only a small part of which appears to have gone into the writing of this book—judiciously and with proper skepticism.

There are two distinct, though closely related, themes in Baird's book. One concerns the leitmotiv-anti-Semitism, the Bolshevik menace, the obsession with Frederick the Great-that dominated the Nazi world view and comprised its mythical world. The treatment of these problems, while often effective, would have been more powerful if the book followed a thematic rather than chronological approach. Baird often quotes striking materials when discussing such subjects, but he could, for example, have told us more about the incredible Nazi obsession with the ghost of Frederick. The second theme that the author undertakes concerns Goebbels's response to such events as the Polish campaign, the battle of France, and Stalingrad. Here Mr. Baird is not really dealing with the "mythical world" of the Nazis, but rather showing how a modern propaganda apparatus confronts the changing fortunes of war. This material is less fresh and striking than the all-too-few pages on the real mythology that the Nazi mentality conjured up: the Jew as a ghetto satan; the Bolshevik-plutocratic conspiracy, directed of course by the Jews; and the death-and-martyr cult of those fallen for the party during the Kampfzeit. All these myths tell us more about National Socialism than descriptions of Goebbels's feud with Dietrich or the role of various state secretaries in the propaganda ministry.

Baird points out, partly by quoting amusing examples of Berlin wit, that the Nazi party had fallen in popular esteem by 1943. It does seem to me, however, that there was a certain resurgence in party power and respect in 1944, partly due to the role of the Gauleiter as Reich defense commissars, and partly due to the propaganda surrounding the promotion of the Volkssturm, at least before December 1944. I disagree that the Tripartite Pact "violated the spirit of the Hitler-Stalin Pact." The 1940 agreement was aimed exclusively against the United States; indeed, the major reason for the Japanese participation in it was Tokyo's hope that the pact, through the good offices of Stalin's friend Ribbentrop, would improve Japanese-Soviet relations. The line goes from the Tripartite Pact to the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact and to Pearl Harbor, not to Barbarossa.

Despite my reservations about Baird's use (or more properly, nonuse) of the concept of myth, and certain disagreements about points of substance, I have found his work to be a major contribution to the study of wartime Nazi propaganda. Here is a splendid and often novel outline of the Nazi propaganda machine being guided by Goebbels and Hitler, confronting an ever harsher reality for which the Nazi elite and the German people were not prepared by the victories of the early wartime period. It is no criticism of the book to say that most of its value is in the sixty pages of notes and bibliography, a remarkable compendium of sources that will be of major use to those of us working on various problems relating to Nazi wartime propaganda. Baird's readable, informative book will help his readers understand a propaganda whose entire rationale was to prepare the German nation for victory or death.

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HERMAN NUNBERG and ERNST FEDERN, editors. Minutes of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. Volume 4, 1912–1918. Translated by M. NUNBERG in collaboration with HAROLD COLLINS. New York: International Universities Press. 1975. Pp. xix, 357. \$20.00.

The Vienna Psychoanalytic Society was established in 1908. It grew from Freud's custom, started in 1902, of meeting on Wednesday evenings with avowed followers and, later, a sprinkling of more or less seriously interested guests. No official records exist until 1906 when Otto Rank became the paid official secretary of the "Psychological Wednesday Society," the first name of the group that assembled regularly with Freud. Rank began

to keep records of the discussions, but not stenographically: "Rather than attempting a precise account of all that was said, Rank seems to have taken extensive notes of the discussion and to have edited them later" (1: xviii). For some years Rank, a man of brilliance, was close, very close, to Freud; in the meetings that he recorded, he sat at Freud's left.

Yet the notes are not always easy to understand—an observation made by one of the editors, Herman Nunberg, in his introduction to the first volume. The papers or shorter communications, which customarily started a meeting, sometimes appear in extremely abbreviated form. In the open exchanges that followed speakers are occasionally reported as discussing portions of the evening's paper that have left no trace behind. Nunberg, who supplied all the footnotes, from time to time must sigh, "This is not altogether clear" (4: 170 n.2), or "Obviously, this sentence is garbled. The recorder seems to have contracted several thoughts into one" (4: 38 n.2).

Some serious textual problems exist: "Our task in translating . . . was complicated by the fact that the discussions are recorded—to a great extent in somewhat imprecise colloquial Viennese" (1: xiii). Only in this last volume does an acknowledgment appear that the protocols were first transcribed "from the Gothic longhand script in which they were recorded," and not by the translator (p. xvi). Occasional necessary corrections are attributed variously and confusingly to an error in note-taking (4: 39 n.3), or to an error in typing in the original (3: 147 n.1)—but which original? Mrs. Nunberg, the translator, avows twice that she had to guard constantly against changing statements to bring them into accord with later psychoanalytic doctrine; her husband's "careful supervision and his insistence on historical accuracy" saved her (3: xii; 4: xvii). Harold Collins, otherwise unidentified, receives prefatory thanks for work in editing the translation (2: xv). His assistance is acknowledged on the title page of volume 3; on the title page of volume 4 his role has become one of "collaboration" in the translation.

As yet, no intent to print a German text has been announced. Erik Erikson pointed out long ago that a standard edition of Freud can never appear in English. I have tried to check the accuracy of the present translation; the manuscript pages reproduced in volumes 1 and 2 deal, however, with quite straightforward material. One independent attempt to translate some of the passages dealing with Adler's splitting off (K. M. Colby, American Imago, 8 [1951]: 231-36) seems generally to agree with the Minutes (3: 145-49, 171-72) but this test is not wholly satisfactory. Similarly, the translation in the Minutes of the opening of Freud's first pre-

sentation of the Rat Man's case history (1: 222-37) resembles Paul Federn's earlier English version in *The Yearbook of Psychoanalysis* (4 [1948]: 14-20), but was made with one eye on that version.

The present volume is the last of a series, which began to appear in 1962, and contains indexes for all four volumes.

RICHARD L. SCHOENWALD Carnegie-Mellon University

UDD ROBÉ. Berner Oberland und Staat Bern: Untersuchungen zu den wechselseitigen Beziehungen in den Jahren 1798 bis 1846. (Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, number 56.) Bern: Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Bern. 1972. Pp. 520. 48 fr. S.

Uco Robé's dissertation is a big tome of more than 460 pages of text. It investigates the relations between Bern and the Bernese Oberland during the half century from the defeat of old Bern by the French revolutionary armies in 1798 to 1846 when the Bernese gave themselves a new cantonal constitution. The core of the study is a detailed account of the unrest and disorders in the Oberland in 1814. Events leading up to this year and following it are only sketched in.

The Oberland was an independent canton for a few years during the French-created Helvetic Republic. Yet it never formed a political, economic, or social unit. Differences between the inhabitants of Thun and those in the valleys leading to the lakes of Thun and Brienz were always pronounced and prevented the Oberland from taking a firmly united stand on any issue. Robé attempts to analyze the causes of this disunity; the results are meager. He is somewhat better at describing the consequences of this disunity, namely the loss of Oberland's independence as a canton in 1800, periodic outbreaks of unrest and ensuing punishment at the hands of the Bernese patricians, weak representatives in the cantonal government, talks of secession, and permanent neglect and accompanying economic hardship.

The book represents an enormous amount of work, most of it done in the manuscript sources of the Bernese archives. And yet it is a basically unsatisfactory product. The results of the study are announced early and then endlessly repeated. A study such as this should have a firm statistical, demographic underpinning. None is given. Lacking this, one would expect at least a concise story. Instead we receive a kind of running commentary, interspersed with pages and pages of such quoted source materials as reports, texts of songs, lists of names, and pamphlet excerpts. As a result we have neither a narrative history, nor a collection of documents, nor a compact analytical study but a

disorderly, and therefore exasperating, mixture of all these. The historical society of the canton of Bern would have done itself and the author a service if it had required a thorough rewriting of the manuscript before it accepted it as a volume in its series.

HEINZ K. MEIER
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DANIEL BOURGEOIS. Le Troisième Reich et la Suisse, 1933–1941. Neuchâtel: Éditions de la Baconnière. 1974. Pp. xx, 463. 69 fr. S.

European states with German-speaking populations had grounds for nervousness when the Hitler government was installed in Germany in 1933. Switzerland was no exception. Daniel Bourgeois has proposed to examine the relations between the Third Reich and Switzerland during the years of peace and the first wartime years, until the German-Russian conflict absorbed Hitler's interest.

It was not merely a question of the reaffirmation of Swiss neutrality, as Bourgeois points out. The Swiss Germans were regarded by National Socialists as Volksdeutsche—ethnic Germans—and their inclusion in a greater German Reich was a matter of ideology, if not of policy. Relations between the countries were, therefore, conducted not merely on ordinary diplomatic grounds but also on less official, party levels. While Hitler kept the Swiss on tenterhooks about German acceptance of their independence and neutrality, subversive activities and frontier incidents poisoned the atmosphere. The Auslandsorganisation (AO) of the National Socialist party and the Sicherheitsdienst (SD) of the SS intervened.

Bourgeois has sought to identify a developing design of the Reich upon its neutral neighbor. By a competent and meticulous use of the German sources, he has done so. He points out that it became clear to the Nazi leaders that the Swiss were determined to maintain their state. Swiss Germans failed to respond to Nazi propaganda efforts, despite funds appropriated for that purpose by Reich agencies. German newspapers carried on a bitter anti-Swiss campaign, attempting to pressure the newspapers of the small country into carrying fewer British-origin news reports and more from German sources.

The position of Switzerland became delicate after the fall of Poland. The opening of the war in the west, with German troops operating in the vicinity, raised the danger. Plans for a possible invasion of the neutral state were developed but, as Bourgeois indicates, Hitler was realistic enough not to implement them. In fact, Swiss German Nazis were more zealous than the Reich, and the Swiss government acted courageously and reso-

lutely by making wholesale arrests. As Bourgeois suggests, small countries have few options in defending their sovereignty against a neighboring great power, a matter of much concern these days in several parts of the world. His research is thorough, and this volume is a significant contribution to the study of the expansion of the Third Reich.

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JAMES C. DAVIS. A Venetian Family and Its Fortune 1500–1900: The Donà and the Conservation of Their Wealth. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, volume 106.) Philadelphia: the Society. 1975. Pp. xiv, 189. \$6.50.

Utilizing a large cache of family papers, supplemented by research in public records, James Davis has explored the history of the Donà, an ancient Venetian family, over twelve generations. The Donà belonged to the middle stratum of Venice's nobility, being less numerous and wealthy and less prominent politically than the Morosini or the Contarini. Two critical turning points in the family's history occurred around 1600, when the Donà abandoned commerce for landowning, and in the mid-nineteenth century, when their livelihood as rentiers was threatened by reforms inspired by the French Revolution and industrialization. The most interesting and original chapters (5 and 6) describe the techniques devised by the Donà before 1750 to conserve their patrimonies by entailing land, excluding daughters from inheritance, and restricting marriages. The concluding chapters show how this tenacious family preserved its wealth and status during and after unification; the Donà still live in their ancestral palace on the Fondamente Nuove.

Written with economy and clarity, this monograph raises important questions that are not fully resolved by the data. The extant Donà papers do not pertain to the whole lineage but only to certain branches, and those intermittently. Thus, the demographic sample is too small to be statistically meaningful, and on such fundamental issues as wealth the evidence is imprecise. How typical was this small family of the Venetian nobility or of other European aristocracies? While he denies that the Donà can be considered a prototype (p. xiii), Davis does assume that their experience is relevant for noble classes elsewhere, though the evidence for making comparisons is very meager. His methodology seems quite dated in the light of recent work on Italian family history by David Herlihy, Christiane Klapisch, Burr Litchfield, and William Kent in Florence, and Stanley Chojnacki in Venice. The historical context in which Donà experience is located is sketched very summarily;

the gap between the general and the specific is often disconcertingly wide. Davis's explanation for Donà decisions concerning marriage and inheritance is perhaps too sharply focused upon the preservation of wealth and status; he does not consider other motivations and pressures—social, religious, psychological—that may have influenced their behavior in these centuries. The problem merits deeper and more systematic analysis.

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SERGIO ZOLI. La Cina e l'età dell'Illuminismo in Italia. Bologna: Pàtron Editore. 1974. Pp. x, 300. L. 6,000.

During the last thirty years Italian historiography on modern Italy has acquired a new breadth and catholicity of interests. Freed from the ideological limitations imposed first by national myths inherited from the Risorgimento and second by the constraints of fascist "cultural" policies, Italian historians have been looking at their national history not only from different perspectives-on which the Gramscian influence looms large-but have also begun to relate it more and more to developments and movements outside Italy. This has been particularly apparent in the re-examination of the eighteenth century. As Franco Valsecchi noted at the Perugia congress of Italian historians in October 1967, "Preceding [Italian] historiography . . . had studied the problems of the eighteenth century in Italy in terms of the Risorgimento [and] had . . . deprived the history of the ... Settecento of its own raison d'être.'

The post-1945 approach to the study of the settecento is best exemplified by the work of Franco Venturi, whose example is being followed by younger historians. Among them, Sergio Zoli—a student of Ernesto Sestan, Eugenio Garin, and Delio Cantimori—deserves to be noted. He has chosen to investigate Italo-Chinese relations since Italian missionaries first began their penetration of the celestial kingdom, and this study on China and Italy during the Enlightenment is a continuation of an earlier publication, La Cina e la cultura italiana dal '500 al '700 (1973); together they constitute a two-volume work on the subject.

The examination of sources in this, as in the previous, study is thorough. Little escapes Zoli's scholarly dragnet. But despite the impeccable research and the importance of the subject matter, both volumes are disappointing, for Zoli fails to make clear the scope of interaction between the two cultures. He substitutes quotations for analysis and leans on the heavily documented footnote to prove the point only hinted at in the text.

In the preface to this volume he states that while

Italian interest in China during the eighteent century followed in the wake of the French, "th China of the Italian Enlightenment had its ow dialectic force, culturally diverse and no less in cisive than the China found in France" (p. ix). A careful reading of the text, however, does not brin out with any clarity or precision just how the view held and the use made of the Chinese example b Italian writers differed from those of the French.

Perhaps this is caviling. The book probes a hith erto largely ignored influence on the thought of th Italian Enlightenment. As such, it should be c interest to anyone studying the settecento and to those concerned with the importance of China a an ideal model for eighteenth-century reformer and critics throughout Europe. The reader wi find a thorough survey of the topic described in th title, from the largely intrareligious quarrel ove the question of the "Chinese rites" to the views o China held by Antonio Genovesi, Francesco Alga rotti, Il Caffe, physiocrats like Alfonso Longo an Ferdinando Paoletti, to the criticism of Sinomani expressed by the choleric Giuseppe Baretti. Th study fills a lacuna in Italian intellectual history c the settecento and represents a useful contribution by a young scholar. It is to be hoped that Zoli will in the future, distill his profound knowledge of th subject matter into a study that will stand with th best of contemporary scholarship on the Italia Enlightenment.

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ELIZABETH ADAMS DANIELS. Jessie White Mario: R sorgimento Revolutionary. Athens: Ohio Universit Press. 1972. Pp. vii, 199. \$10.00.

Elizabeth Daniels has written an interesting and well-researched study of Jessie White Maria (1832–1906), an Englishwoman who married the Italian federalist Alberto Mario and who labored tirelessly for the republican cause during the Ri sorgimento. As often happens, however, when dealing with minor figures on the periphery of great movements, there is considerable difficult finding enough to say. This particular volume run to 131 pages of text, and much of it is filled with needlessly long quotations. The author herself moreover, finds little justification for the bool other than to say she found Jessie Mario "irresist ible." One wonders whether this Risorgiment heroine was worth an article or a volume.

One may justify, of course, the biography of a secondary individual to illuminate a critical epi sode or to explain further some significant aspec of a story that had been neglected. Indeed the author does attempt to weave her subject within

the fabric of the Risorgimento. Unfortunately, however, her command of events—leaving aside the thorny problems of interpretation—must be found wanting. For example, when discussing the pressures on Napoleon III to conclude an armistice with the Austrians after the battle of Solferino on June 24, 1859, she fails to mention the ominous sign of Prussia's mobilization; when dealing with the Expedition of the Thousand, she repeats the myth that Garibaldi had the "tacit" approval of Cavour. We do learn in a footnote, however, that there was "apparently . . . little coordination between the forces of Garibaldi and of Piedmont" (p. 96). Apparently indeed!

If the weaving of events is faulty, the task of stitching together the individual threads that made up the radical cloth of the Risorgimento is more successful. Daniels is at her best when describing the political and social vision of Mazzini or Cattaneo-how they differed, how they reacted to a particular turn of events, and on what issues they were prepared to compromise. But even here we learn little about the limitations of the noble aspirations of the radicals-how they failed to understand the peasant mentality, how many were coopted by the Moderates, and why in the end their vision failed to sustain them. In brief we now know a great deal more about Jessie White Mario; but nothing new has been added to our understanding of the Risorgimento.

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ROBERT KATZ. The Fall of the House of Savoy: A Study in the Relevance of the Commonplace or the Vulgarity of History. New York: Macmillan Company. 1971. Pp. xxii, 439. \$12.50.

This work is a popular and generally hostile account of the House of Savoy from about 1878 to 1946. The author's justification for writing the book is that the endurance for so long of anything as "often clownish" and "always mediocre" (p. xiv) as the House of Savoy merits attention.

Part 1, comprising about forty pages, is devoted to a survey of the origins and expansion of the House of Savoy from the Middle Ages to the formation of the kingdom of Italy. The dynasty is traced back to an eleventh-century feudal lord, Humbert the Whitehanded, who is described as assisting the German emperor Conrad II "against the Establishment" (p. 5). For his services Humbert won vast domains on both sides of the Alps, including the county of Savoy, which bore with it the title of count.

About half the book (pts. 3 and 4) chronicles the life of Victor Emmanuel III, and much is made of the king's diminutive size. He is described as "a

shrimp," and the author goes on to contend, "To the extent that men make history, this condition, in a world which he was forced to observe with a worm's-eye view, was to influence Italian history in the first half of the twentieth century at least as much as war, communism, and Mussolini" (p. 157). In my judgment, Katz fails to substantiate his thesis.

The specialist in modern Italian history will find little in this book that is original either in content or interpretation. The general reader interested in Italian history will find the account of the House of Savoy informative, particuarly with respect to the relations between Victor Emmanuel III and Mussolini. Both types of readers are likely to find Katz's vocabulary and literary style somewhat jarring.

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GIUSEPPE ARE. Alle origini dell'Italia industriale. (Storia: Saggi e ricerche, 6.) Naples: Guida Editori. 1974. Pp. 394. L. 6,500.

KEVIN ALLEN and ANDREW STEVENSON. An Introduction to the Italian Economy. (Glasgow Social & Economic Research Studies 1.) New York: Barnes & Noble. 1975. Pp. xii, 300. \$16.50.

FRANCO BONELLI. La crisi del 1907: Una tappa dello sviluppo industriale in Italia. ("Studi," number 13.) Turin: Fondazione Luigi Einaudi. 1971. Pp. 240. L. 3,500.

PIERO MELOGRANI. Gli industriali e Mussolini: Rapporti tra Confindustria e fascismo dal 1919 al 1929. ("I Marmi," volume 72.) Milan: Longanesi & C. 1972. Pp. 325. L. 3,000.

Interest in the economic history of Italy since unification is attested to by the four volumes that are the subject of this review. These studies illustrate the wide variety, both as to the subject matter selected for study and the nature of the treatment attempted, of the literature on Italy's economic past that is pouring from the presses. They range from a specialized monograph of a relatively small event to a broad synthesis of Italy's total experience, and from theories of economic history to a critical essay on Italy's economic progress.

For the cognoscenti in this field the most important of the four volumes are the ones by Are, an instructor at the University of Pisa, and Allen and Stevenson of the University of Glasgow. The former consists of a collection of essays, which had previously appeared in primarily left-wing historical journals. They include criticisms of the work of a great many economists and historians of all the major schools, from Allesandro Rossi, through

Luigi Luzzatti and Quintino Sella, to Rosario Romeo and me. Throughout this work the political orientation of the writer is abundantly clear and so, too, is his penchant for economic theory. In fact, he insists that economic history be cast in a mold of economic theory and will not allow what actually happened to create that mold. The whole concept of "necessary concomitants"—that a variety of factors come together in adequate quantities and with a special timing to effect change-is too broad and imprecise for his taste. The work by Allen and Stevenson is an "economists' history" of the Italian economy from the end of World War II to June 1974. This is an excellent and well-documented analysis of what took place, with emphasis being placed upon both the recovery from wartime destruction and the miracle of economic success. The postscript, which deals with events in the year prior to June 1974, is extremely gloomy, but perhaps it should be.

The volume by Bonelli is, one would judge, the outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation, for it follows the unfortunate Italian stereotypic presentation connected with such a document. It deals primarily with the difficulties that "mixed banks" (those doing a commercial banking and investment business) ran into when funds were short in 1907 and even more specifically with the aid that the Banca d'Italia gave to the Società Bancaria Italiana in its time of trouble. Indeed, this episode was a landmark in the development of central banking in Italy.

Last, the book by Melograni is a rather journalistic account of the relations between industrialists and fascism from the origins of the Fascist movement until 1929. It is written from secondary sources and recounts the well-known balancing act that Mussolini performed among various interest groups in his efforts to get power.

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH Columbia University

HARTMUT ULLRICH. Le elezioni del 1913 a Roma: I liberali fra Massoneria e Vaticano. (Biblioteca della "Nuova Rivista Storica," number 32.) Milan: Società Editrice Dante Alighieri. 1972. Pp. 119. L. 1,500.

This slim volume concentrates upon the parliamentary elections of 1913 in Rome and their impact upon the Liberals, particularly the followers of Sidney Sonnino. Despite the persistence of the notion that these elections were governed by the "agreement" between Giovanni Giolitti and Vincenzo Gentiloni, Ullrich shows that it was the Conservative-Liberal opposition that received Catholic support in the capital. Indeed, in the first electoral district in Rome, Giolitti fought along-

side the Radicals against the Catholic Electoral Union and the alliance of the Right. Equally interesting, the Radical candidate was supported by Sonnino, the leader of the constitutional opposition, who still clung to the idea of combining reformist, conservative, and liberal elements behind his program.

Sonnino's support of the Radical candidate in the first district, in opposition to the Nationalist-Clerical candidate Luigi Federzoni, served to widen the rift between the leader and his Liberal-Conservative followers, who were not prepared to sacrifice real Catholic support for the "utopian" assistance the Radicals could provide. This paved the way for an alliance between Conservative-Liberals, Catholics, and Nationalists. The author reveals that in Rome this agreement was determined not only by hostility to the extreme Left but also by an opposition to any sort of collaboration with the democratic parties on the Giolittian model.

Ullrich's contribution rests not so much upon the discovery of new facts—although his study is based upon solid, primary source material—but upon the use of local developments to reinterpret larger national issues. His study of the electoral struggle in the Eternal City sheds considerable light upon the Giolittian system, the Sonnino opposition, the emerging Catholic and Nationalist movements, as well as the appearance of a new constitutional alternative under the leadership of Antonio Salandra.

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ARIANE LANDUYT. Le sinistre e l'Aventino. (Istituto Nazionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione in Italia.) Milan: Franco Angeli Editore. 1973. Pp. xvi, 495. L. 7,000.

One of the seven hills of Rome, the Aventine, has become associated with political protest in Italy, thus giving its name to one of the more dramatic episodes in the crisis that followed the assassination of the Socialist deputy Giacomo Matteotti in June 1924. Ariane Landuyt, who teaches contemporary history in Florence, has written an account of the Aventine episode that is to be highly recommended to scholars having a special interest in the history of Italian Marxist parties, the labor movement, and the origins of the clandestine opposition to fascism.

The Aventine secession occurred when a group of anti-Fascist deputies left the chamber in protest against the suspected complicity of Mussolini's government in the assassination of Matteotti. It was one of those splendid gestures of moral indignation whose appeal fades as rapidly as the passions that provoked it subside. Fifty years after

the event, the political errors of the secessionists stand out more clearly than their moral courage. This changing perspective goes a long way toward explaining Landuyt's highly critical judgment of the secessionists. Their basic weakness was their political heterogeneity. Made up of a congeries of Communists, Socialists, Republicans, Democratic Liberals, and Catholics, the Aventine could agree on very little beyond the desirability of ousting the Fascists from power. They disagreed on whether they should proclaim themselves a functioning antiparliament, take to the streets, or work through established institutions, ousting Mussolini with a coup or waiting for him to fall as he became progressively more isolated. Not surprisingly, political immobility resulted and with it the unrealistic expectation that the king would take the initiative to remove Mussolini from office.

Landuyt couples her criticism of the Aventine's legalitarian tactics with an in-depth exploration of political infighting within the Aventine and a ringing condemnation of the Aventine's failure to lead the masses in an open struggle against fascism. She evaluates the Aventine's performance from a leftist perspective that seldom degenerates into partisan diatribe. Her handling of the Communist position is revealing in this respect. She agrees with the Communists that illegal means could legitimately be used in the struggle against fascism and approves of the Communist decision to abandon the Aventine once it became clear that the moderates were in control. But she does this without trying to hide the fact that the Communists did not hesitate to use the Aventine for their own partisan purposes and were mostly interested in embarrassing the Socialists ideologically, infiltrating their labor unions, and posing as the only true friends of labor. In the process, they were the only group that seriously prepared itself for underground resistance and established close contacts at the factory level strong enough to resist Fascist repression.

It is possible to agree with the author that the Communists devised the formula for fighting fascism from within, without also sharing her judgment that the moderate Socialists erred in their refusal to countenance insurrection. It does not follow that, simply because the Communists may have been vindicated in the long run, a coup carried out by a few hundred desperadoes would have toppled Mussolini in 1924, particularly when the author's own evidence indicates that the planning of the would-be conspirators left much to be desired. Still, it would be unfair to end a review of this book on a negative note. Its strengths clearly outweigh its weaknesses, one of which is excessive length in relation to the ideas developed in it. The strengths of the book are nowhere more evident

than in the author's penetrating discussion of the ideological splits among Marxist groups in the Aventine.

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JOHN T. A. KOUMOULIDES. Cyprus and the War of Greek Independence, 1821–1829. Rev. ed.; London: Zeno. 1974. Pp. xiii, 117. Cloth £4.00, paper £3.00.

The lovely Mediterranean island that is Cyprus has had a checkered and colorful history to which, according to the author, insufficient attention has been paid. Yet perhaps there is reason for this in the fact that its fate has been that of a pawn in the activity of larger entities. The incontestable Greekness of Cyprus has survived the overlay of alien cultures mainly based on the neighboring Asiatic mainland, but also European.

More recently Cyprus has been under Turkish rule, a rule that was on the whole tolerant in matters religious, making use of a generally willing—because it found it advantageous to itself—Greek religious establishment. The Greek aspect of the island was thereby preserved, but in the domain of administration, inefficiency and exactions were the most characteristic aspects of the Turkish period.

Given the geographical location of the island, the possibility of its sharing in the initial war of Greek independence was small. Its participation was confined to some material assistance and volunteers that went to Greece. Yet this sufficed to induce savage repression by the unusually brutal Kütchük Mehmed. The heart of the book tells that story, a dismal one that calls to mind the unspeakable Turk. It was essentially a one-sided operation, different from the reciprocal atrocities that marked the war in Greece proper, different also from the more recent situation. As a consequence, the already miserable condition of the local economy was further depressed.

The dimensions of the book correspond to those of the episode. The difficulty stemming from the fact that there is no distinct Cypriot nationality has recently received additional confirmation from the failure of the attempt to set up an independent Cyprus. The events of the 1820s remain a small episode about which it is unlikely much more can be said even when fuller sources, the Turkish especially, become available.

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v. I. FREÏDZON, editor. Voprosy pervonachal'nogo nakopleniia kapitala i natsional'nye dvizheniia v slavianskikh stranakh [Problems of the Initial Accumulation of Capital and National Movements in Slavic Countries]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Slavianovedeniia i Balkanistiki.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1972. Pp. 275.

What is the so-called primitive accumulation of capital? According to Marx, the capitalist system presupposes the separation of laborers from the means of production, land and capital. The process that clears the way for the capitalist system, the process that dispossesses the laborer from the means of production, is then the "prehistoric" stage of capitalism. What appears to the Western historian as "emancipation from serfdom and from the fetters of the guilds" appears to the Marxian as "expropriation" of the freedmen in order that he may become a wage earner and as the "transformation of feudal exploitation into capitalist exploitation" (Karl Marx, Capital [rpt., 1954], 1:713).

The book under review contains twenty-seven papers presented at a conference organized in the USSR in January 1969. Only six papers deal with the "genesis of capitalism," that is, the liquidation of feudalism, and with what the Marxians call "primitive accumulation." The other twenty-one papers are grouped into three main topics: the movements of national liberation, the international relations and the interrelations between the southern and western Slavs, and the formation of national cultures. The papers are poorly assorted within these groups. Notwithstanding the general title of the entire collection, the very first paper deals with the formation of capitalism in Central and Eastern Europe; this is followed. by two papers on Bulgaria, one on Poland, one, not quite well focused, on the Czech lands, and one on Serbia. Nothing is said from this point of view about Slovakia, present-day Slovenia, Croatia, or Bosnia and Herzegovina. A few of the "precapitalist" changes in some of these latter lands are noted in the other groups of papers; namely in the discussions on the national liberation movements, international relations, and cultural changes.

The introductory paper by A. N. Chistozvonov, which sets the framework of the discussion and defines the "genesis of capitalism," surveys briefly the blossoming of capitalism through the "manufacturing period" in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and the beginning of the "factory system" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The only authorities used by Chistozvonov are Marx, Engels, Lenin, and two obscure Soviet writers, P. P. Schegolev and S. D. Skazkin. Obviously the Russians have not heard anything at all about the lively, one might say exploding, discussions on the origins and spread of modern eco-

nomic growth carried out particularly by the British economic historians, who follow the trail blazed by the pioneering works of the Nobel laureate Simon Kuznets. In fact, the authors of each of these papers rely massively either on Marx and Engels or on national Marxian authorities; throughout the collection very few national "bourgeois" writers or old foreign historians are quoted.

Out of the twenty-seven papers, twenty-six were written by Soviet scholars and one by a Yugoslav historian; this undoubtedly qualifies the symposium as "international." As usual in the case of conferences, the papers are unequal in quality and interest; none, however, is particularly deserving of note. The whole collection is nevertheless interesting, in as much as it shows the level of Soviet scholarship in an important field of economic history.

NICOLAS SPULBER Indiana University, Bloomington

1. I. MESHCHERIUK. Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie bolgarskikh i gagauzskikh sel v Iuzhnot Bessarabii (1808–1856 gg.) [The Socioeconomic Development of Bulgar and Gaguzi Villages in Southern Bessarabia (1808–1856)]. (Akademiia Nauk Moldavskoi SSR, Institut Istorii.) Kishinev: Redaktsionno-izdatel'skii Otdel Akademii Nauk Moldavskoi SSR. 1970. Pp. 341.

The scholarly literature on the peasantry in Bessarabia has grown considerably since the end of the Second World War, when Romania ceded the province to the Soviet Union. Yet, in spite of that abundance, this work is the first to concern itself systematically with the emigrants from the lower Danube Valley who settled in southern Bessarabia-the Budžak-in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Arriving in two main waves, during and after the Russo-Turkish wars of 1806-12 and 1828-29, and consisting mostly of Bulgarians and Gagauzes, the new colonists received generous amounts of land and a special, semiautonomous administration that stimulated economic initiative and brought relative prosperity. Indeed, agricultural organization and productivity are the main questions that concern the author as he traces the socioeconomic development of the new settlements down to 1856, when half the Budžak was returned to Moldavia by the Peace of Paris.

The work is divided into four parts. The first deals with the organization of the new settlements, especially the system of landholding and the size of the plots, the legal status of the colonists—better, says Meshcheriuk, than that of most of the other inhabitants of Bessarabia—and their provisioning with animals, tools, and other necessities. There

follows a detailed examination, replete with statistics, of the main branches of agriculture: animal husbandry, cereal crops, and viticulture. Of particular interest is the next, brief chapter on the cottage history, which supplied the settlers with most of the household goods they needed; the handicrafts that developed outside the home and provided them with farm tools, wagons, and better quality clothing, all of which required specialized skills to make; and the small manufacturing enterprises established to process agricultural raw materials and produce building materials for local needs. Yet, as Meshcheriuk points out, industry did not thrive, for capital was invested in agriculture and commerce because of the high return they offered. To some extent, the play of the market also impeded industrial development—while the foodstuffs of the Budžak found a ready outlet in the central Russian gubernia, its manufactured goods could not compete with other sources of supply. The final section deals at length with the development of capitalism in agriculture, a process that, according to the author, was impeded by the laws prohibiting the alienation of land and by the absence of a large labor force.

Meshcheriuk has based his work on the extensive use of unpublished materials, especially from Bessarabian archives, and a rich published literature in Russian. In describing internal conditions in the Budžak he is scholarly and judicious. His thoughts on the theoretical aspects of capitalist development, however, are less persuasive. He has carefully limited his purview to the Budžak, but we do learn a bit about the overall colonization policies of the Russian government and the integration of the region into the general economic life of the country. But this study would have been enhanced and its conclusions made more meaningful if the author had extended his scope to include a comparison of conditions in the Budžak with those in the rest of Bessarabia and had placed the whole in a broad Russian context.

> KEITH HITCHINS University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

A. A. ULUNIAN. Bolgarskii narod i russko-turetskaia voina, 1877–1878 gg. [The Bulgarian People and the Russo-Turkish War, 1877–1878]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Slavianovedeniia i Balkanistiki.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1971. Pp. 202.

Ulunian's book, originally a dissertation presented at the University of Sofia in 1969, is an effort to detail and document the role Bulgarians played in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78, which is an aspect the existing historiography has by and large neglected. As a Soviet historian, Ulunian imposes

on the subject a Russian perspective and framework. In the three chapters of the book he deals with the Russian high command and the initial military operations, the participation of Bulgarians in the operations and the various kinds of assistance given to the Russian forces, and the reports of the Russian press concerning Bulgarian affairs during the war. The extensive bibliography of mostly Russian and Bulgarian sources includes archival materials, although listing them after the writings of the "classics of Marxism-Leninism" and the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist party suggests an aprioristic approach that places greater value on the views of ideologues than on primary sources. The introduction also contains a discussion of the historiography of the war, which adds to the value of the bibliography.

The general outlines of the story and its main feature, the formation and operations of the Bulgarian Volunteer Corps (Opulchenie), are known and are not retraced by Ulunian. What he does is to supply a great deal of detail gathered from archives and from the contemporary press in Russian and Bulgarian. As a result, we can see the extent to which Russian military intelligence relied on Bulgarians as spies in the Turkish rear, as scouts, and as guides through unfamiliar terrain in the Balkan mountains. Russians also showed interest in the possibility of a "partisan people's war," in the language of a contemporary source, but settled for guerrilla units to provide an opportunity to those who wanted to fight and to create the backbone of an army of the future Bulgarian state. How unobstructed such activities were is suggested by the fact that even the well-known Russian consul, A. N. Tseretelev, who became chief of Bulgarian spies and scouts, at one point disguised himself as a Bulgarian peasant and ventured into a Turkish camp. It was to no one's surprise that within months Turkey lost the war in which Bulgarians obtained their freedom.

A more comprehensive undertaking than Ulunian's would have covered the contemporary Western press as well and might have given space to the part played by Alexander von Battenberg, who was not yet a Bulgarian but who became the first prince of Bulgaria largely because of his part in the war. Ulunian's study is, however, a good sample of the spadework on Bulgarian history done in the Soviet Union, some of which originates in the republics of the Black Sea area.

MARIN PUNDEFF
California State University,
Northridge

FREDERICK B. CHARY. The Bulgarian Jews and the Final Solution, 1940–1944. [Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1972. Pp. xiv, 246. \$9.95.

Chary's book is a sort of "whodunit" in reverse. Who was responsible for preventing the murder of fifty thousand Bulgarian Jews? In a restrained, skillful way Chary lets the reader watch the gruesome roundup and deporting of twenty thousand Jews from Bulgarian-occupied Thrace, Macedonia, and Pirot—the inevitable consequence of the German alliance and the privilege of occupation. Next comes the suspense involving plans for deporting the Jews of Bulgaria and efforts to head this off. The thwarting of the "final solution" comes almost as an anticlimax.

In the midst of the Jewish problem is a smaller murder mystery—"Who (or what) killed King Boris?" Chary goes into this at considerable length because it is related to the larger question. One theory is that Boris was done in because he favored the "final solution." Another is that he became the victim of his support of the Jews. Neither theory holds water. My own investigations agree with Chary's, that King Boris died of natural causes.

Chary has meticulously researched his subject, making especially good use of the former Alexandria German documents and Israeli sources, published and unpublished, and oral interviews. Chary used all the Bulgarian material to which he had access. Subsequently his conclusions were challenged in Sofia, where he was charged with failure to use archival material to which he had been refused access.

One might question Chary's devotion in detail. The discrepancy of even one in his statistics of deportees from occupied lands impels him to track down the missing person.

How did Bulgaria's Jews escape the liquidation? Legends die hard. One such is that King Boris was responsible for saving the Jews. Most of those who believe this will probably continue to do so despite Chary's book. Other explanations include the opposition of the Church, notably the Metropolitans Stefan of Sofia and Kiril of Ploydiv; or popular non-anti-Semitic outcry, the vox populi (the Communists?). What is Chary's final solution? He begs the question by stating there can be no answer. He argues the Jews were not saved because the agreement of February 22, 1943, between Dannecker and Belev was not applied in Bulgaria. His explanation is the various political pressures on the Sofia government. He proves the key role of mostly government supporters in the assembly whose opposition triggered the chain of events that aborted the "final solution."

Ironically, credit for the survival of Bulgaria's Jews must go to the Germans: their inability, initially, to cope with the logistic problems involved and, most important, the steadily deteriorating German military situation.

Chary's Bulgarian Jews may be read with profit

by those whose interests are not confined to Bulgaria or to Jews.

JAMES F. CLARKE
University of Pittsburgh

LUCIAN BOIA. Eugen Brote (1850–1912). Bucharest: Editura litera. 1974. Pp. 211. Lei 13.50.

Although much has been written in Romanian historiography on the Romanian national movement in Transylvania, most of this literature has ignored the period between the end of the Memorandum crisis in the early 1890s and the outbreak of the First World War. This omission has not been an arbitrary one since the period was one in which the Romanian national movement appeared relatively dormant.

Lucian Boia's work is thus of particular value and interest. In a very carefully researched study based on an imposing array of not easily accessible archival material, the author devotes much attention to this relatively "unheroic" twenty-year period prior to 1914. In particular, he discusses in considerable detail the trend during this period toward reconciliation, however tentative, between the Transylvanian Romanians and the Hungarians. Symbolic of this trend was Eugen Brote, the personage around whom Boia develops his narrative. Brote's leading role during the Memorandum crisis did not prevent him from subsequently becoming a strong advocate of Hungarian-Romanian reconciliation. Of particular interest is the author's attempt to show that the post-Memorandum trend toward a Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation simultaneously permitted a growing identity of aims in Transylvania between the Romanian nationalists and the new Romanian and Hungarian socialist movements (pp. 167-70). As national aims receded into the background, such other preoccupations as the demand for universal sufferage became more important. It is by discussing such hitherto insufficiently emphasized aspects of Romanian-Hungarian relations that this monograph performs its greatest service. It does much to correct the misleading impression, so often conveyed by previous authors, that the Memorandum crisis in its explicit challenge to Greater Hungary was simply a direct prelude to Transylvania's union with Romania a generation later.

PHILIP EIDELBERG
University of South Africa

ERVIN PAMLÉNYI, editor. A History of Hungary. Translated by LÁSZLÓ BOROS et al. (Compiled under the auspices of the History Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.) London: Collet's. 1975. Pp. 676. £4.95.

This is not the first history of Hungary in English but the earlier works are mostly dated and out of print, and even if they are available and as modern as, for instance, C. A. Macartney's Hungary: A Short History (1962), they are too brief to be of real value to anyone but the casual reader. The present volume is of undoubted interest even to the specialist, enriched as it is with ninety-two plates, sixteen maps, brief biographies of outstanding Hungarians, a detailed chronology, and a good bibliography of works in Western languages. The text itself is a much improved, albeit abbreviated, version of the now standard two volume Magyarország története (History of Hungary), published in Budapest in 1964, and some new names appear among the contributors to this one-volume edition. All are members of the History Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and represent the best in modern Hungarian historical scholarship. László Makkai figures as author of the entire period from the beginnings of Magyardom to 1790, with István Barta, Péter Hanák, Zsuzsa L. Nagy, Iván T. Berend, György Ránki, and Miklós Lackó being responsible, successively, for the subsequent periods. Because all the latter historians are prolific writers who plunge into their specialty with zeal, the focus of the book shifts a bit too unevenly to the last 180 years of Hungarian history. Almost two-thirds of the text is devoted to the modern age.

With about two thousand years of tortured history to account for, and with a prospective readership that conceivably knows nothing of Hungary, the authors occasionally overwhelm us with data and names, while, as befits Marxist historians, they do not shun broad generalizations and hard conclusions. Their style is perfectly adequate, as is the English translation, accomplished by a team of Hungarian experts and a second team of Hungarian-speaking native Anglo-Saxons. The reader would look in vain for the dramatic historical accounts or colorful human portraits so dear to the preceding generations of Hungarian historians. What we get instead is a conscientious briefing in political and economic history, with occasional and often excellent excursions—especially those by Hanák—into social and cultural history. Makkai's rendering of the Hungarians' difficult passage from tribal, to feudal, to precapitalist societies is as impeccable as are his descriptions of medieval Hungarian greatness, the subsequent tragedies of Turkish occupation, Christian liberation and Habsburg absolutism, and the encouraging accomplishments of eighteenth-century enlightened despotism. The other authors explain thoroughly the reforms and revolution of the first half of the nineteenth century, the moral and political decline and dazzling economic progress of the second half of the same century, the intellectual

revival of the early twentieth century, the miseries of World War I, the democratic, Communist, and White counterrevolutionary upheavals, the interwar period, and Hungary's inexorable slip into the catastrophe of World War II. Paradoxically, the Trianon Peace Treaty of 1920 is decried as unjust but not so the Paris Peace Treaty of 1946, where the Soviet Union was a participant and the injustices of 1920 were reconfirmed. It is with the events of the early 1940s that truth and what the authors tell us begin to part ways; by the time we reach the late 1940s, the parting is almost complete. It is comforting to have Lackó, author of the last chapter, denounce "the enormous political and economic errors" made between 1948 and 1956; but it is heartbreaking to have this fine historian accuse the leaders of the Smallholders' party of conspiring against the nation that gave them the absolute majority of votes at the free parliamentary elections of 1945, to have him slander the Hungarian Independence party of the bourgeois-democrat Zoltán Pfeiffer as "openly extreme-right wing," to have him argue that, notwithstanding the election results, the Hungarians supported the Communist take-over almost to a man, to have him ignore the show trial of Cardinal Mindszenty and the execution of Imre Nagy, and to have him suggest that the armed Soviet intervention in Hungary dates from November 4, 1956, and not October 23. Were it not for the last chapter-and for some outrageous falsifications in the brief biographies—we could celebrate this volume. as the very best and the most useful of all Hungarian histories.

ISTVAN DEAK
Columbia University

DAVID B. QUINN and NEIL M. CHESHIRE, edited and translated with commentaries by. The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius: The Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet, Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland, 1583. [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 250. \$8.50.

Given Hungary's geographical location, it is only natural that Hungarians have failed to distinguish themselves in the area of seafaring and maritime explorations. Thus, discounting a number of unsubstantiated claims about Hungarian travelers in pre-Columbian America, the first Hungarian to visit this continent was Stephen Parmenius of Buda (ca. 1555/60-83), who joined Sir Humphrey Gilbert's second expedition in 1583 and then drowned along with Gilbert off Sable Island near Newfoundland.

But not even Parmenius was an "explorer" in the traditional sense of that term. He was a young Protestant scholar and poet, and an accomplished Latinist, who was drawn to Oxford in order to further his studies and to broaden his experiences. Once in England, however, he became acquainted with Richard Hakluyt and, through Hakluyt, with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who soon persuaded the young Hungarian to accompany him on his colonizing effort to North America as a "chronicler," so as "to record in the Latin tongue the gests and things worthy of remembrance."

Parmenius's claim to fame rests largely on two Latin poetic works in praise of the American expedition, and especially on his long and informative letter to Hakluyt about his experiences in America, which he penned about three weeks before his death. While not the most important among the early accounts on North America, Parmenius's description is still valuable, and the two editors should be commended for making it available to modern scholars.

Both of the editors have excelled in scholarship. Their painstaking introductory chapters on Parmenius are the best in any language, as are their meticulously annotated translations of his writings

The volume also includes nine annotated letters by Maurice Browne, a young English friend of Parmenius, which are essential for the reconstruction of Parmenius's final years. Moreover, the book is complemented by an apparently complete list of related manuscript collections and publications. It is to be lamented that most of the Hungarian titles contain spelling errors. But this flaw cannot detract from the overall value of this work, or from the superb scholarly accomplishments of the two editors.

STEVEN BELA VARDY Duquesne University

GYÖRGY SPIRA. A Hungarian Count in the Revolution of 1848. Translated by THOMAS LAND. Translation revised by RICHARD E. ALLEN. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1974. Pp. 345. \$14.00.

"All that is necessary," wrote R. G. Collingwood, "is that there should be evidence of how... thinking has been done and that the historian should be able to interpret it, that is, should be able to reenact in his own mind the thought he is studying, envisaging the problem from which it started and reconstructing the steps by which its solution was attempted" (see The Idea of History [1956], pp. 312–13). Having found such evidence readily available, the professional historian György Spira quite successfully describes the thought processes and politics of Count István Széchenyi. With great power of expression the author reconstructs—with the aid of his hero's voluminous diary and correspondence—six months in the life of a truly

important historical figure, whom even his fiercest opponent, Louis Kossuth, called the greatest Magyar. Spira also introduces a new thesis that satisfactorily proves the famous count's active participation in the revolution of 1848, his cooperation with Kossuth, and his struggle for Hungary's limited sovereignty.

Count István Széchenyi was an initiator and leader in the reform era that preceded the events of 1848 in Hungary. Not only did he advocate the economic, social, and political modernization of his country, but he dedicated most of his energy and wealth to such purpose. Reform was his vehicle for progress. Széchenyi opposed Magyar separatism because he considered it suicidal for Hungary in light of the strength of both the Habsburgs and the nationalities surrounding the Magyars in the Carpathian basin. In 1848 the count had not abandoned his ideals but now believed that the process of reform should simply accelerate. As his cabinet colleagues adopted more and more radical measures for the pursuance of a de facto independent Hungary, Széchenyi's doubts multiplied and culminated in the loss of his rational faculties.

Hungarian historians have argued the correctness of Széchenyi's political stance for a century, and now György Spira joins the grand debate. His Collingwoodian concept of history is so intense that the reader is often forced to identify with Széchenyi. But at times the author turns Magyar Marxist.; He condemns Széchenyi for advocating progress without independence and progress in harmony with the House of Habsburg. The author combines forces with the count's contemporary critics, Kossuth and the Radicals, although he describes the opponents of Széchenyi as being less revolutionary than historians have previously thought. The author nevertheless refuses to offer an exclusive class-struggle interpretation but also fails to provide a psychological analysis of his subject's political and mental decline. The end result is a curious mixture of Collingwood and Lenin.

Spira's work, a faithful translation of the 1964 Hungarian version of the same book, contributes to our understanding of 1848 and of Széchenyi's role in those turbulent times. The illustrations are instructive, but the heavy reliance on political cartoons taken exclusively from the radical press may distort some unsuspecting reader's perspective. George Barany brought the story of Széchenyi up to 1841 in Stephen Szechenyi and the Awakening of Hungarian Nationalism, 1791-1841 (1968); but can the English-speaking community absorb any more Széchenyi books, which now cover the life of the great reformer in the mid-1840s and 1850s?

, PETER I. HIDAS

Dawson College,

Montreal

ALICE TEICHOVA. An Economic Background to Munich: International Business and Czechoslovakia, 1918–1938. (Soviet and East European Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. xx, 422. \$27.50.

Dr. Teichova has produced a scholarly monograph representing the results of prodigious research. She has separated her source citations from the general bibliography and included explanations of her numerous abbreviations. Since she made use of Czech sources, her translations are helpful to those not versed in that language. She has made available Czech materials not generally accessible to American students. The book is for specialists rather than for general students of European history. The material is presented in the traditional form. Extensive and detailed statistical tables. charts, and diagrams with keys to them are of great value. The title is a bit misleading, however, for this is an in-depth treatment of foreign investments in Czechoslovakia from 1918 to 1938 and of Czech investments abroad. After an introductory overview of world investment patterns, the study's major thrust is an accounting of Entente investment in Czechoslovakia. The principal thesis is, contrary to the view of some scholars, that the Entente powers did not withdraw their holdings in Czechoslovakia between the Austrian Anschluss and the Munich conference but held on until the bitter end when the Nazis took over. This is demonstrated with appropriate data. A most interesting and valuable section is that relating to the acquisition of Skoda by Schneider-Creusot (pp. 190-217). The text may be difficult for some as it is largely an explanation of the tables and other illustrations. Admittedly it is difficult material to write but the style could be improved to make it more readable. The reader is alerted that this is a detailed factual study (p. xix). Teichova apparently preferred to let the reader draw his own interpretations for there are few here, either economic or historical. This is a provocative study as it poses a number of questions in addition to answering others. It fills a gap in our knowledge of the economic relations of the Entente and Czechoslovakia; but to get the total picture it has to be used with other studies dealing with other aspects of the subject.

M. L. FLANINGAM
Purdue University

RICHARD PIPES. Russia under the Old Regime. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1975. Pp. xxii, 360. Cloth \$17.50, paper \$6.95.

This original and provocative account of Russian political development by Richard Pipes, former director of the Russian Research Center at Har-

vard University, serves as a vivid reminder that the historian himself becomes a political force as he influences the way societies view one another. Though the survey extends only through the nineteenth century, the old regime stands here as prologue to the new. According to Pipes the evolution of a millennium had produced in Russia by the 1880s the first modern police state, a progenitor of twentieth-century totalitarianism. Incidental comparisons of earlier Russian rulers, policies, and laws with Soviet counterparts impute a ponderous weight to historical conditioning.

The book is topically organized in three chronologically substructured sections dealing with state, society, and the intelligentsia. This leads to some repetition, but the narrative moves briskly; a chronology is appended to assist the general reader who may suffer some confusion as the past is recycled in this compact study. Part 1 describes the growth and perpetuation of a patrimonial political order as Russian rulers extended a proprietary authority over the land and its inhabitants. The state was neither apart from, nor imposed upon, society but grew alongside and "bit by bit swallowed it." Following this section comes an explanation of why none of the major social categories peasantry, nobility, the "missing bourgeoisie," or the clergy-were able to function as an effective political counterforce limiting tsarist power. The final and shortest section discusses the vital challenge to the system posed by an indigestible intelligentsia. Radical tactics evoked a tsarist reaction that led to a bureaucratic police regimen and a foreclosure on Russian liberalism. Though police rule was tempered by acceptance of Western behavioral norms (as well as by inefficiency), it resulted in the radicalization of Russian society and ultimately in the replacement of the old regime by a new one, schooled by its predecessor as Muscovite tsars had been trained by their former Mongol overlords. The fundamental change took place before the revolutions of this century however; for with the legislation of August 14, 1881—a response to the assassination of Alexander II-"Russia ceased to be an autocratic monarchy in any but the formal sense" (p. 307).

This highly controversial conclusion, like other arresting pronouncements in the work, promises to engage many a reader in lively jousting with the author. But at times the exercised scholar will find himself disarmed. For example, after reading that the nobility shunned bureaucratic service following eighteenth-century reforms which "deprived the monarchy of control over the landed estate" (p. 135), he will eventually come to an acknowledgment that even after these reforms ninety-eight per cent of the nobility "could not dispense with the monarchy's favors; it alone had the jobs, the

pomestia and the serfs needed for its survival" (p. 179).

Control over the landed estate is critical to Pipes's thesis that monopolistic control of land rights was the basis of autocratic power in agrarian Russia. The absence of feudal institutions further differentiated Russian political experience from that of the West; and lack of contractual relationships deprived Russians of a sense of the responsibilities of authority. The very freedom of the Russian boyars to leave the service of rulers is said to have "forced the princes to behave arbitrarily as well" (p. 51). In this curious dialectic, assertions of political independence appear counterproductive at best. The peasant call for freedom (volia) is presented as a demand for irresponsibility, and volia itself is labeled a "thoroughly destructive concept" (p. 156).

A discussion of the peasantry that strips the past of sentimental overlay provides a number of perceptive insights but also some harsh judgments. It may be helpful to reject the notion that the muzhik was psychologically attached to the unrewarding land, but it does not follow that his desire to acquire landed property was motivated by a wish to join the exploiters. To insist that the Russian serf was not a slave is to draw a distinction of questionable significance; and the claim that mistreatment of serfs has been exaggerated, while plausible, is not well supported by the suggested evidence. More important, it seems at times that value judgments derived from an analysis of a political system have been applied to an entire populace and that the patrimonial mentality may not be the only one reluctant to distinguish state from society.

Yet even those inclined to take issue with Professor Pipes on specific points, or to protest his political predestination of a people, will readily pay tribute to his achievement in constructing this richly detailed panorama of an occidental despotism. His command of a wide range of sources will be apparent to readers familiar with Russian history, although formal documentation is limited and there is no bibliography. A lavish center insert of fifty-two illustrations embellishes the text.

DOROTHY ATKINSON
Stanford University

N. G. SLADKEVICII, editor. Problemy obshchestvennoi mysli i ekonomicheskaia politika Rossii, XIX-XX vekov: Pamyati Professora S. B. Okunia [Problems of Social Thought and Economic Policy in Russia, 19th-20th Centuries: In Memory of Professor S. B. Okun']. (Leningradskii Ordena Lenina i Ordena Trudovogo Krasnogo Znameni Gosudarstvennyi Universitet imeni A. A. Zhdanova.) Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo Universiteta. 1972. Pp. 196.

Semen Bentsianovich Okun', who died in 1972, taught for more than thirty years at Leningrad University. He was probably best known in this country for his work on Russian colonization in North America. The present volume is a collection of twelve articles published as a memorial to Professor Okun'. It includes a summary of his professional career by his colleagues at Leningrad University, V. V. Mavrodin and N. G. Sladkevich, and a bibliography of his writings.

The articles deal with a variety of topics in Russian economic and political history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; they are arranged, for some reason, in reverse chronological order. Among the contributors are several familiar names, such as P. A. Zaionchkovskii and S. N. Valk, as well as Mavrodin and Sladkevich. As usual in a volume of this sort, the articles vary in length and quality; they are narrowly focused and will appeal primarily to specialists. I found particularly interesting Zaionchkovskii's account of how Alexander III's government curtailed the administrative and judicial autonomy of the Baltic German landowning class. The government pressed its Russification policies in this area despite the fact that they were undermining the position of the social class that provided the most reliable support for the monarchy.

This volume provides yet another illustration of the virtues and defects of contemporary Soviet historiography. On the one hand, most of the articles are based on archival research and are finely detailed. On the other, the interpretive categories applied to this careful research often blur meaningful distinctions. The use of concepts like the "landowner-bourgeois camp" and the "gentry-monarchist conception of history," not to mention the unqualified and uncritical application of such terms as "capitalism" and "bourgeoisie" to nineteenth-century Russia, does little to illuminate Russia's complex historical development. The more meticulous the research, the more glaring the disparity becomes.

MARSHALL S. SHATZ
University of Massachusetts,

D. L. VATEISHVILI. Russkaia obshchestvennaia mysl' i pechat' na Kavkaze v pervoi treti XIX veka [Russian Social Thought and Publishing in the Caucasus during the First Third of the 19th Century]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut istorii, arkheologii i etnografii im. I. A. Dzhavakhishvili, Akademii nauk Gruzinskoi SSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 457.

From the opening obligatory citation of Lenin to the index of names (rarely found in Soviet mono-

graphs), Vateishvili's analysis of the first Russian newspaper in the Caucasus maintains an enviable standard of scholarship and offers definitive answers to some minor questions. For five years, 1828-32, the official periodical Tiflisskie vedomosti (Tiflis Bulletin) appeared weekly in a society noted for its hostility to independent journalism and provided its readers with articles that the poet Alexander Pushkin praised as "of real and European interest." Through a detailed discussion of the men who edited and wrote for the newspaper, as well as an investigation of the articles themselves, Vateishvili demonstrates that the Tiflis paper offered its readers not only "reactionary" fare, like that served up by the infamous "reptile" press of St. Petersburg, but also provided more "progressive" material, which stressed particularly the ethnic richness of the peoples of the Caucasus.

Caucasia in the first third of the nineteenth century was still being conquered and consolidated by Russian arms, and a principal objective of the founders of *Tiflisskie vedomosti* was to propagandize the achievements of the tsarist army and emphasize the military cooperation of Georgians and Russians. When the newspaper first appeared Russia was engaged in yet another war with Turkey, and news from the not-too-distant front made up much of the paper's copy. Censorship prevented any hint of dissent from appearing in print. Therefore resistance by Georgian peasants to the draft, for example, went unreported.

Despite its official character and the strict limits placed on its writers, the Tiflis Russian newspaper managed to attract contributors of distinction. Among the noble officers and officials serving in "warm Siberia," as Caucasia was then known, were some real exiles—the ill-fated participants in the Decembrist revolt. In the decade following the events of 1825 it was rare indeed when Decembrists could find an outlet for their written work, and yet in Tiflis they managed to publish in the local paper. Even after the arrest of the editor, Vasilii Dmitrievich Sukhorukov, in early 1830 his fellow Decembrists continued to meet and write, despite official pressure. Their contribution according to Vateishvili was to introduce Caucasian readers to the "other Russia," the Russia that stood in opposition to the autocracy of Nicholas I.

Vateishvili's focus is firmly fixed on the newspaper itself, and he fails to deal adequately with the complex intellectual and political world of early nineteenth-century Russia and Caucasia. The central theme of Russo-Georgian friendship is stressed so hard that the tensions between the new overlords and their subjects are missed entirely. There is no discussion of the impact Russian bureaucratic paternalism had on Georgian social structure and traditions. It would be impossible

from this work to understand why Georgian nobles and intellectuals plotted in 1832 to rid themselves of their Russian masters and restore the Georgian monarchy. Among the conspirators was Solomon Ivanovich Dodashvili, who just three years earlier had edited the short-lived *Tbilisis utskebani*, the Georgian edition of *Tiflisskie vedomosti*. Despite these shortcomings, Vateishvili's study adds much to our knowledge of printing, publishing, and public opinion in the Caucasus and exhibits some of the caution and diligence of serious Soviet historians.

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M. V. NECHKINA et al., editors. Revoliutsionnaia situalsiia v Rossii v 1859–1861 gg. [The Revolutionary Situation in Russia, 1859–1861]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1974. Pp. 382.

This is the fourth volume in a series of articles by members of a study group of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences devoted to the "revolutionary situation in Russia at the end of the 1850's and beginning of the 1860's." The head of the group, the Academician M. V. Nechkina, also serves as the chief editor. Like its predecessor, this collection bears the stamp of Nechkina's interpretation that the great reforms of the 1860s were "the by-product" of a revolutionary situation that is defined in Lenin's aphorism "The lower classes will not live as before and the ruling class cannot govern as before."

The division of the articles into four main sections-"Socioeconomic Development and the Mass Movement," "The Crisis at the Top," "The Revolutionary Movement," and "The Liberal Movement"-reproduce this formula. Most of the articles; are tied to the central theme in a loose or even mechanical way. In substance they are detailed monographs on narrow topics ranging from V. N. Neupokoev's "Reorganization of the Landless Gentry in Lithuania into a Taxable Estate of Freeholders and Citizens (during the Second Third of the Nineteenth Century)" to the late V. N. Rozental's "Russian Liberals in the 1850s (The Socio-Political Views of K. D. Kavelin in the 1850s and Early 1860s)." Their merit lies mainly in exploring some of the lesser-known provincial manifestations of peasant and student disturbances and in citing heretofore unused archival material. There is a final section dealing with unpublished source material. Over all, the quality of the articles is a cut below those in previous volumes and signals that the point of diminishing returns has been reached in this quest. Although the entire enterprise has provided a good deal of new factual material, there has been very little real integration or interaction among the contributors. Predictably, they all dutifully carry out their chore of showing how Nechkina's original formulation, itself a restatement of Lenin's, cannot be modified or improved in any way. This kind of intellectual conformity is hardly likely to stir up any new insights into the complex issues of this rich period in Russian history.

ALFRED J. RIEBER
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JUTTA SCHERRER. Die Petersburger Religiös-Philosophischen Vereiningungen: Die Entwicklung des religiösen Selbstverständnisses ihrer Intelligencija-Mitglieder (1901– 1917). Forschungen zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte, volume 19. Berlin: Osteuropa-Institut an der Freien Universität Berlin. 1973. DM 88.

The cultural and intellectual flowering in Russia on the eve of World War I is a well-known fact whose belated impact can be detected in Soviet dissident culture. By common consensus, the religious quest of many prominent intellectuals was central to the culture of Russia's "Silver Age," a culture that still provides inspiration to "free" Russians-for example, Solzhenitsyn-and to the West. Yet, the various aspects of the Silver Age's cultural, and especially religious, life have been inadequately studied so far. Dr. Jutta Scherrer makes a notable contribution toward filling this gap. Her painstaking and detailed monograph provides a full account of the publishing ventures and public discussions carried on by those members of the Russian-educated elite, who were closely connected with the literary and artistic renaissance and for whom religious quest became a central concern.

Ouite correctly Scherrer points out that these intellectuals' religious seekings, different in kind from those of the Slavophiles, started before the beginning of the new century and had their roots in the writings of Dostoevsky, Vladimir Soloviev, the esthetic manifestos of symbolism, and the philosophic evolution from positivism and Marxism to neo-Kantian idealism. Concretely, these seekings found public expression in the journals Novyi put' (New Way) and Problemy zhizni (Problems of Life) and in the religio-philosophical societies of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev-whose leading lights were Dmitri Merezhkovsky, Zinaida Hippius, Ninolai Berdiaev, Vasilii Rozanov, and on occasion Peter Struve, Sergei Bulgakov, Viacheslav Ivanov, Alexandr Blok, and Andrei Belyi. The main part of Scherrer's monograph is a detailed chronicle of the organization and activities of these journals and societies, as well as a comprehensive topical description and analysis of the major issues and stands debated in the journals and at the meetings. A most valuable appendix gives the fullest calendar possible of the meetings held and papers read at these religio-philosophical societies. It is to be noted that not only spiritual and theological issues were discussed at these meetings. Equally important, and of wider social and historical interest, were the discussions of the practical aspects of institutionalized religion, for example, marriage, religious freedom, and the need for a general Church council. At these meetings official representatives of the Church debated openly with both the members of the cultural elite and the leading theological scholars, laying the ground for the Church reform movement, which reorganized the Russian Church in 1917. In her conclusions Scherrer argues that those members of the intelligentsia who became involved in this religious revival did so out of a desire to redefine the nature and role of the educated elite in Russia. This new role consisted in formulating a new ideology in which religious values, though not necessarily religious institutions, would provide the driving force and guiding thread for a universal—not merely Russian—cultural, spiritual, and indirectly, sociopolitical revolution. In so doing these intellectuals broke with earlier sociopolitical traditions of the intelligentsia and illustrated the latter's social evolution and fragmentation.

In my opinion Jutta Scherrer's analysis is flawed by her excessive use of Marxist-existentialist categories. Central to her concern is a search for an existentially coherent ideology that, she believes, the intellectuals involved in the religious movement tried to elaborate in order to achieve a new self-awareness (Selbstverständniss) during a period of social and political crisis. This leads her to ascribe to such individualistic and anarchistic personalities as Merezhkovsky, Hippius, and Berdiaev a degree of group consciousness and intellectual consistency that they never possessed. As a matter of fact, it is even difficult to speak of groups in their case; one should rather think in terms of coteries, with all the emotional and personal tensions implied. In relating the socioeconomic reality of Russia to the ideas and concerns of those intellectuals in quest of religion, Dr. Scherrer relies heavily on the conceptual schemes provided by Marxist-oriented sociologists; this is not very convincing. In particular it does not do justice to other important and widespread efforts at similar renovation of broader strata of the educated population. One wonders whether Scherrer does not take too seriously the self-important claims of the few intellectuals whose activities and religious concerns she so fully and intelligently accounts for.

The monograph ends with a very valuable and detailed bibliography of primary and secondary literature. Especially useful are the extensive bibliographies of works by the major participants in the religio-philosophical societies. The more the pity that the bibliographic apparatus was not brought up to date before publication. As stated in the preface, no items published since 1969 have been included; but it is precisely in the last few years that interesting works dealing with the very problems that are this monograph's concern have been published.

MARC RAEFF
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OSKAR ANWEILER. The Soviets: The Russian Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers Councils, 1905–1921. Translated from the German by RUTH HEIN. New York: Pantheon Books. 1975. Pp. xvii, 337. \$15.00.

This is a translation of Anweiler's scholarly Die Rätebewegung in Russland, 1905–1921, which was published in the Netherlands in 1958. Ruth Hein's English rendering of the author's presentation and intent is an easily readable one and, except for a few lapses (such as the misleading interpretation of "Massenstreik" as "the general strike" [p. 34]), a faithful one.

The text is divided between background and analysis: the origin, development, and function of the Russian soviets (councils) and their interpretation and use by the revolutionaries, particularly Lenin. Anweiler presents the soviets as radical democratic organizations developed by workers, soldiers, and peasants under revolutionary circumstances and expected to function, as need and occasion demanded, by forwarding the narrow interests of their members, directing the revolutionary struggle, or exercising "state power." Though similar to the English soldiers' councils of 1647 and to the Paris Commune of 1871, they were spontaneous creations, not copies of non-Russian models. After their initial establishment, during the Revolution of 1905, they were quite effectively suppressed, but they appeared again in 1917 and played an important part in the events of that year.

Although Lenin had appreciated the potential usefulness of the soviets since their first appearance, he had no clear notion of how, if at all, they could be fitted into the revolutionary program until the spring of 1917, when he was perfecting his views of the state to be formed at the time of the proletarian assumption of power. Then, on the basis of Marx's analysis of the Paris Commune of 1871, he began to see how conveniently the soviets could replace the existing state machinery and provide the base of the political structure that he contemplated and would later interpret as "the Russian form of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

When, under Lenin's leadership, a so-called soviet state was established, in October 1917, the soviets were quickly transformed from radical democratic organs into instruments through which the Bolshevik party was to guide the masses. The one notable attempt to re-establish them as organs of democracy, made by the Kronstadt sailors through their mutiny of 1921, was a failure.

Given the importance of this subject, *The Soviets* is much too brief and sketchy; yet it is valuable. When first published, Anweiler's study was the only reliable introduction to the history of the soviets, and it remains so today. There are more exhaustive studies, but they are by Soviet authors whose work in this area is so tendentious as to be of questionable usefulness. Therefore, this belated English translation of the Anweiler treatment is welcome.

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GEOFFREY A. HOSKING. The Russian Constitutional Experiment: Government and Duma, 1907–1914. (Soviet and East European Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 281. \$18.50.

Mr. Hosking's book joins a growing series of monographs published in recent years in the West that deal with the last decades of Imperial Russia. As the author admits in his introduction, the question he tried to tackle is "fairly ambitious." The title of the book implies an attempt to write the history of Russia's constitutional experiment, an attempt that certainly deserves every encouragement. Yet the proper subject of the book is much narrower than its title suggests. The subtitle, Government and Duma, 1907-1914, certainly comes much closer to the actual content of the book. A closer examination of the text would reveal that Hosking himself admits that his "approach is quite narrow; it is strictly focused on the relationship between the government and the Duma majority parties" (p. viii). That, of course, is an important part of the constitutional experiment; it does not, however, exhaust the subject. Focusing his attention on the relations between government and the Duma majority, the author tends to neglect other parties, particularly the Kadets, and practically ignores broader social forces that determined the fate of the constitutional experiment. The conflicts and crises that took place in the Duma and with the government "were not serious," as P. B. Struve remarked at the height of the zemstvo crisis. The forces that shaped the fate of the country and to a large extent its constitutional future operated outside the Duma and found only limited expression in its deliberations.

While Hosking's book is not a history of the Russian constitutional experiment, it is a valuable study of what its author actually tried to do. Selecting some of the major issues that "affected substantially the relations between the government and the house," the study provides a detailed, well-documented, and intelligent analysis of the more important questions raised between government and Duma. The author, to a much larger extent than other Western scholars, was able to use archival material hitherto not accessible to non-Soviet historians. This provides us with some unknown facts and details concerning the mutual relations between government and the political parties. The present book is an important contribution to the study of the political history of Imperial Russia and to the expanding historiography of the Russian constitutional experiment.

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WILLIAM G. ROSENBERG. Liberals in the Russian Revolution: The Constitutional Democratic Party, 1917–1921. (Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 534. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$9.75.

William Rosenberg has written an excellent history of the travails of Russia's liberals, as personified by the constitutional democratic party (Kadets), in the Russian Revolution and civil war. It is a throughly researched, carefully thought out account of the party and the dilemmas facing it and liberalism in a time of revolutionary upheaval. The Kadets had long looked forward to the moment when they would take responsibility for governing Russia; the February Revolution seemed to offer that opportunity. Led by Paul Miliukov, they dominated the first cabinet of the Provisional Government. Almost immediately, however, they were faced with a dilemma that they never solved. The Kadets had earlier taken the position of being an "above-classes" party, whose main concern was with the condition of Russia as a state or legal abstraction rather than as the defender of a particular social class or interest. They sought to maintain that position in 1917 when Russian life was torn by social conflict, and political life was becoming increasingly partisan. This posed a fatal dilemma: whether to lean toward the left by adopting more radical policies and thereby try to improve their popular appeal and make their coalition with the moderate socialists work; or to turn right, try to draw support from more conservative groups, and become an avowedly bourgeois party-which they were in fact. The

former alternative was rejected because of their hostility to the socialist policies of their potential left allies and their desire to postpone all major social and political decisions until the constituent assembly met. (One questions whether they could have won much popular support by being a paler version of the left parties, a point Rosenberg might have made clearer.) The second alternative was officially rejected as violating their above-classes posture, although it was adopted in practice by some Kadets. Thus they tried to hold to the moderate center, unable and unwilling to form a bloc either with the right, which distrusted them in any case, or to compete with the socialists for the popular masses, whom the Kadets distrusted as politically unconscious. Indeed, one of the surprises of the book is the extent to which the liberal leaders were torn by their own version of that debate over consciousness versus spontaneity, with which we are familiar from Russian socialist polemics. But most of all one feels from reading the section on the Revolution that any understanding of the Kadets must begin with an understanding of their commitment to the concept of gosudarstvennost (state interest).

The second part of the book traces the travails of the Kadets during the civil war. Here many of the same problems, divisions, and failures repeat themselves. The fundamental dilemma of the liberals during the civil war was whether to support the conservative army generals wholeheartedly, as many did, or to try to force on the Whites acceptance of broad reform programs, even cooperation with moderate socialists. By focusing primarily upon the efforts of the volunteer army and General Denikin in the South and around Kolchak in the East, Rosenberg fully documents the problems faced by the Kadets during the civil war. A brief epilogue outlines the continuation of their divisions while in emigration and the final sundering of the party and gives a judicious concluding assessment of the problems facing the Kadets during the Revolution and civil war.

This is an excellent work. Rosenberg ably presents the underlying concerns and principles of the Kadet leaders and shows how these caused them to flounder in the revolutionary situation. He shows the weakness and failures of the Kadets, and of Miliukov especially, without undue castigation but rather with a perception of the dilemma in which they found themselves. I would make only one small reservation about this fine book—that it is a history of the Kadets rather than the liberals. Granted that the Kadets represented the main force of liberalism, I nonetheless would have liked to see a bit more on the liberals outside the Kadets. The work would have been further enriched by an analysis of why some liberals felt it necessary to

organize outside the Kadets and why others chose to stay outside of political organizations completely. This is a minor complaint, however, and should not be taken as detracting from a very fine work, one that will probably stand as the definitive work on the Kadets and liberalism during the Russian Revolution.

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GREGORY J. MASSELL. The Surrogate Proletariat: Moslem Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919–1929. (Written under the auspices of the Center of International Studies, Princeton University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1974. Pp. xxxvi, 448. \$18.50.

This is a splendid addition to scholarly studies dealing with women in the Soviet Union even though the author's concern is not with the "woman question" in Russia. His concern is rather with a problem central to comparative politics: how and to what extent political power can be used in the revolutionary transformation of traditional societies. He focuses on the interaction in the mid-twenties between Communist authority in Moscow and local traditions in Soviet Central Asia and concentrates on Communist efforts to find the weakest link in Muslim society, the "crucial actors" whose engineered alienation might subvert traditional Muslim institutions. Massell's thesis is that for Soviet authorities Muslim women appeared to constitute that "structural weakpoint" and were, in effect, a "surrogate proletariat" where no proletariat in the real Marxist sense existed.

Superficially a clever strategy, the Soviet plan seemed to have initial success. Field reports emphasized a growing trend in which the Zhenotdel, the party's women's section, was becoming a center for local female grievances. Yet by 1928 a backlash of violence resulted. Instead of the hoped for alienation of female society from traditional ways, the party's massive attempt at female mobilization caused intense hostility toward the Soviet regime. Some of the unveiled women, perceiving the discrepancy between Communist promises and the reality of how little protection and means of support the party workers could provide them, were driven to return to old ways. Massell concludes that the imperatives of interdependence between the sexes proved more potent than appeals to women to assert themselves as a social class. No quick means for social change was found in Central Asia.

Massell acknowledges that by focusing on one region, he avoided confronting certain legitimate questions, for example, those concerning the similarities between revolutionary processes in Central Asia and in Russia. Had he done so, he might have found striking parallels to the reluctance of native Communists to support the emancipation of women. He writes of the gross disparity between the public posture and private behavior of native party officials who kept their own wives in subordination. But similar disparities existed in Moscow. Although he is aware that in Russia female emancipation was viewed as a secondary issue-while in Central Asia it was for a time a primary lever for social change-Massell tends, I think, to overestimate Communist commitment to what he calls the "downgrading of the family" in Soviet Russia. During the mid-twenties, such downgrading was not taken seriously by most of the party leadership. The women's section—a hated institution in Central Asia—was hardly popular in Moscow, in the Communist party of which it was an integral

But Moscow was not Massell's primary concern. His book, based on seldom-used local Communist journals and newspapers as well as Kommunistka (Communist Woman), the journal of Zhenotdel, provides a brilliant model for political scientists studying the results of engineered social revolution. For historians it suggests further themes. Massell analyzes the impact of decrees in the field but not the interpersonal tensions and attitudes of individual Communists formulating policy at the center. Historians might also want to pursue the lives of Central Asian women, particularly those drawn into initial contact with the women's section.

BEATRICE BRODSKY FARNSWORTH Wells College

A. M. SAMSONOV. Ot Volgi do Baltiki: Ocherk istorii 3-go gvardeiskogo mekhanizirovannogo korpusa, 1942-1945 gg. [From the Volga to the Baltic: A Study of the History of the 3d Guard Mechanized Corps, 1942-1945]. (Vtoraia Mirovaia Voina: V issledovaniiakh vospominaniiakh dokumentakh.) 2d ed.; Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 527. 14 maps.

Histories of units have always been important areas of research in military history in the West. The Soviets, somewhat neglectful of this area in the past, have been producing more and more books of this genre in recent years. The first major book of this kind published during the postwar years was Boevoi put' voisk Turkenstanskogo voennogo okruga (1959). Since then we have had histories of the major military districts as well as many of the armies, particularly those designated as "Guard" armies. Most of these books were published by "Voenizdat" (publishing house of the ministry of

defense), a few by provincial publishers, and some-such as the volume reviewed here-by the "Nauka" publishing house. The latter books are invariably of higher quality. Ot Volgi do Baltiki, the first edition of which was published in 1963, is the history of the Third Guard Mechanized Corps. The corps was based on the Fourth Mechanized Corps (the name was changed after the Stalingrad campaign), which itself was founded on the remnants of the decimated Twenty-eighth Tank Corps. The Fourth Mechanized Corps formed the main thrust of the southern pincer in the Soviet counterattack against Stalingrad. Its commander at that time, Major General of Tank Troops V. T. Vel'skii, influenced by the memories of too many defeats or possibly even by an indirect order from Stalin, called Stalin at the last hour impudently suggesting that the Soviet offensive was doomed to failure. Stalin was quite receptive to this advice, and it took the high commanders some time to persuade him not to postpone the operation. The author unfortunately neglects to mention this dramatic episode. After Stalingrad, the corps took part in the liberation of Rostov, the later stages of the battle of Kursk, the crossing of the Dnieper, and the campaign in the Baltics. The book exhibits the typical excellence of Samsonov's research and extensive use of archives. Maps and an index are also included, but not tables showing the command structure or component units, which are usually found in books of this kind. Three pages are devoted to the names of those associated with the unit who were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. I found an error on page 213 where M. M. Potapov is incorrectly listed as M. I. Potapov. Overall the book is an excellent example of its genre, but because of its highly specialized subject it is bound to have a limited audience.

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NEAR EAST

S. L. AGAEV. Iran: Vneshniaia politika i problemy nezavisimosti, 1925–1941 gg. [Iran: Foreign Policy and Problems of Independence, 1925–1941]. (Akademia Nauk SSSR, Institut Vostokovedeniia; Akademia Nauk Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR, Institut Narodov Blizhnego i Srednego Vostoka.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1971. Pp. 358.

YAHYA ARMAJANI. *Iran*. (The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective.) Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1972. Pp. viii, 182. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.45.

The gradual improvement of Russo-Iranian relations over the last decade has made it necessary for Soviet scholars to reinterpret recent Iranian history. Reza Shah Pahlavi, who was once hailed as a great modernizer, then denounced as a fascist agent of landowners and of the comprador bourgeoisie, has to be "rehabilitated," and Iran of his day has to be promoted from the semicolonial status assigned to it a few years ago to the rank of nations striving for independence. S. L. Agaev has undertaken the task of revision in his book on the problems of Iran's foreign policy and independence in the reign of Reza Shah.

Briefly stated, Agaev's thesis is that Britain and the United States, as well as Nazi Germany, did all they could to enslave Iran, to control its economy, and to prevent its development into a strong independent nation. The Soviet Union, on the contrary, always pursued an unselfish policy of fraternal aid and was a tacit guarantor of Iran's sovereignty and independence. A wealth of factual information is adduced to justify this position. An even greater number of facts which would prove that the USSR was as imperialistic as any great power is, to use a Russian expression, "circumambulated in silence." Thus, Agaev's book, like so many others written in Russia on modern themes, tells us more about current Soviet views than about Iran a generation ago.

Yahya Armajani's Iran is a survey so brief as to put it into the category of tourist literature. Iran's pre-Islamic past is traversed at the average rate of two pages per century. There is never space enough to take a breath. Contemporary history is no less difficult to deal with. In the last three years alone the development of Iran has been so rapid that all the statistics presented by Professor Armajani are out of date.

The book is written from the point of view of an enlightened nationalist. It is neither critical nor stridently patriotic, preserving a civilized tone and making every effort to be fair. One can hardly fault the author for the inevitable failure of attempting to produce a significant work on Iran in 172 pages.

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AFRICA

T. O. RANGER and I. N. KIMAMBO, editors. The Historical Study of African Religion. (Published under the auspices of the African Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 307. \$12.95.

This book derives from the Dar es Salaam conference on the historical study of African religious systems, held in 1970. It does not, however, constitute the proceedings of that conference; the West African papers, in particular, are omitted. The editors grant the dual objection that the religious

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history of Africa should not be abstracted out as an element for separate study and that Christianity and Islam should not be excluded as if somehow un-African. But they reply that a special, even if artificially contrived, effort was needed to avoid a continuation of exactly the opposite—that is to say, changes in precolonial African history being interpreted solely in political and trading terms, and religious history, when it was acknowledged at all, being confined to Islam and Christianity. The need to study the history of traditional religion seems undeniable. Whether separating out particular themes is intrinsically undesirable is less clear. Holistic history implies holistic historians, and we are not all polymaths. Joint ventures, the alternative, are not always as successful as the present volume. There is something to be said for the specialist, plying his trade humbly and thoroughly.

Papers in the first section explore types of evidence potentially helpful for the unraveling of the earlier stages of African religious historyarcheology, historical linguistics, and the interpretation of myth. The emphasis throughout is on tangible, historical evidence, in contrast to the inductive reasoning, often primarily about the origins of religion, that characterized nineteenthcentury consideration of African faiths. The second section comprises two papers on cults of kingship, a theme in need of clarification since the decline of the Sudanic divine kingship diffusion theory. The papers, on the M'Bona cult among the Mang'anja and on Lozi religion, are specific; the excellent introduction draws out some of the general implications, for example, the fact that the cults often may have preceded the kings, and also points to relevant material elsewhere in the book. Royal cults are but one aspect of the interaction of religion and politics, and section three turns to innovations in this wider sphere, particularly among the Pare and Padhola.

A paper on transition rites and possession cults stands somewhat alone, and the final two sections take up the "nineteenth-century crisis" in East and Central Africa and twentieth-century developments. Here very useful material on Islam and Christianity appears. The impact of European colonialism is carefully illustrated in several papers, but another virtue of the new religious historiography is the evidence it supplies for the continuity, albeit a continuity of change, of African history, without the European period being cut off as a separate, concluding compartment.

The influence of Robin Horton is clear and explicit at many points; a chief value of the present volume is that it demonstrates how serious religious analysis, hitherto in Africa the domain of anthropologists and sociologists, may assume a

detailed historical dimension. The very precision of the evidence, and the closeness of the argument based upon this, so important in establishing the credentials of this new aspect of African history, may deter nonspecialists, though the introduction succeeds admirably in opening up some of the wider perspectives, and the index of themes is also helpful.

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RENÉ A. BRAVMANN. Islam and Tribal Art in West Africa. (African Studies Series, number 11.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 189. \$13.95.

Islam and Tribal Art in West Africa is an exercise in the sort of scholarly syllogism to which academics can be particularly prone—if one is attracted to the premises of the author's argument, invariably one must be drawn to his conclusions. And Professor Bravmann is a syllogizer of some rather attractive, if questionable, "truths." His work is a portrayal of the delicately poised collaboration between Mande "Muslims" of west central Ghana and the Ivory Coast and their non-Muslim brethren. Both groups are viewed as active participants in the masquerade ceremonies that have become a constant ingredient of Mande religious and social life; indeed, the author is able to show how Mande "Muslims" have felt constrained to initiate a masking tradition of their own. Hence, in Bravmann's view, the Mande are in no way inimical to the iconic arts, and since some of the Mande are "Muslims," he concludes that Muslims need not be inimical to the iconic arts.

There is, however, a snag in the author's syllogism-such an argument is susceptible to its own form of iconoclasm. In the first instance, the degree to which these masking activities can be made congruous with the doctrines of Islam is open to question. Moreover, much of the Muslim iconomachy of the region under discussion has been a movement to smash the poised collaboration between quietist Islam of the Mande persuasion and the kind of naked polytheism that was apt to rear itself in the Mande masquerade. In the view of Muslim militants, such a collaboration could only be seen as a mixture of unsympathetic materials. The stuff of Islam, they argued, with its uncompromising recognition of the oneness of Allah, could not consort comfortably with a ceremony that kicked against a pure monotheism. Nor would they have accepted Bravmann's contention that the masked cults, and the shrines which housed figurative art, furnished the exclusive means by which the pressing problems of existence could be comprehended and resolved.

Yet despite the author's tendency to overdress his conclusions, *Islam and Tribal Art in West Africa* is an important essay in a relatively neglected field of inquiry. If Bravmann can be faulted for the interpretations he has rendered his subject, he must be commended for the mine of information he has placed at the disposal of future researchers.

JOHN RALPH WILLIS Princeton University

under his own control, as well as the extent to which he succeeded in accomplishing that objective. The book concludes with a description of Szechwan's entry into the war against Japan, which, it would seem, Chiang intended to conduct from the remoteness of Szechwan as early as 1935. All of this is of considerable value and should recommend Kapp's book to everyone concerned with the history of the Chinese Republic.

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ASIA AND THE EAST

ROBERT A. KAPP. Szechwan and the Chinese Republic: Provincial Militarism and Central Power, 1911–1938. (Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, 96.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1973. Pp. x, 198. \$10.00.

This is a valuable addition to the growing literature on the regional history of China during the republican era. Kapp has consulted a wide range of Chinese-language sources and has supplemented them by making extensive use of United States and British consular reports. The result is a book that explores and analyzes virtually every important aspect of life in Szechwan Province between 1911 and 1938. Kapp's description of the feuds between rival militarists is especially revealing. These resulted in continual warfare that convulsed Szechwan after 1911 and devastated its society and economy. Szechwan seems to have been ruled by singularly unenlightened warlords whose rapacity was unredeemed by any concern for the welfare of their subjects. Their attitude toward their own soldiers, and the peasant population from which these soldiers came, was expressed by one of their agents, who, when asked about the safety of some troops assigned to a certain mission, replied, "Never mind about that. Soldiers cost only \$8.00 a month apiece and we can easily find some more if these get killed" (p. 37). This created a situation favorable to the growth of communism, and Kapp examines in detail the activities of the Communists in Szechwan during the course of their so-called Long March to the Northwest in 1934-35. Their triumphs in Szechwan, both military and socioeconomic, provided Chiang Kai-shek with an excuse for trying to extend his own authority into that province, which in turn provoked a long, bitterly contested struggle for power between Chiang's regime and the Szechwanese warlords, who, until Chiang's appearance on the scene, had ruled almost independently. By investigating every facet of this struggle, Kapp not only illuminates an important part of Szechwan's history but likewise tells us much about the strategy and tactics employed by Chiang Kai-shek in his efforts to unify all of China

RANBIR VOHRA. Lao She and the Chinese Revolution. (Harvard East Asian Monographs 55.) Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1974. Pp. 199. \$8.50.

The brief monograph focuses on the content of Lao She's works, and not on their quality, with a view to enriching our understanding of the Chinese revolution. Out of some four hundred pieces of literature, ranging from long novel to poem, Professor Vohra carefully discusses thirteen works, some of which are available in translation, and mentions fifteen others that represent various stages of Lao She's career.

Professor Vohra analyzes Lao She's works intelligently. In his formative years, 1924–29, Lao She, himself a Manchu, advocated Chinese nationalism while defending Confucianism. In his mature works he turned to social realism by exposing the ills and cruelty of the Chinese society. Later, during the war era, 1937–45, he devoted his works to strengthening China's war efforts. Finally, he served the Communist regime well until his suicide during the Cultural Revolution.

It should be borne in mind that Lao She possessed many of the personal traits-conscientiousness, docility, loquacity, humor, and kindnesscharacteristic of the Pekingese. Furthermore, his writings are permeated with traces of the Peking entertainment world—the Peking opera, Ta-ku (a one-man play with singing and drumming), P'ing-shu (storytelling and commenting), and Hsiang-sheng (a dialogue between two comedians)—all of which have nearly vanished from today's China. While Lao She indulged in the Peking entertainments, thousands of youths joined the ranks of revolution. His slow awakening to nationalism made him lag behind the surge of the Chinese national revolutionary movement in the 1920s. Nor did he show an interest in the Soviet movement in the 1930s, if he did not oppose it. His anti-Chiang Kai-shek and Kuomintang stance should not be construed as Left inclined as Professor Vohra suggests.

It is regrettable that Professor Vohra does not

refer to Clement Egerton, in whose home Lao She spent much of his time in London and whom he assisted in the translation of Chin-p'ing-mei (The Golden Lotus) (1939). Also, he failed to locate the third part of Ssu-shih t'ung-t'ang (Four Generations under One Roof), which was published in 1950 under the title "Chi-huang" (Famine) in Hsiao shuo yüeh-pao (Fiction Monthly). Despite these failings, this book will be of value to students of the Chinese modern history and literature.

TIEN-WEI WU
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HSU LONG-HSUEN and CHANG MING-KAI, compiled by. History of the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). Translated by WEN HA-HSIUNG. Revised by KAO CHING-CHEN et al. 2d ed.; Taipei: Chung Wu Publishing Company. 1972. Pp. xviii, 642, 47 maps. \$15.00.

This is a condensation of the original collection of one hundred volumes bearing the same overall title. The present volume documents the main events of the war including political, economic, and cultural aspects, with emphasis on the military. It begins with the Mukden incident in 1931 and ends with the demobilization after the Japanese surrender in 1945. As an official historical account, it enjoys the privilege of utilizing the detailed structural and operational information of the Nationalist Chinese Government. Thus, it provides a systematic summary of all government institutions and regulations established throughout the war, and it can be used as a statistical manual.

The units involved on both sides are, generally speaking, accurate. Yet the statistical figures may not be quite accurate. The strength figure of the Nationalist units tends to be lower, and the loss figure of the enemy tends to be higher, reflecting the usual desirability of the combat units on the front. Both charts and maps are well done and very useful. As a result of direct translation from the original Chinese, proper English counterparts are sometimes not used or the word structure is too literal to be comprehensible. After the Mukden incident, for instance, Lord Lytton's Commission of Inquiry, not the "Lytton investigation team," which parallels the order of original Chinese characters, was sent by the League of Nations to Manchuria to study on the spot and report to the council. The Chinese assessor was V. K. Wellington Koo, not Wellington V. K. Koo.

The book reflects the weaknesses of an official history, ascribing major responsibility for the war to the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communists, besides Japanese militarism and capitalism. It practically ignores all contributions of the Chinese Communists and the Red Army behind the enemy

lines, whether political or guerrilla activities. Significantly, the Japanese army was superior to the Nationalist Army in equipment, training, physical strength, and obedience, although not in numbers in conventional and regular warfare. Nevertheless, the Communists were engaged in partisan warfare with all the advantages of their huge homeland, with which the Japanese were entirely unfamiliar and unable to cope. The Red Army utilized the same type of war against the Nationalist Army and drove it to Taiwan within only four years after World War II. It is certain that both Chinese elements contributed greatly toward final victory over Japan, but which side contributed more is still debatable.

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CORRECTION: The author of Treasures among Men, which was reviewed in the October 1975 issue of the AHR, page 1029, should have been given as Harold Bolitho. The editors sincerely regret any confusion this error may have caused to readers and the injustice it certainly visited upon Professor Bolitho and Yale University Press. The corrected headnote and review are reprinted below.

HAROLD BOLITHO. Treasures among Men: The Fudai Daimyo in Tokugawa Japan. (Yale Historical Publications: Miscellany, 101.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 278. \$12.50.

The title of this absorbing book is from an anecdote in the Mikawa Monogatari extolling the virtue of perfect loyalty of vassal to liege. This pivotal value of the ruling class of Tokugawa Japan had special force in the vassalage of the fudai daimyo, the barons whose direct allegiance to the Tokugawa house following the Sekigahara victory in 1600 carried particular responsibilities in the national Bakufu government Tokugawa Ieyasu founded at Edo. Harold Bolitho disputes the convention that the fudai lords of domain adhered unswervingly until 1868, in act as well as in thought, to the strictures of selfless devotion to the sitting shogun. He contends that the calculus of personal advantage as landed magnates steadily ate away their special bond to the Tokugawa, and the initial distinction between fudai and tozama, the great independent daimyo defeated at Sekigahara but who still presented powerful threats to Tokugawa preeminence, was increasingly blurred.

Bolitho sees the *fudai* as becoming more like *tozama* in their political and economic priorities, which reflected the regional concerns of the feudal estates more than those of their overlords in Edo. The *fudai*'s status as *Bakufu* officers made them eligible to the highest levels of *Bakufu* government but also imposed special obligation of fealty to the

regime. Caught between responsibilities to their baronial estates, which growing Bakufu inertia made secure from attainder, and their hereditary retainer bond to the Tokugawa dynasts, their personal ambivalence fed political disequilibrium.

Reworking existing materials bearing on fudai brokering of incompatible tendencies, feudal anarchy versus monarchical absolutism, Bolitho fashions a revisionist interpretation of the familiar theme of shaky balance between centripetal and centrifugal forces in the system. Instead of the standard view that after a brief power struggle the system froze at a slight cant that favored the Bakufu center for two centuries, that the regime's firm hold on this most reliable of feudal elements broke suddenly in the face of foreign intervention in the mid-nineteenth century, he argues that Bakufu power reached its zenith in the mid-seventeenth century. Its slow decline thereafter, prompted imperceptibly by the self-interests of the fudai, has gone largely unperceived. Historians have been taken in by the rhetoric of fealty that cloaked the fudai's deeper concerns for technological and economic changes affecting their fiefs.

The introduction lays out the argument persuasively. The epilogue deals with the final rush of events culminating in Bakufu collapse, the naked revelation of progressive decay at the center. The four substantive chapters in between show eloquently how the peculiar split-level fudai relationship to Tokugawa feudalism, as regime officials and as lords of domain, and the assumption that fierce battlefield loyalties and landed estates are equally as transmittable lineally were fatal weaknesses' of the Tokugawa system. While some of his supporting inferences require further substantiation, Bolitho's thesis as a whole is convincing. His illumination of the fudai's key role in Edo politics sets a fine example for other rethinkers of Tokugawa history.

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FRANK BALDWIN, editor. Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship since 1945. (The Pantheon Asia Library: New Approaches to the New Asia.) New York: Pantheon Books. 1974. Pp. 376. Cloth \$15.00, paper \$3.95.

This collection of articles, which covers the political, economic, and social developments in South Korea since the liberation of 1945, has a unifying theme—that the continued presence of the United States in that country during the past three decades has been, to use a mild term, unfortunate. Without American interference South Korea would have had the opportunity to work out its

own political future and doubtlessly would have chosen unification with the North. The Japanese and their South Korean collaborators—the landlords, the police, and the minor bureaucracy—would have been removed from power, and the workers and the peasants would have established a real democracy. Given unification, there naturally would have been no civil war, and the millions of casualties and severe economic damage that ensued would have been avoided.

Since none of these occurred, the people of South Korea have instead been saddled with a conservative, dictatorial government that has maintained power through brutal repression, elimination of the opposition, subversion of the constitution, and chicanery of every sort. The capitalistic system sponsored by the United States and now supported by the still detested Japanese has resulted in the establishment of a small rich elite, a large poverty-stricken urban working class, and a peasantry that has been used to provide a source of cheap urban labor by governmentally depressed farm prices. The dictatorship has further abused its powers by selling its soldiers to act as U.S. mercenaries in Vietnam. It follows, therefore, that the United States and its puppets-the Rhee and Park regimes-have managed to create a thoroughly unwholesome situation in South Korea.

In this combined effort to correct the "slanted" accounts that have defended or praised the U.S. role in South Korea and emphasized the positive accomplishments of the last thirty years, most of the contributors have elected to wipe out the whitewash by applying the tar brush. How much more effective this counterattack might have been if all the authors had adopted the approach of Robert R. Simmons in his article on the origins of the civil war, in which he attaches a part of the blame to both sides instead of summarily convicting the South for starting the conflict.

Perhaps the major weakness of the collection is the treatment of South Korea in a vacuum without relating it to the developments taking place in other new Asian nations facing similar problems. Originally, Baldwin notes in his introduction, there were to have been three articles on North Korea, which would have provided better balance and some basis of comparison of progress and development; it is ironic that the potential authors were not even permitted to enter North Korea, which suggests that life under Kim II Sung may leave as much to be desired as that under President Park.

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SPENCER LAVAN. The Ahmadiyah Movement: A History and Perspective. [Delhi:] Manohar Book Service;

distrib. by South Asia Books, Columbia, Mo. 1974. Pp. xii, 220. \$9.00.

The Ahmadiyah, a late nineteenth-century Muslim reform movement that originated in northern India, has provoked extensive comment and discussion of the sort that obscures the forest and multiplies the trees. This sensible book has cut through a tangle of earlier polemics and scholarship to provide a wide and satisfactory perspective on the movement. The Ahmadiyah is set within the context of other Muslim reform efforts in British India. The career of its founder, Mirzu Ghulam Ahmad, receives sympathetic but critical attention, especially his multiple claims to being a promised messiah, a madhī (rightly guided leader), an avatar of Krishna, and the son of the Virgin Mary. The internal developments and later dissensions of the group are traced. The role of the movement, in the political ferment boiling around the issues of autonomy and independence, is clarified. The more significant writings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad are discussed. Illuminating comparisons are made between the founder and rival reform leaders, like Sayyad Ahmad Khan. The documentation is very full and will be useful to the student wishing to explore various focuses of Muslim thought and reform in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century India. The author makes a good case for the importance of his study. Mirzu Gulam Ahmad's proselytizing reached into Africa, Europe, and America, thus achieving more than local historical impact. The movement is a good case study of Indian Muslims who sought identity and direction in a complex plural society. The founder's doctrine of a "verbal jihād" (struggle in the way of God) against unbelievers, as opposed to the traditional sense of a violent struggle, is theologically novel and refreshing. With respect to this religious movement, the author is right to say that he "provides understanding of how and why men believe and act as they do.'

Three faults, however, stand out. First, the author's style is marked by the dissertation phase from which the book developed. The weight of the scholarship might have been cushioned by more attention to felicity of expression and lightness of phrase. The book is clear but not easy reading. Second, numerous printing errors mar the text; there are no fewer than nine in the first six pages, two of them serious. The effect is unnecessarily distracting. Third, the book is priced too high for the quality of manufacturing it represents.

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AMALES TRIPATHI. Vidyasagar: The Traditional Moderniser. Calcutta: Orient Longman. 1974. Pp. x, 112. Re 8

A colleague once spoke in Delhi on the reorganization of the Indian Congress after World War I. When he finished a gentleman rose: "Sir, you have not mentioned Jallianwala Bagh." This is the mantra theory of history; for every subject certain things must be said. That they have been said ad nauseam, are irrelevant, or even untrue does not matter; they satisfy. Tripathi has fallen victim to the mantra theory. He presents no new evidence. Though he speaks in the preface of a new approach, what he offers is the Bengal renaissance in all its familiar glory. He discusses, for example, whether Rammohan Roy was involved in the founding of Hindu College (pp. 9-12), though it has little to do with Vidyasagar. He describes Rammohan and Vidyasagar as men who had the wisdom to borrow what was relevant from the West and the knowledge to retain what was genuine in Indian tradition. They rose above the excesses of the orthodox, on the one hand, and the Young Bengal on the other. Where would writers on nineteenthcentury Bengal find their themes without those fellows acting to excess?

At times Tripathi seems to realize that Vidyasagar was not just another nineteenth-century giant. But no hard questions—such as whether Vidyasagar was right to urge that Bengali be built on the foundations of Sanskrit, or whether modernizing the curriculum at Sanskrit College was worth it—are asked. Frequent comparisons to Western giants (pp. 2, 6, 23–24, 33, and 45) and a "background" on Christianity from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment (pp. 74–79) mark the book as provincial.

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B. R. NANDA, editor. Socialism in India. (Issued under the auspices of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.) New York: Barnes and Noble. 1972. Pp. vi, 299. \$12.00.

SUKHBIR CHOUDHARY. Peasants' and Workers' Movement in India, 1905–1929. Foreword by TARA CHAND. New Delhi: People's Publishing House; distrib. by South Asia Books, Columbia, Mo. 1971. Pp. xx, 328. \$8.00.

The ten essays by scholars and professional writers in the edited volume emerged from seminars held in 1968 and 1969 at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. The opening contribution by the editor, B. R. Nanda, surveys briefly but lucidly the interaction among socialist ideas and movements at home and abroad during the interwar years from 1919 to 1939. The next five essays highlight particular aspects of this complex interplay.

V. S. Budhraj notes the shifts in policies of the Communist International toward Indian political

developments; Zafar Imam views the rise of Soviet Russia as "an explosive new factor in Indian politics" (p. 66). Both essays form an interesting complement to Bimal Prasad's essay, "Socialism and Foreign Policy Thinking, 1919–1939." Although with little recourse to the primary sources of the Nehru Library, P. C. Joshi describes well Jawaharlal Nehru's leading role in the growth of socialism. On the other hand, P. S. Gupta meticulously documents the fluctuations in understanding and support between British Labour politicians and Indian leftists.

Socialist ideology also influenced leaders and movements at the regional level. Its impetus, however, was often modified by local interests and conditions. As Bipan Chandra shows, the revolutionary terrorists in northern India in the 1920s were in theory committed to socialism, but in practice did not go beyond nationalism. Nor did they "rise above terrorist or individual action" (p. 186) to forge a mass movement. The agricultural crisis of the 1930s similarly provided a favorable setting for the spread of Marxist ideas. But as B. B. Chaudhuri's perceptive study, "Agrarian Movements in Bengal and Bihar, 1919-1939," reveals, considerable tensions arose in the peasant movements because of the diverging class interests of a heterogeneous peasant community. Its sharper class orientation in the 1930s also clashed with the objectives of the nationalist movement, which stressed the primacy of the freedom struggle. Although his essay is necessarily brief, Chaudhuri recognizes the important connections between local agitations and the development of a wider peasant movement. Several scholars in this country—especially at the University of Virginia—are presently engaged in precisely such investigations.

P. Padhye and D. Anjaneyulu complete the discussion of socialism in India by examining its salutary effects on, respectively, Marathi and Telugu literature. As in the previous essays, both writers explain the impact of socialism in terms of a complex interplay between various "indigenous" and "external" forces. A useful bibliography of the major primary and secondary sources enhances the value of this important and systematic investigation of the historical development of socialism in India.

With less precision, Sukhbir Choudhary's book also recounts the interaction of national and international forces that shaped the socialist movement in India. He outlines a four-stage process in the growth of political consciousness and organization among peasants and workers, beginning with the early struggles (1905–08) in chapter 1 and culminating with the birth of the Communist party (1925–29) in chapter 4. The postwar awakening from 1919 to 1921 (ch. 2)—primarily under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia—and

chapter 3, "Reaching Forward to Marxism (1922-1924)," constitute the intermediate phases. In his all-India approach, Sukhbir Choudhary provides a useful description of many of the major peasants' and workers' struggles. He furnishes few figures, however, on the number of participants and the extent to which leftist ideology filtered down into local society.

Although neither work under review breaks fresh ground, they present considerable insight into the wide array of socialists and socialist parties in India today.

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B. R. NANDA. Gokhale, Gandhi and the Nehrus: Studies in Indian Nationalism. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. 203. \$14.95.

s. GOPAL, general editor. Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru. Volume 1. (Project of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund.) [New Delhi:] Orient Longman; distrib. by South Asia Books, Columbia, Mo. 1972. Pp. 410. \$11.50.

KRISHAN BHATIA. Indira: A Biography of Prime Minister Gandhi. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1974. Pp. x, 290. \$10.00.

These three volumes add to our understanding of Indian nationalism and leadership through three generations and contribute particularly to our knowledge of one remarkable family, the Nehrus.

B. R. Nanda, director of the Nehru Memorial Library and author of an excellent biographical study, The Nehrus, Motilal and Jawaharlal (1963), has put together his essays on G. K. Gokhale, Gandhi, and the two Nehrus. All the essays are clearly and intelligently written, but they offer little that is new to our comprehension of Indian nationalism. In his version of the relationship between Gandhi and the younger Nehru, for example, the author prefers straight factual accounts rather than imaginative probing and speculation. The longest and most stimulating essay, "Jawa-harlal Nehru and the Partition of India," is an extended account of and apologia for Nehru's actions between 1935 and 1947. Nanda defends him against the charges that he contributed to Hindu-Muslim enmity over the United Provinces ministerial question in 1937 and over the interpretation of the cabinet mission plan in 1946. The author's effort to persuade the reader that Nehru was always rational, while Jinnah was always emotional and narrow-minded, is not convincing.

The first volume of Jawaharlal Nehru's selected works, produced by Dr. S. Gopal and his assistants at the Nehru Memorial Fund, is skillfully edited and a pleasure to read. The documents, covering 1903 to 1923, include his letters from England to his parents (1905–12), notes for law cases in

Allahabad, and a range of materials concerning his early work as a nationalist and follower of Gandhi (1917-23). It covers much of the same ground as the opening chapters of Nehru's autobiography and finest book, Toward Freedom, written in the 1930s. From England in 1908, he wrote, "It is strange but in spite of the homelike feeling I am constantly reminded of the fact that I am a foreigner, an intruder here." The letters express his feelings about his Western education, his youthful political attitudes, his ambivalence toward other Indians in Britain, and his love for and dependence upon his father. The later sections of this volume show him becoming a full-time nationalist leader, deepening his understanding of his country and its predominantly peasant population, growing more hostile to the British rulers, working to build the nationalist movement in his own province, and ripening into a passionate, articulate spokesman for his people.

One hungers for more from the editors of these volumes, particularly for some of the letters written to Nehru, so that one could better grasp the interchanges taking place. I would also like to know what the entire corpus of the Nehru Papers contains so that the criteria of selection would be more explicit.

Krishan Bhatia's biography of Indira Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter and the present prime minister of India, is a smoothly written work intended for a popular audience. It does not have scholarly pretensions and is a good introduction. He portrays both her strengths and weaknesses, her loneliness, her reluctance to compromise, her admiration for Joan of Arc, and her possible dictatorial tendencies. He seems to believe with Mrs. Gandhi that she is the one national leader that India has today.

The three works together lead one to ask about the relationship of each generation to the next, of Motilal to Jawaharlal and Jawaharlal to Indira, and also to look for similarities in their personalities. Each has been a devoted nationalist, forceful, passionate, and even imperious; both Jawaharlal and Indira blossomed into full flower only with the death of their respective dominant parent. As more Nehru papers become available, we will try to make more such connections and also see if Mrs. Gandhi is more successful than her father in dealing with India's vast human needs and potentialities.

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Mr. Pringle writes of the romantic White Rajahs of Sarawak and their relations with the varied peoples they presumed to rule. The tale has often been told—it fascinated the Victorians and later imperialists who believed in the manifest destiny of Englishmen to lord it over "lesser breeds without the law"—but never so well.

Pringle went to Sarawak to look at original source material about the Brooke family and its century-long rule of the Bornean territory. While in Sarawak, he raised his head from the dry documents and looked about him at people and places, so that his book has a life and vitality that many tomes of equally impeccable scholarship lack. He gives us a feel for the jungle and the rivers that wind through, as well as of the people living on the banks of these rivers who for generations have had space enough to move when the land has grown less fertile; and he makes clear to us the extraordinarily complex web of relationships that grew up between the Brookes and the peoples of Sarawak.

Rajahs and Rebels tells of the turbulent century before the Japanese overran Borneo in 1941. In telling us of the past, it illumines the present. For instance, one of the many mysteries of modern polities in Sarawak is the very real difference between the social and political attitudes of the Ibans of the second and third divisions. Pringle shows us how historically the Ibans of the second division, with their proximity to Kuching, learned to fear the power of the "Malays" at the Brooke court. On the other hand, the Ibans of the third division primarily feared the economic power of the Chinese settlers in the Sibu region. These long-established antipathies find their voice on the modern political stage, and if the political scientist is to follow the present drama he must understand the

While Pringle was in Sarawak doing his doctoral work for Cornell University he also collaborated with Benedict Sandin of the Kuching Museum in his preparation of *The Sea Dayaks of Borneo before White Rajah Rule* (1967). This was based primarily on oral materials that Sandin had been collecting over a number of years, and makes the perfect complement to Pringle's work on the Brooke period. Such collaboration seems all too rare, but in these days when Asians are becoming increasingly wary of Western scholars—feeling it is *their* history and our intrusion merely a reflection of earlier imperialism—it is a pattern we should all admire and perhaps seek to emulate.

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ROBERT PRINGLE. Rajahs and Rebels: The Ibans of Sarawak under Brooke Rule, 1841–1941. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1970. Pp. xx, 410. \$15.00.

K. S. INGLIS. The Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History 1788-1870. Victoria: Melbourne University Press; distrib. by International Schol-

arly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1975. Pp. xx, 316. \$22.75.

In this, the first volume of a pioneer four-volume social history of Australia, Professor Inglis reaches the year 1870. Using four categories he describes the people—convicts, emigrants and colonists; how they spent their holidays—the monarch's birthday, the Sabbath, St. Patrick's Day, Christmas; and how the Australians displaced the aborigines, coped with natural enemies such as animals and bush fires, dealt with bushrangers and rebels, and reacted to distant European wars. In the concluding category, on heroes, Inglis shows how Australian egalitarianism has produced a short and oddly mixed list: Captain Cook, navigator; Richard Bourke, governor; William Charles Wentworth, explorer and politician; Burke and Wills, explorers; and others. Throughout the book Inglis reports the attitudes of certain groups, mostly those of the elite, but he does not appreciate the fact that women composed a large percentage of society, and he mentions only Caroline Chisholm and a few others who were very successful-perhaps because then and even now most Australians think of women as junior members in a partnership with men. He has probed with insight the mentalities of Australian groups and described their culture. He notes the transformation of a military convict society into a free and democratic one. He brings out some of the social movements and social protest, particularly the conflicts between working groups and their employers. However, his hypothesis that Australian society is more homogeneous than most is not always proved. The poorer classes are often ignored. Surely there are divisions in Australian society other than religious, once the emancipists are assimilated. Although Inglis makes ample and apt use of poetry to support his case, literature represents the articulate; but a social historian's great burden is to probe for the inarticulate's views. Inglis assumes, for the most part, that the attitudes of one subsume the other. This is not always true. Following Professor Manning Clark, Inglis divides Australians more by religion than by class.

Inglis has directed his narrative to the general public. The quantity and quality of the many illustrations are outstanding, and the book is handsomely printed. Although there are no footnotes, the bibliographical notes at the close of the book are fully annotated, with almost a complete emphasis on secondary materials. Inglis lets the facts speak for themselves, and, it is to be regretted, attempts no analysis or synthesis.

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UNITED STATES

BERNARD STERNSHER. Consensus, Conflict, and American Historians. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1975. Pp. ix, 432. \$15.00.

The search for the elusive essence of American history—the central theme, the key explanation, the meaning of it all-takes the form in this instance of a study of historiography rather than history, very recent historiography for the most part. The focus of the study, insofar as it can be said to have a focus, is upon the "consensus" or "counterprogressive" historians, their opponents, and the corpus of criticism and commentary the controversy has inspired. While several proponents of the consensus interpretation are mentioned, two receive more attention than all the others. These are Louis Hartz, author of a theoretical essay, The Liberal Tradition in America (1955), and Daniel J. Boorstin, author of The Genius of American Politics (1953) and other works. Opponents of the consensus school under chief consideration are historians and other writers of the New Left persuasion.

While Hartz and Boorstin are lumped together in the same school, Bernard Sternsher is correct in pointing out that their interpretations are quite different. Where Hartz holds that American history is wholly dominated by ideology, the Lockean ideology of private property, and popular sovereignty, Boorstin contends that Americans have been almost totally devoid of theory and have relied blindly on "pragmatic" adaptation to the New World environment. Sternsher reviews both interpretations in detail and recapitulates in even greater detail the critical literature, especially the essays of J. R. Pole and J. P. Diggins, though without adding anything of significance to what they had to say.

Sternsher, however, is "interested not only in the idea of consensus but also in the question whether the idea is empirically true." This interest would seem to dictate an appeal to historical evidence. Instead he calls in social scientists, especially political scientists, along with journalists and public opinion pollsters to act as referees and arbiters in a dispute among historians over a historical problem. The political scientists, journalists, and pollsters are, as might be expected, mainly concerned with the present or the recent past. Those cited are quite numerous, their findings are conflicting, and it is evident that they have by no means reached a consensus on consensus in American public opinion, much less in American history. It seems, for example, that an opinion poll of January 1971 showed that forty-seven per cent believed the country faced "a real breakdown." By mid-1971 another poll "presented a mixed picture," and by

mid-1972 a poll "rated the state of the nation as just fair to middling." But by fall another poll was "somewhat more pessimistic." All pollsters, political scientists, and journalists are treated with equal deference—as are all book reviewers and all aspiring critics.

When he gets around to considering the New Left, however, Sternsher is somewhat more discriminating and less rigid about his rule of equal deference to all. Some New Lefters are found to be less equal than others. Especially when he is assessing work in his own field of special competence, the Progressive period and the New Deal, Sternsher not only cites relevant historical evidence but ventures his own opinions. New Left historians in this field are frequently convicted of presentism, special pleading, deliberate mythmaking, and bad history writing. Foreign policy historians of the same school come off no better. Their fayorite explanation of American imperialism is flatly rejected. The proponents of conflict and champions of losers provide no surer guide than the advocates of consensus and celebrators of winners.

Without drawing the obvious moral that solutions of historical problems are properly sought in historical evidence rather than in historiography, our present seeker concludes rather lamely that the conflict-consensus confrontation is a "false dichotomy," that "there is more to American history than the consensus scholarly journeys abroad illuminate," and that "at home we find consensus and conflict."

C. VANN WOODWARD Yale University

HARRY B. HENDERSON III. Versions of the Past: The Historical Imagination in American Fiction. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xx, 344. \$12.50.

The overall thesis of this book is that American novelists have used two principal "frames of reference" or "interlocking constellations of assumptions" about history and the past: the "holist" attitude, exemplified among historians by William Prescott and Francis Parkman, and the "progressive" attitude, represented by George Bancroft and John Motley. Holists tend to conceive of cultures as integrated structures and are not very much interested in change; progressives are committed to such general ideas as liberty and find in history a linear pattern of advance toward a determinate goal. Henderson applies these distinctions to a long list of novelists, from James Fenimore Cooper to Norman Mailer, with particular attention to Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Mark Twain, and Stephen Crane in the nineteenth century, and William Faulkner and Ralph Ellison in the twentieth.

The method yields solid results—especially in the treatment of the emphatically holist Cooper and the minor works of Hawthorne and Melvillebut Henderson runs into difficulties when he tries to apply his categories to highly complex works. Thus, although he asserts that "the progressive frame" emerges in American historical fiction as an expression of Melville's rebelliousness (in White Jacket, for example) he is not able to place Moby-Dick or Billy Budd clearly in either category. Similarly, although Faulkner has "a distinctly holist imagination," there is a "root contradiction" in Absalom! Absalom! because the effort by Quentin Compson and Shreve McCannon to reconstruct the career of Thomas Sutpen "is not only idealist but progressive" (p. 265). When terminology has to be juggled to this extent it threatens to become merely confusing. Henderson's prose is occasionally marred by other obscurities. On the other hand, when he disentangles himself from his thesis he can make remarkably fresh and penetrating observations, as in his comment that in Crane's Red Badge of Courage "Henry Fleming's 'epic' conception of history is as tawdry as the future Emma Bovary's 'romantic' conception of love' (p. 226). Indeed, it seems likely that the book would have profited greatly from a final revision by the author. But a prefatory note informs us that he was killed in an automobile accident before his thirtieth birthday, and the manuscript was revised and in part put together from notes by his wife and his father. Henderson's death is evidently a serious loss to scholarship, both literary and historical.

HENRY NASH SMITH
Washington University

MARCEL GIRAUD. Histoire de la Louisiane française. Volume 4, La Louisiane après le système de law (1721-1723). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1974. Pp. 454.

The fourth volume of Professor Marcel Giraud's study of Louisiana as a French possession faithfully follows the direction the distinguished historian set in the preface to the first tome, published in 1953. He indicated then that his analysis of the foundation of the colony would focus less on French discoveries and explorations, or on relationships with other European nations that had vested interests in America, than on the intricate forces that lent impetus to the settlement of the Gulf Coast and the Mississippi Valley.

The author's emphases in this latest book of the series are on the establishment of posts and plantations under the administration of the Company of the Indies; the complex policies improvised in the metropole and implemented in a still largely unchartered country; the sometimes improvident investments of colonizing societies and their substantial losses in men and provisions; the life-style of officials at home and of concessionaires in the new land; the primitive living conditions of humbler personnel, including raw recruits and imported slaves; and the generally friendly dealings with indigenous tribes.

Since the third volume ended with the bursting of the Mississippi bubble, the first part of the fourth tome fittingly introduces the reader to the checkmate of the "system" of the ingenious financier John Law and the liquidation of his affairs. The reorganization of the Company of the Indies, along with its personalities, polity, and problems, is then reviewed. The second section or backbone of the book begins with the subsequent decline in colonizing enterprises, the travails of hirelings tarrying at Biloxi, and the significant immigration of Germans to Louisiana in the early 1720s. Other chapters give detailed information on population increases, the status of the colony, its economic problems and administration, the endeavors of missionaries, and, finally, the key role of the king's engineers, especially when New Orleans emerged as the new capital of the colony.

Giraud invariably reinforces his judgments and justifies his critiques with copious references to the primary sources so familiar to him as a research scholar, now retired from the faculty of the Collège de France but still residing near Paris. It is clear that he has plumbed deeply both the French National Archives and the rich, rarely tapped layers of official records of the colonies, foreign affairs, and the ministries of war and marine. He presents a brilliantly assembled mosaic of territorial history with these accounts and with myriad pieces of information culled from religious order relations; annals of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome; records of the Port of Lorient, among other debarkation points; notarial entries in department centers and towns of France; the Public Record Office in London; the Louisiana State Museum in New Orleans; the Newberry Library, Chicago; and eighteenth-century manuscripts, memoirs, maps, and censuses.

The evocative illustration of the camp of Law's concession at New Biloxi, drawn in 1720 by Jean-Baptiste-Michel Le Bouteux, adorns the soft cover. The real adornments of this definitive and altogether indispensable book for serious students of early Louisiana history are precise terminology, graceful style, and thorough index. A translation of all Giraud's volumes into English, as was the first in the series, would be welcome. Even more desirable would be the issuance of the fifth and subsequent volumes of this magisterial study of a

territory that, in 1803, doubled the size of the United States.

REV. MSGR. HENRY C. BEZOU St. Francis Xavier Church, Metairie, Louisiana

J. E. CROWLEY. This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Ninety-second Series [1974], number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 161. \$8.50.

Americans of the nineteenth century developed a system of belief that placed high value on competitiveness, activity, and material success with lesser weight on spiritual and community welfare. In the present period, when nineteenth-century values are being questioned, scholars such as J. E. Crowley are led to examine those of an earlier period. He finds that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries "views on the relationship between self and society were at the core of considerations about men's livelihoods" (p. 4). They interpreted the relations in moral terms, generating distrust of the acquisitive or egocentric "Sheba self," which made it difficult to rationalize or intellectually accept increasing prosperity in general and that of the late colonial period in particular.

Such a doctrine of abnegation may seem too good to be true of any society, but Crowley presents such a strong and closely knit argument that these conclusions follow from his sources. The real problem with the book is not in its thorough, although sometimes difficult, reasoning, but in the eternal historical question, recognized by Crowley, of whether or not the sources are representative. Geographically they stretch from Georgia to New England, with the inevitable emphasis on the latter where material was most plentiful; but even more than in later periods the literature stems from the clergy and the materially successful. The first group had an obvious commitment to preaching the Christian emphasis on frugality, and the second had one in justifying, often by somewhat tortuous means, their privileged position.

Accepting Crowley's observation that the relations between values and social behavior are dialectical, it may be that men further down the social scale failed to share in elitist social philosophies. Granted this limitation, Crowley's theoretical points are analyzed with care and penetration.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN
University of Pennsylvania

JAMES AXTELL. The School upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. xxi, 298. \$15.00.

The school in Professor Axtell's title is not the colonial counterpart of the little red schoolhouse but rather the society of early New England with all the educative influences it supplied its young members. The hill is, of course, John Winthrop's holy mount. Axtell follows Bernard Bailyn and Lawrence Cremin in defining education as socialization or enculturation—"the pervasive process in which informal, as well as formal, agencies help to tranform children into full members of a specific human society" (p. x). Education is termed "the self-conscious pursuit of certain intellectual, social, and moral ideals" by which a society endeavors to "transmit its distinctive character to future generations" (pp. xi-xii). The pursuit of ideals makes education "normative," and the desire to perpetuate social norms makes it "conservative." Axtell relates the norms of colonial New England culture to the actual practice and experience of education, broadly conceived. Thus, in addition to discussing the prescriptions of adults, he essays a child's-eye or "waist-high" view of education-limited, admittedly, by a paucity of sources—that discovers such gems as the confession of sixteen-year-old Nathaniel Mather: "Of the manifold sins which then I was guilty of, none so sticks upon me, as that being very young, I was whittling on the sabbathday: and for fear of being seen, I did it behind the door" (p. 47).

Axtell emphasizes the constraining pressures of socializing institutions—the family, the church, the school, the work system—in order to show how children like Nathaniel were shaped into "functioning, obedient, and cooperating" adults. While noting the existence of influences that "may have been individually liberating," he disclaims interest in them (pp. xiv-xv). The norm system is described as rigidly "conservative" in that it allowed little room for deviation or innovation. But while the general aims of education did not alter over time, circumstances did, and so did the distribution of educational functions. The latter, which Axtell traces in fascinating detail, involved the transfer of many socializing responsibilities from the family to the more specialized agencies of school and church, with accompanying transformations in the nature and interrelations of all three institutions. This is Axtell's central theme. It leads to the assertion that by the mid-eighteenth century New England was "suffer[ing] from a serious disjunction between its ideal values . . . and its operational values" (p. 287), indicating that the traditional modes of education had become critically impaired. The point is an important one, but because little attention is given to the "potentially liberating lessons" to which New England's children were exposed, the book leaves unexplored the equally important question of how

education related to changing operational values. It therefore offers little help in explaining the role of education in the processes of social change.

The School upon a Hill exhibits both the rewards and the dangers of the author's capacious conception of education. It presents illuminating treatments of catechistical practice, the choice of a "calling," the qualifications of schoolmasters, and the cultural significance of the names bestowed on the young. Yet it also strays into such matters of dubious relevance as midwifery, wet nursing, and the amours of indentured servants. It is perhaps a function of bias in the sources that the account is male-oriented; little is said of the upbringing of New England Eves. Errors of fact are few, but the Reverend John Robinson is located in Plymouth colony (pp. 89, 147, 195), and the Thomas Shepards, father and son, are twice confused with one another (pp. 142, 178). Such flaws aside, this attractively written, carefully researched study makes an intelligent contribution to our better understanding of colonial American culture.

MICHAEL MCGIFFERT
Institute of Early American History
and Culture

JAMES F. SHEPHERD and GARY M. WALTON. Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 255. \$15.50.

This capable book represents a quantitative approach to colonial economic development. Explicit economic theory underlies statistical inference and conclusions throughout.

The authors focus upon overseas commerce. While many economic historians have stressed the role of distribution, none has developed the concept with such thoroughness and completeness. The analytical process also brings other important economic issues into better perspective, such as: patterns of colonial commerce were dominated by shuttle voyages, not triangular or multilateral routes; production even in the subsistence sector was markedly influenced by distribution costs; the African trade was of negligible proportions; and shipping services provided revenue exceeded only by that from tobacco shipments.

Despite the excellent analyses, gnawing questions remain. For instance, heavy reliance is put upon available customs records for 1768-72. But to what degree can these data be generalized? And what degree of accuracy can be attached to estimates of invisible earnings and balance of payments in an age when data collection was haphazard at best?

The application of modern economic and statistical concepts to a past era is not without its dangers. For example, take the authors' assertion that by replacing tobacco sheds, centralized warehouses shortened the "replenishment cycle," hence lowering producer inventory costs. But if sheds were built and maintained in the off-season, when labor was not fully utilized, centralized facilities represented incremental variable costs. Thus, planters benefited not by lower inventory costs but by trade-offs. Or again, the use of *t*-tests to compare scattered observations of ton-men ratios might be questioned, for this technique assumes randomly drawn samples from a normally distributed universe. Besides, a "significant" difference in a statistical sense does not imply the difference is important.

While the scope is strictly an author's prerogative, channel relationships might have been included somewhat. This would have put a little flesh on the raw bones of physical distribution.

Nevertheless, potential biases are greatly outweighed by the study's contributions. Detailed statistical appendixes add further value to the study. Quantitative research of the colonial economy was greatly needed, and the book admirably fulfills that need.

> WILLIAM S. SACHS St. John's University

EDWARD C. PAPENFUSE. In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763–1805. (Maryland Bicentennial Studies.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1975. Pp. xi, 288. \$12.00.

Like Williamsburg or the Residenz of many a Central European prince and prelate, Annapolis was essentially a place of no previous importance honored by the presence of a government and of some "courtly society," but a place destined never to become a true city, dominating its region. Unlike its contemporary parallels, however, eighteenthcentury Annapolis for a moment dreamed of becoming something more. In the brief interlude of 1763-75 the small place came alive, as never before or since, as the real center of the official and fashionable life of the province. Officeholders, lawyers, and a few rich planters competed in building the splendid town houses that are Annapolis's most striking heritage. Other provincials flocked there not only for legal business and the meetings of the legislature, but also for the life and society of the place, particularly at the time of race meetings.

It was at this juncture of architectural and social efflorescence that a handful of local merchants sought to take advantage of the town's role as the center of conspicuous consumption in the province and to make it into the province's primary locus for the importation and distribution of foreign

merchandise—much as Charleston was in another planting society. Geography, however, made it impossible for them to hope to make the town an equivalent concentration point for exports of wheat and tobacco. Their efforts were partly successful until interrupted by the Revolution. After the war, much the same group renewed their efforts with mixed results, but by the 1790s it was clear that the rise of Baltimore, better located for the wheat trade in particular, had deprived Annapolis of any but a purely local marketing role. Even society gravitated to the larger center.

The efforts and failure of this small group of traders to make Annapolis into another Charleston or Naples or Stockholm is the subject of Edward Papenfuse's absorbing and quite original new book. Dr. Papenfuse, the new state archivist of Maryland, is peculiarly well suited to undertake this task, for hardly anyone working in Maryland history has his deep knowledge of the riches in the Hall of Records. His work is noteworthy for the extensive use he makes of judicial records, particularly those of Chancery. One hopes that in his new capacity he is able to have that valuable fond cataloged so that others less expert than he can sample those delights. Court records almost everywhere, even at the Public Record Office in London, tend to be abysmally indexed; Maryland can perhaps blaze a path for others to follow.

The book is sumptuously illustrated and rich in literary details about the commercial activities of the town and the men who for a moment made it hum. My only reservations concern the degree to which Papenfuse has let his materials lead him inallocating space. The extraordinarily rich surviving records of the Wallace-Johnson firms make that group dominate the book even more completely than they did the town's trade. One would at times like to know just a little more about some of the other firms trading in Annapolis. There are also some signs of haste in composition, but it would be unfair to quibble about this extremely original book, one of the very best in-depth studies of a commercial community in colonial and Revolutionary America.

> JACOB M. PRICE University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

RICHARD R. BEEMAN. Patrick Henry: A Biography. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1974. Pp. xvi, 229. \$9.95.

Richard Beeman's study of Patrick Henry is not a biography—not even in the most political sense. Nothing of the personal man is investigated, nor can it be, given, in Beeman's words, "the dismal state of historical records relating to Henry."

Rather, Beeman's volume is really more of an extended essay in the genre of what is still the most sensitive work on colonial Virginia, Charles Sydnor's Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia (1952).

Essentially Beeman has two goals: to understand Henry's political actions and to analyze the interaction between Henry and the society in which he operated. Parts of the political survey can be challenged—Henry may have been more tightly allied to the "south side" faction in the 1780s than is implied—but Beeman's thoughtful social portrait is what deserves attention. For that is the book's contribution, frustrating and provocative though it be.

Initially Beeman's thesis seems orthodox enough. Henry's early political success stemmed from his position within an oligarchic deferential society, where membership in a "privileged class," no matter how rude the level, mattered greatly. Still, Henry's experience differed sharply from his contemporaries; Beeman, by way of explanation, advances a variety of subtle observations for this. He unfortunately scatters his remarks at random; but when brought together they constitute an interesting position. Henry's spectacular rise in stature represented, according to the author, a gradual shift in the "gentlemanly" conduct of politics. Two basic factors account for this and for Henry's phenomenal appeal: a style that was mesmerizing and a "particularist concern" or parochial attitude, which was shared by most Virginians. In Henry these elements emerged as a frontal assault on consolidated power. He simultaneously challenged, both directly and by example, the tidewater leadership, "the grandees," in Beeman's words, "of the provincial elite," and centralized power wherever it existed-Williamsburg, London, and later Philadelphia. What Beeman finds crucial about Henry was "his very visible and less affluent presence within the small circle of wealthy men who controlled the political life of the Old Dominion" (p. 191). True, this challenge never democratized Virginia's political culture—an elite with one set of characteristics was essentially replaced by another—but Henry's career did signify "the coming of a political structure more open and responsive than that of the past" (p. 191).

And yet, there may be more to Revolutionary Virginia than Beeman's engaging portrait. In many ways Virginia's experience during this era was far different from her neighbors. During the war years and into the 1780s dissension rocked the upper South, and social anarchy raged through the lower South, but Virginia remained remarkably calm. What gave Virginia this cohesion? Possibly Henry was a major source of strength, a strength not always appreciated by his contempo-

raries, for no other man equaled his magnetic appeal. Sydnor asked a similar question for the colonial period and suggested that the essence of Virginia's stability lay in the equilibrium of mutual respect established between the "better and meaner sorts." Henry continued that tradition but altered it significantly by giving vocal expression to majoritarian sentiments. For this Madison and Iefferson feared him. But was it, as Beeman argues, because they were apprehensive about where in a deferential society Henry would lead? Or did they harbor the darker misgivings that Henry did not lead but rather reflected prejudices and passions of the popular classes? When he spoke the people, "his caressing neighbors," were transfixed; for in his style and rhetoric they witnessed the flowing of their innermost yet only partially conscious impulses. With instinctive feeling Henry manipulated these egalitarian suspicions, whereas both Jefferson and Madison recognized in their rational moments that such attitudes required constant control. Other Southern leaders of similar appeal have possessed this talent, the latest of which now resides in Montgomery, Alabama.

RONALD HOFFMAN
University of Maryland,
College Park

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DAVID BRION DAVIS. The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1975. Pp. 576. \$17.50.

How did Ouaker mysticism, Baptist and Methodist evangelicalism, Edwardsean millennialism, and Enlightenment rationalism converge to produce the American antislavery movement of the Revolutionary era? Why, given this new sensitivity to the moral evil of slavery shared by a galaxy of leaders and statesmen, did the early American antislavery movement accomplish so little? Why did the Revolutionary era in France, where concern over the morality of slavery was far less consequential than in the United States, lead to the overthrow of slavery in the major plantation society of St. Domingue, while in the United States antislavery forces had to be satisfied with gradual emancipation in the North and had to leave the institution in the plantation South undisturbed? Why did the English antislavery movement of the early nineteenth century accomplish more than the American one? Why was antislavery in the United States associated with a revolutionary doctrine, while in England it became associated with conservative forces—with both the philanthropies of benevolent upper-class paternalists and the ideologues of the rising industrial bourgeoisie? In short, how was it that the ideology of antislavery interacted with the political and military crises of the age of revolution to produce emancipation in some places but not in others?

Cogent and illuminating answers to these and other questions and paradoxes are offered in this learned and subtle volume. Probing the complex interactions between ideological changes, political structures, the configuration of interest groups, the distribution of power, and the unsettling impact of military events in England, the United States, France, and to a lesser extent the Spanish colonies in America, Professor Davis makes sense of the highly varied patterns that developed. Thus to oversimplify and take a few dramatic examples: slavery disappeared in St. Domingue not because of the influence of a radical antislavery ideology but because once changes in the status of the Creoles and mulattoes began, things-from the point of view of the French and of the white colonists-simply got out of hand. In the United States, despite the array of prominent public leaders who hoped for the end of slavery, the institution survived, not only because it was deeply imbedded in the South, but also because it would have been impossible to form a new union without protecting the South's interests. In England, on the other hand, the West Indian interest, despite its celebrated influence, was actually less powerful and less needed by groups with other interests than were the Southern planters of the United States.

One of the great virtues of this book is that it demonstrates how naive it would be to interpret what occurred as simply a struggle between antislavery ideologists and proslavery interest groups. Inhibiting the antislavery advocates of human liberty everywhere as a powerful belief in the sanctity of private property, which they identified with the very essence of human liberty. This belief was one reason why gradual emancipation was the general rule in the American North; in England such feelings were in the end undermined in large part because the affected property owners were so far away. Again in one of his most perceptive sections, Davis offers a suggestive explanation of why so many prominent British antislavery advocates were actively opposed to ameliorating the conditions of the white factory workers, and of how the antislavery doctrine actually served to reinforce this attitude toward the white poor.

No short review can do more than suggest the contents of a book as rich, complex, and subtle as this one is, or do more than indicate some of the major themes to which it addresses itself. Fortunately this is the kind of history that makes no compromises for the sake of simplicity, and as such it is a model for all historians to follow. In its sophisticated analysis of the interplay between changing moral sensibility, political and economic

developments, shifting institutional arrangements, and the strategies of various interest groups, it also offers a model for those who wish to study and understand the progress—and the limits of that progress—achieved by blacks and their allies during the Civil War and Reconstruction era and again during the civil rights revolution of our own time.

AUGUST MEIER
Kent State University

WILLIAM G. ROTHSTEIN. American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1972. Pp. xv, 362. \$15.00.

A number of scholars inspired by the work of Robert K. Merton are attempting to create a viable historical sociology of scientific knowledge. Whether or not they succeed will depend on their developing a methodology that is more than a set of procedures and techniques adopted from history and sociology. That the undertaking is difficult and the skeptics to some extent justified are seen in William G. Rothstein's study of American physicians before 1900. A professional sociologist convinced that a historical approach to his subject and a sociological orientation in history can be fruitful, he has chosen to write an analysis "of the major institutions of medical practice in the nineteenth century—the independent practitioner, the medical society, the medical school, and the licensing system."

After an opening chapter of definitions, socioeconomic hypotheses, and what Rothstein calls "a general axiomatic framework"—all by way of providing a "model of analysis"-he outlines colonial medical practice and follows with four chapters on the theories and institutions of orthodox medicine in the first half of the nineteenth century. The emergence of irregular medical sects such as the Thomsonians, the homeopaths, and the eclectics, which Rothstein characterizes as a rebellion against the regular medical profession, is treated in the next third of the book. He then shows how the growth of scientific medicine in the latter half of the century undermined these sects. "In the short span of one century," Rothstein writes, "American medicine became a vocation for many men, developed institutions, fought and divided over sectarian dogmas, and accepted scientific medicine which cast out the dogmas and transformed medicine from sect to science."

Rothstein's contribution lies in his overview of the institutions important for medical practice in the nineteenth century. He has amassed an array of material from primary and secondary sources

that is useful to have in one volume, although he frequently offers sizable quotations with little or no interpretation. Certainly, he cannot be faulted for not doing enough research. What flaws the book is Rothstein's failure to establish how the "two major causal forces-the body of medical knowledge used by physicians at any given time and the economic interests of physicians in earning a livelihood"-interacted to transform American medical institutions. That interaction is critical for an understanding of what happened. Further, the influence of ideas and socioeconomic forces on the lives of individuals and institutions are fundamental problems in the historical sociology of scientific knowledge. This should be apparent from the work of Merton, J. D. Bernal, and Joseph Ben-David, among others, while Thomas S. Kuhn's Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1962) makes it inescapable. In fact, Kuhn's approach to the social relations of science could be usefully applied to the history of medicine. Rothstein, who neither mentions Kuhn nor considers the processes of change in a book that is essentially about change in medical thought and institutions, follows the example of those historians of medicine who have little interest in this mode of analysis.

The issue need not have been raised here if Rothstein had not begun his book with a set of hypotheses that trouble the historian's critical sensibility. For example, he writes, "Extensive competition from other physicians, other practitioners, and/or other forms of medical treatment (e.g., patent medicines) causes physicians to adopt readily those medically valid therapies which can be administered on a demonstrable and consistent basis." The statement may be true, and if so Rothstein has given the historian of medicine and the student of the sociology of scientific knowledge a valuable insight. But if Rothstein is interested in writing a historical analysis, as he claims, then he must construct a case in support of his hypotheses. He has not done it in three hundred pages of narrative. Evidence without argument is insufficient here. If sociologists wish to advance historical studies, they will have to devise appropriate ways of using sociological methods and insights to solve historical problems.

HAROLD FRUCHTBAUM Columbia University

DUMAS MALONE. Jefferson the President: Second Term, 1805–1809. (Jefferson and His Time, volume 5.) Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1974. Pp. xxxi, 704. \$14.50.

"Not the most glorious period of his public life" is the way Dumas Malone describes Thomas Jefferson's second term as president, the subject of the fifth and next to last volume of the life of the Virginia president. In fact, Malone concludes that while Jefferson's re-election in 1804 "marked the zenith of his presidential career," the domestic and diplomatic problems near the conclusion of the second term marked "not only its end but also its nadir" (p. xi). Although Jefferson was able to maintain party unity reasonably well and, in the balance, had more influence over Congress than any other nineteenth-century president, he was increasingly harried by a hostile minority faction of constitutional purists within his own party, as well as by a harshly critical Federalist opposition. The Burr conspiracy, with its real as well as rumored plots for seizing Spanish territory and detaching part of the American West from the Union, was the most critical domestic problem for Jefferson's second administration. According to Malone, the intrigues of the former vice-president prompted some of Jefferson's gravest miscalculations and poorest judgments, including a public accusation of Burr's guilt as well as a misplaced faith in the integrity of arch conspirator General James Wilkinson. Burr's acquittal, by a court presided over by Chief Justice John Marshall, intensified Jefferson's apprehensions of the Federalists and their domination of the judiciary.

It was in the field of foreign affairs, however, that the Jefferson administration met its greatest test, and perhaps had its greatest failure. Humiliated by the Chesapeake affair and the British impressment of seamen from aboard American vessels, the United States adopted a stringent embargo, which virtually forbade any foreign commerce, in an attempt to force England and France to honor America's neutral status. The embargo ultimately failed in its foreign policy objectives; nonetheless, it required for its enforcement presidential assumption of unprecedented powers and compromised Jefferson's beliefs in limited government and individual liberty. Malone believes, however, that Jefferson had little choice, given the foreign and domestic realities, and that the objective of maintaining the United States' "self-respect as an independent nation" was worth subordinating "normal individual interests, and even rights" (p. 590).

This richly detailed narrative based upon painstaking research is an impressive accomplishment and will, with the work as a whole, be an enduring contribution. Yet for all of the book's substantial virtues, Malone's treatment of politics shows a lack of appreciation for the rather remarkable tentativeness and fragility of the Union and the Constitution. For Malone, apparently, political perceptions and assumptions during Jefferson's day

were not too unlike those of later eras. Yet there is evidence that the men of the early republic perceived politics quite differently than did their successors and that the political system marked a unique period in American history. For example, the Jefferson administration withheld military commissions from Massachusetts Federalists fearing they were disloyal, suspected Federalist support for Burr's schemes to dismember the Union and overthrow the government, and charged that the Massachusetts opposition to the embargo had "amounted almost to rebellion and treason" (p. 639). The widespread evidence of a polarization between the two parties does not lead to the conclusion that the Federalists and Republicans perceived themselves to be a part of a stable and orderly two-party system with each party periodically gaining power and then relinquishing it. Indeed, it was not until almost a half a century later, in 1844, that a party was able to regain the presidency once it had lost it.

JAMES ROGER SHARP
Syracuse University

RICHARD KERN. John Winebrenner: Nineteenth Century Reformer. Harrisburg, Pa.: Central Publishing House. 1974. Pp. xi, 226. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$4.95.

John Winebrenner was a nineteenth-century American religious and social reformer. Born in 1797, he was trained for the ministry in the German Reformed Church and began a promising career in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1822. Winebrenner, however, was soon beset by both doctrinal and personal conflicts within his congregation and by 1825 had become the founder of a new sect, the Church of God. Attracted by Methodist revivalistic fervor and influenced by the leftwing Protestant ideal of restoring the New Testament Church, he was the most important leader of this small church until his death in 1860.

Winebrenner's role as a fervent political and social reformer has been less known. He was an ardent abolitionist in the 1830s and 1840s, was active in the crusade for prohibition, was a pacifist, and supported most of the other reforms of the period. Professor Kern describes the transition of Winebrenner from radical to moderate reformer. His mellowing attitude toward slavery, while it caused a major controversy within the Church of God, was motivated primarily by a growing sense of responsibility for the unity of his denomination.

Kern's treatment is fair, judicious, and well documented. He leans heavily upon Winebrenner's own published writings, but personal details that would clarify the story frequently are missing. Unfortunately, as is the case with many similar figures, the sources for writing a

personal biography are simply not extant. Kern cannot be faulted for that. He sets out "to give Winebrenner his due," and he does that well.

DAVID EDWIN HARRELL, JR. University of Alabama, Birmingham

JANE II. PEASE and WILLIAM H. PEASE. They Who Would Be Free: Blacks' Search for Freedom, 1830–1861. (Studies in American Negro Life.) New York: Atheneum. 1974. Pp. xi, 331. \$10.00.

KATHARINE DU PRE LUMPKIN. The Emancipation of Angelina Grimkė. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 265. \$11.95.

Every reform movement has been and ever will be a failure. Yet each has prepared some humanitarian advance, if only by evoking for later generations memories of ideals yet to be fulfilled. These works assess failures in the antislavery cause, though each offers a different perspective. Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease have sketched a most depressing picture of white-black abolitionism: the corrosive prejudice of white leaders and the uncertain performance of black colleagues, hobbled, as they were, by disadvantages not of their making. Failures of self-knowledge, not of racial policy, concern Professor Lumpkin in her portrait of Angelina Grimké, a Southerner bred to revere aristocratic heritage, slavery, and religious conservatism but who rejected them all at great personal expense.

Supported by impressive documentation, the Peases explain those grim elements of personal rivalry, class snobbery, factionalism, and racism that separated white from black activist. Though the latter sought independent courses, they point out, the black reformer was persistently assigned cosmetic functions. As in the larger society, white brethren monopolized power and policy making. Despite black protests, preoccupations with slavery left little room to wrestle with Yankee racism, black urban poverty, disfranchisement, and social ostracism. No wonder then that black leaders could not easily locate a base of authority even among their own people, from whom they were sometimes separated by class and cultural differences. One is impressed by the Peases' recital of feelings hurt, opportunities lost, and principles demeaned, but perhaps too much is demanded of these earnest black and white idealists who shared, albeit unevenly, oppressions both subtle and overt. Though recognizing black achievements against the odds, the authors too readily overlook the moral ambiguities that surrounded the antislavery search for power.

The same fault cannot be attributed to Katharine Lumpkin, who traces Angelina Grimke's pil-

grimage toward moral certainty and autonomy in a society that inhibited both. With rare insight, she shows how Grimké outgrew parental possessiveness, a Carolina slavery heritage, religious narrowness-even Hicksite Quakerism-and finally ambivalences about the roles of wife, mother, and public figure. Only briefly did she realize her potential as popular speaker for human rights. Both her sister Sarah and her husband Theodore Weld, the reformer, dominated her life, partly at least at her own, half-conscious request. In 1854, however, she finally subdued Sarah's serpentine aggressiveness. A triumph of self-mastery was the result, but years of unfulfilled promise had already passed. Those wishing to know more of the reform setting and the place of the Grimké-Weld household within it must still turn to Gerda Lerner's lengthier study, but Katharine Lumpkin has written a most persuasive inner biography of a great American woman.

Together, these thoughtful, sophisticated works take a place among the best recent studies about a movement that promised much more than human frailty and cultural impediments could ever permit.

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN
Case Western Reserve University

DAVID E. MILLER and DELLA S. MILLER. Nauvoo: The City of Joseph. Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith. 1974. Pp. xiii, 264. \$10.00.

From 1839 to 1846, the Mormons built Nauvoo into the largest city in Illinois, a process revealing much about their contribution to American history. Originally written in 1963 under a National Park Service grant, this survey report has been reworked into a useful "brief but factual history," containing valuable information from Hancock County and Southern Illinois University records. The authors display admirable detachment in treating controversial subjects such as the destruction of the Nauvoo Expositor press, leading to Joseph Smith's martyrdom, and the authenticity of the Book of Abraham in Mormon scripture.

However, the Millers continually recite events and insert long quotations without digesting them. Although they sense Masonry's role in Smith's assassination (he uttered the Masonic distress signal as he was shot), they fail to analyze it. Moreover, Masons suspected Smith of violating his oaths by utilizing Masonic ritual in Mormonism. Equally disturbing is the Millers' superficial treatment of Smith's 1844 campaign for the presidency of the United States. No thought is given to the possibility that his campaign was serious, even though Klaus Hansen and other scholars have persuasively argued the point. Hence, the reader is

unable to grasp the highly significant role of the Mormon Council of Fifty in political affairs. In essence, the authors ignored Nauvoo historiography in the years since their original report was prepared.

In Robert Flanders's seminal work, Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi (1965), Nauvoo's political and economic policies were paramount, and Smith was an entrepreneur—not a man of the spirit. Yet other scholars have suggested the impossibility of understanding Nauvoo without examining Smith's spiritual power. Since the Millers sympathize with that view, they provide a needed balance to Flanders's more impressive work, even though their analysis of religious motivations is thin and disappointing. Clearly, the definitive work on Nauvoo remains to be written.

DENNIS L. LYTHGOE Massachusetts State College, Bridgewater

LANGDON SULLY. No Tears for the General: The Life of Alfred Sully, 1821–1879. Foreword by RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON. (Western Biography Series.) Palo Alto, Calif.: American West Publishing Company. 1974. Pp. 255. \$9.95.

Langdon Sully's documentary biography of his grandfather, Brigadier General Alfred Sully, is a useful if limited life of a professional soldier in the mid-nineteenth century. The son of Thomas Sully, the Philadelphia artist, Alfred was commissioned from West Point in 1841, served against the Seminoles and the Mexicans, endured garrison duty in California and on the Northwestern frontier, campaigned from Fair Oaks to Fredericksburg, and then fought Plains Indians, Nez Perce, and the War Department until his death in 1879. Although Sully was married twice, first to a California señorita and then to a Confederate belle, his extensive correspondence with his sister Blanche constitutes the main resource for this study. Langdon Sully quotes long passages from certain selected letters, interposes a few substantial excerpts from Alfred Sully's official reports, and links these texts into a narrative chain with summaries of the remaining documentation.

First concentrating on Sully's California sojourn, the author shows how a man of considerable potential chose an unsatisfying career in the army as a bittersweet substitute for a lost love. By later focusing on Sully's service against the Confederacy and the Sioux, the author details how the army disappointed Sully's ambitions. Historians might wish that the author had given equal emphasis to other aspects of Sully's personality, such as his ambivalent but perceptive attitude toward Indians, or that the perspectives of his grandfather had been evaluated with greater critical objectivity.

Numerous reproductions in black and white of Alfred Sully's watercolors and sketches, along with adequate annotation, enhance the value of this charming little book.

ROBERT L. KERBY
University of Notre Dame

ODIE B. FAULK. Crimson Desert: Indian Wars of the American Southwest. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 237. \$8.95.

JOSEPII A. STOUT, JR. Apache Lightning: The Last Great Battles of the Ojo Calientes. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 210. \$8.95.

HARRY C. JAMES. *Pages from Hopi History*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 258. Cloth \$9.75, paper \$4.95.

There are two approaches that have often been followed by writers in the field of American Indian history. One of these, the more familiar to historians, is the analysis of Indian-white relations. The other approach, oftentimes more difficult because of the absence of traditional written records, is Indian-Indian history with primary attention to an analysis of Indian society and to the articulation of an Indian point of view.

The first two books in this review, Odie B. Faulk's Crimson Desert and Joseph A. Stout's Apache Lightning, focus on Indian-white relations with major emphasis on the conflicts and wars of the last half of the nineteenth century in the American Southwest before the Indians agreed to, or were forced to accept, reservation status. Faulk's Crimson Desert examines the Southwest from 1846 to 1886 when "the Indian had become an administrative problem, not a military one." Highly selective in covering this subject in about two hundred pages, the author concentrates on the three major tribes that most vigorously resisted reservation status-the Navajo, Comanche, and Apache. In a well-organized narrative, Faulk reviews a parade of major Indian leaders, white military officials, and white agents or superintendents of Indian affairs who were involved in the Indian wars of the period that were made more complex by the advent of the Mexican War and the Civil War. The description of these conflicts, Faulk states, is "a chronicle of man's inhumanity to man." Stout investigates a more restricted topic and deals primarily with the campaigns from 1877 to 1880 led by Victorio of the group of Apaches known as the Ojo Calientes. The Apaches were divided into several bands, and the followers of Victorio were actually the eastern group of the Chiricahua Apaches in southeastern Arizona.

They were designated Ojo Caliente for the area in which they lived, which, when translated, adds the additional name of Warm Springs Apaches. Mexicans as well as U.S. agents and soldiers were heavily involved in campaigns against the Apaches whose antagonism had increased in reaction to the Mexican policy of Indian scalp bounties. By the 1870s Mexicans and Americans sometimes cooperated across national boundaries in fights against the Apaches. The death of Victorio in 1880 actually resulted from a Mexican attack while American troops were operating in another area. Added to the complexity of the conflict of Mexican, American, and Indian was the presence of black soldiers or "buffalo soldiers" who maneuvered against the Indians and who received a higher commendation for their efforts by Stout than many of their prejudiced contemporaries were willing to give. Both Faulk and Stout present thoroughly researched and well-documented studies; Stout turns more often to newspaper accounts for his more restrictive topic. Both include vignettes of Indian and white leaders that contribute interest as well as perspective for the reader. With the goals set for their books, they achieved the purposes of their study, but they provide little information about the impact of the conflicts upon the political, social, and cultural life of the Indians.

Harry C. James's volume focuses more directly upon Indian-Indian history and proposes to examine major changes in Indian life in his broad sweep of the history of the Hopi tribe from their origins to the present. His information comes from personal experience, from conversations with Hopi friends, and from examination of written accounts, most of them secondary sources. Designed for the general reader, the volume contains only forty-one reference notes. It is, therefore, difficult to identify the authority for many of the interesting insights about the Hopi, including their reactions to federal programs of education, the Dawes Severalty Act, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and factionalism within their own tribe. There is a need for a fuller statement of the relationship of the Hopi story of creation and their origins to the Hopi Way. The volume also contains too many undigested contemporary accounts such as the tenpage narrative of the Mennonite missionary, H. R. Voth. The most valuable contribution of the study is the information that seems to come from the author's own direct experience with the Indians or from his conversations with Hopi friends.

W. STITT ROBINSON
University of Kansas

JOHN RICKARDS BETTS. America's Sporting Heritage: 1850–1950. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. 1974. Pp. xv, 428. \$9.95.

This detailed survey will support the claims of the vigorous sport historians that their subject deserves much more serious attention. Betts demonstrates that American amateur sport and professional sport are new under the sun and that they developed in response to technological change and social movements, particularly urbanization. American sport formed our culture and our character. There is even a chapter entitled "Education, Religion and the Arts" (pp. 344–68).

The author died in 1971. He had previously published a good article on sport in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review in 1953 (pp. 231-56) and his doctoral dissertation (Columbia, 1951) had a distinguished word-of-mouth reputation among many physical educationalists who write sport history. With the permission of Betts's son, some admirers edited the dissertation for publication. The book is packed with information drawn from sports reporting in newspapers and magazines that have never before or since been examined with such care. In his labors, Betts favored names, dates, events, and numbers rather than analysis or engaging exposition. American social historians looking for new topics that will lend themselves to lively writing might want to keep this book around. In short, the book is a worthwhile compendium rather than a finished literary product or a developed theoretical statement.

The editors erred, however, in the title and introductory material by promising more than could be delivered. Despite the title, there is little on sport after 1939. They also made no effort to update Betts's bibliography of 1951 (pp. 401-09). By all accounts Betts was a modest man. It is presumptuous to claim of him that "as a sport historian he had no peer" (p. xi) in an obviously unfinished work, which he let lie for twenty years, perhaps for reasons that should have been respected.

RICHARD D. MANDELL University of South Carolina

ELBERT B. SMITH. The Presidency of James Buchanan. (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1975. Pp. xiii, 225. \$12.00.

Elbert B. Smith's study of the Buchanan administration should interest historians and the general public. Drawing on standard secondary accounts, this volume in the American Presidency series presents a brief but excellent synthesis of James Buchanan's presidency. It is not surprising that Buchanan does not emerge as an able or sympathetic national leader. Indeed, Smith argues that Buchanan's folly helped bring about the Civil War.

Smith disagrees with those historians who consider Buchanan weak, indecisive, and a tool of

strong Southern leaders in his cabinet. Instead, the author argues that Buchanan followed a pro-Southern policy, not from weakness but from conviction. The president really believed that Kansas should be accepted as a slave state under the Lecompton constitution. He sincerely considered Douglas a traitor to the Democratic party and a force for disunion when the senator would not placate the South at the cost of losing his Northern support. And it was Buchanan himself who made the decision to throw the support of the White House against Douglas in 1860 and to insist on a Southern extremist platform and candidate at the Democratic convention. This pro-Southern policy was the result of the president's emotional attachment to the South. Because of his Southern sympathies. Buchanan could never understand the character and strength of the Northern Free-Soil movement. He had no repugnance against slavery in the new territories and thus never understood the moral outrage of Northerners.

Douglas, however, understood Northern feelings toward slavery in the territories, and he emerges in this volume as the man who might have prevented the Civil War. Douglas was the moderate. He defended the right of the South to retain its peculiar institution as long as it wished, and he supported the right to take slaves into any territory where a majority wanted it. As Smith suggests, had Southerners followed Douglas in 1860 they might have been able to save slavery. Instead they listened to a president who did not understand the North. Republican victory in 1860 and secession followed inevitably, and, as Smith argues, all this was made possible by policies stemming from the White House.

The author's evaluation of this administration demonstrates anew that Buchanan was one of the most unsuccessful statesmen ever to reside in the White House. He failed to understand the North of his day. The nation later paid a terrible price for this failure.

JOSEPH GEORGE, JR. Villanova University

FREDERIC E. RAY. Alfred R. Waud: Civil War Artist. (A Studio Book.) New York: Viking Press. 1974. Pp. 192. \$16.95.

Here is another "bio-iconography" of an artistillustrator more or less evenly divided between biography and reproductions of art work. It is a welcome if tardy recognition of the historical service of artists long scorned by museums but now discovered by art historians.

"Alf" Waud, a Yorkshireman, was born in 1828, trained at the School of Design in London and came to America in 1850. Little is known of his first

years here. In Boston he learned to draw on wood blocks for engravers—the author refers to "various jobs" with "various publications." He somehow learned the basic skill of an artist-reporter, the ability to make a quick sketch at the scene of action and later supply detail enough for the engraver. This artistic shorthand became a very marketable talent when the Civil War created a demand for battlefield artists. Depicting life with the Army of the Potomac, Waud was "special artist" for the New York Illustrated News and later for Harper's Weekly. Though battlefield artists had an advantage over photographers—they could depict action-Alexander Gardner, a photographer, is much more widely known than Waud. The reproductions from original sketches and some finished drawings in this book may repair that injustice. Here is action, life, and artistry, where Gardner captured immobility.

This, the first book about Waud, pays scant attention to his long career after 1865. The first seventy-one pages are a biographical essay with thirty-four illustrations. The 108 plates are well reproduced in pages 75 through 183. This is a wise division because the plates are much better than the text, which is marred by cliches—"martyred President," "anxious fireside," and "untimely demise"—and incorrect usages—"travel expansively." This is what editors used to correct when editors knew English better than did authors. There is, unfortunately, no checklist of Waud's published illustrations, or other definitive bibliographic apparatus.

MARTIN SCHMITT
University of Oregon

WILEY SWORD. Shiloh: Bloody April. New York: William Morrow and Company. 1974. Pp. xx, 519. \$15.00.

Strangely, until the publication of the book under review, there has been no adequate comprehensive study of the battle of Shiloh, one of the pivotal engagements of the American Civil War. Now finally, Wiley Sword has supplied this century-old need, and in so doing he has contributed to the shelf one of the better works on a major campaign of the 1860s.

Based on a rather wide range of primary sources and secondary books—although curiously ignoring Thomas Connelly's work on the Confederate Army of Tennessee—Shiloh: Bloody April shows convincingly the significant role of Union General Henry W. Halleck as the originator of the Federal offensive into Tennessee. While not hostile to U. S. Grant or William T. Sherman, Sword correctly cuts them down a notch or two for their careless performances early in the Shiloh operation. He

properly elevates Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston to a higher niche than many historians have conceded him for his brilliant, smashing, almost overwhelmingly successful attack of April 6, 1862, on Grant's army at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee. Certainly Johnston, rather than Sherman or Grant, deserves the highest marks, which the author gives him before his death on the field. Don Carlos Buell also receives just credit for his timely counterattack on the second day, which turned the tide of battle against the Southerners. Perhaps Sword is not sufficiently appreciative, however, of Ben Prentiss's epic stand at the "Hornet's Nest," which slowed the Confederate advance in the full flush of success.

The book's good maps and illustrations are helpful, and the author's knowledge of the battlefield terrain enables him to pinpoint the action. Frequent vignettes and observations from men in the ranks augment quotations from the high brass. The book is written in a bit of an uneven, muscular style, however, and at times there is a lack of smooth transition from one paragraph or topic to another. It is marred by too many clichés, slang expressions, and modern colloquialisms. The author has also been poorly served by the clumsy manner in which the notes are cited in the back of the book. And occasionally his historical method leaves something to be desired. But, on balance, it is a useful book, and I can agree with Brigadier General S. L. A. Marshall, who wrote the foreword, that it is Sword's "perception of the chanciness of fighting operations and his revelation of raw human nature in the worst of circumstances that make an old story as freshly new as the next second."

> WARREN W. HASSLER, JR. U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

SIDONIE SMITII. Where I'm Bound: Patterns of Slavery and Freedom in Black American Autobiography. (Contributions in American Studies, number 16.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 194. \$9.95.

MARY ELLISON. The Black Experience: American Blacks since 1865. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. 334. \$14.50.

Drawing on her doctoral dissertation, Sidonie Smith has used autobiographical works by nine black writers, seven of them exclusively twentieth-century figures, to probe Afro-American responses to oppression. There are, as well, occasional references to other first-person accounts and to books of history and literature. Characters from Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man, for example, intermittently provide ideological or behavioral motifs.

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Although an interdisciplinary thrust constitutes the major strength of an American studies approach, Smith, a professor of black literature, has not fully capitalized on that opportunity. In the preface she introduces the idea of individual movement from an enslaving or oppressive atmosphere into an interracial community that values self-expression and/or into a black community that provides identity and group support. If these alternatives prove unsatisfactory to the autobiographer, Smith suggests that writing an autobiography may itself offer a liberating experience. Wholly valid as analytical devices, these themes suffer from an uneven discussion of subject matter, a lack of sufficiently developed historical comparisons, and a sometimes mechanical reliance upon the techniques of literary criticism. The volume ends too abruptly; there is no summary. We need, also, some sustained treatment of autobiography's impact on readers, especially those in the black community. Smith's handling of Richard Wright, Maya Angelou, and Claude Brown is at times quite arresting, but throughout the text she takes too much for granted in using the concepts of "manhood," "womanhood," "masculinity," and "femininity." Finally, she has erred by declaring that Elijah P. Lovejoy severely whipped William Wells Brown (p. 3).

Mary Ellison, who lectures in American history at Keele University, has committed numerous errors. Some may derive from a basic unfamiliarity with U.S. geography: Oakland, California, becomes a black ghetto of Los Angeles (p. 245), and the Resurrection City of 1968 is placed "outside Washington" (p. 258). Similarly, her reliance upon British rather than American idiomatic phrases may account for certain problems. But no reasonable excuse exists for others: "The Civil Rights Bill of 1883 encouraged segregation" (p. 38); Hall v. DeCuir of 1878 was not a railroad case (p. 48); Will Alexander and Edwin Embree are identified as "respected black educators and reformers" (p. 115); the Wagner Act is dated 1937 (p. 130); Roscoe Dungee becomes "Jusjee" (p. 140) and Lloyd Gaines, "Davies" (p. 185); the Fahy Committee is incorrectly declared to have made its recommendations by the spring of 1948 (p. 161); and there are others.

Ellison has a firm grasp of black people's dilemmas during Reconstruction, the Jim Crow era, and the depression of the 1930s. She understands what the Black Panther party and what George Jackson had hoped to accomplish. On the other hand, her apparent antipathy to black nationalism surfaces from time to time; Malcolm X has become a potential agent of change by 1965, whereas two pages earlier he was merely Elijah Muhammad's "henchman" (p. 241). Overall, the book is largely

derivative. The bibliography indicates an almost total dependence upon books and articles, printed government documents, and a lengthy list of newspapers; manuscript sources are noticeably slight. Furthermore, the writing style seems stiff to the point of distraction, while a tendency to repetitiveness suggests organizational problems as well.

ROBERT L. ZANGRANDO University of Akron

LEO F. SCHNORE, editor. The New Urban History: Quantitative Explorations by American Historians. Foreword by ERIC E. LAMPARD. (MSSB Quantitative Studies in History series.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1975. Pp. ix, 284. Cloth \$17.50, paper \$8.75.

In view of its title and date of publication, scholars interested in the "new urban history" may think that the book under review represents work done in the six years since Stephan Thernstrom's and Richard Sennett's Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History was published by Yale University Press in 1969. That, however, is not the case. According to Leo Schnore's brief prefatory note, the "papers" in the new book were prepared by June 1970 for a conference at the University of Wisconsin. What we have here then is not a followup but a companion piece to the stimulating essays that came out of the Yale conference of November 1968. Unfortunately, this book by Princeton Press is not as original, not as interesting, certainly not as readable—simply not as good as Yale's. Alas, yet again the Tiger has been bested by the Bulldog.

To begin with, the inaccuracy of the title requires comment. Most of these "explorations" were done not by historians but by economists and geographers. Several of them read like five-finger exercises, working papers indeed, rather than the finished and clear statements that readers have a right to expect scholars of whatever methodology to produce. Eric E. Lampard's introductory essay, "Two Cheers for Quantitative History: An Agnostic Foreword," will be heavily thumbed through by the few persons likely to buy this expensive book, for in devoting half its space to capsule reviews and summaries of the nine essays that follow, it translates prose and numbers that some might otherwise find undecipherable.

The "historical" essays are divided into three parts. Part 1, "The Growth and Function of Cities," contains Allan R. Pred's "Large-City Interdependence and the Pre-Electronic Diffusion of Innovations in the United States"; Martyn J. Bowden's "Growth of the Central Districts in Large Cities"; and Kenneth T. Jackson's "Urban Deconcentration in the Nineteenth Century: A Statistical

Inquiry." An admired geographer whose work has recently been singled out for its innovativeness. Pred treats an interesting theme informedly but in a manner flawed by jargon and slight command of appropriate historical sources. Bowden teaches us, among other things, that banks are more autonomous than are apparel stores in determining whether to move. Jackson's is a first-rate essay by any standard and a particular delight in this context. Masterfully manipulating data drawn from many cities and informed by its author's command of the diverse literature on suburbanization, it argues clearly and convincingly that "the large-scale dispersal of urban residents into exurbia and suburbia is not a new phenomenon but is rather the direct continuation of a spatial pattern characteristic of metropolitan America for 125 years."

Part 2 is headed "Accommodations to the Urban Environment." Kathleen Neils Conzen's "Patterns of Residence in Early Milwaukee" reports that "gradient analysis has confirmed for Milwaukee the hypothesized pattern of central high-status settlement and low-status periphery" and that "Milwaukee exhibited a high degree of ethnic clustering" in the quarter century before the Civil War. Zane L. Miller's essay, "Urban Blacks in the South, 1865-1920: The Richmond, Savannah, New Orleans, Louisville and Birmingham Experience," argues clearly but thinly "the thesis that the cities produced diversified and lively rather than demoralized and inert black communities." (The contrary thesis attributed by Miller to a number of scholars is much oversimplified.) Gregory H. Singleton's "Fundamentalism and Urbanization: A Quantitative Critique of Impressionistic Interpretations" is a fine piece which fulfills its promise that use of "the most rudimentary form of quantitative analysis could shed some light" on the "ways in which fundamentalism and urbanization are connected." Singleton's subtle insights and conclusions reflect more his own obvious intelligence and good sense than the inevitable blessings of the methodology he employs.

Part 3, "Economic Analysis of Urban Historical Phenomena," is turned over to the econometricians. Claudia Dale Goldin's "Urbanization and Slavery: The Issue of Compatibility" is part of a doctoral dissertation done under the direction of Robert W. Fogel, among others. The paper challenges Richard Wade's conclusion that slavery and cities were incompatible and does so largely on the basis of clear population data and at times surprisingly unesoteric mathematics. Robert Higgs, in "Urbanization and Inventiveness in the United States, 1870–1920," labors to produce conjectures that he concedes do not explain why inventions flourished above all in cities or why Connecticut, for what remain some strange reasons,

was a hotbed of inventiveness. Joseph A. Swanson's and Jeffrey G. Williamson's "Firm Location and Optimal Size in American History" may interest mathematically sophisticated entrepreneurs seeking helpful models to influence their choice of location—if, of course, there are such people—more than it does historians. It is hard to disagree with Mr. Lampard's estimate that "the historian may find [Swanson's and Williamson's] entire exploration lacking in concreteness."

The book is the third volume of the Mathematical Social Science Board series, Quantitative Studies in History. Robert W. Fogel has written the series preface for the MSSB.

EDWARD PESSEN

Baruch College and the Graduate Center,
City University of New York

WILLIAM PRESTON VAUGHN. Schools for All: The Blacks & Public Education in the South, 1865–1877. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1974. Pp. ix, 180. \$12.50.

Anyone who seeks to describe the progress and shortcomings of Reconstruction faces an almost impossible task. If he restricts himself to unambiguous facts, he can do little more than chronicle a series of half-starts and frustrations; if he seeks to invest those facts with a larger significance, he is likely to substitute polemics for understanding. William Preston Vaughn has chosen the first alternative in this workmanlike little book, which traces in some detail attempts made by private and public agencies both Northern and Southern to secure effective education for the freedmen during the period when Northern Republicans took an active interest in their elevation. Although there is little that is really new in Vaughn's study, his research has been extensive and his book provides useful brief accounts of such phenomena as the work of the Freedmen's Bureau, the behavior and the reception of Northern teachers in the South, and the educational controversies peculiar to Louisiana and South Carolina, where public education most closely approached racial integration.

To the extent that his volume is informed by an overriding question or hypothesis, it is the possibility that Southern schools and universities might have been successfully integrated had Northern whites demanded that result. (Vaughn apparently believes that a majority of Southern blacks favored integration, for essentially modern reasons.) Yet—apart from some rather conventional indictments of whites who failed their fellow men—he has not really dealt with the large issues of interpretation that must underlie significant conclusions on this point. For example, there is a wide range of questions about what was feasible in the South of that

lay; Vaughn sketches some of the alternatives but loes not confront them systematically. Even more mportant, and assuming that such a step was lesirable, there is the problem of whether it was possible for Northerners to invent and administer truly effective reconstruction of Southern intitutions. Until we begin to face such questions lirectly, however, we cannot claim to understand he events that Vaughn has dealt with here.

RUSH WELTER

Bennington College

OIIN DUFFY. A History of Public Health in New York Lity, 1866-1966. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 1974. Pp. xxi, 690. \$20.00.

ROBERT STEVENS and ROSEMARY STEVENS. Welfare Medicine in America: A Case Study of Medicaid. New York: Free Press. 1974. Pp. xxii, 386. \$13.95.

LOYD C. TAYLOR, JR. The Medical Profession and Social Reform, 1885–1945. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. 168. \$12.95.

social medicine, as much an attitude as it is a set rody of facts, has recently again come to the fore. In this country public medicine and public health, while always blessed by a few enlightened and igorous reformers, usually has played second iddle to the march of scientific progress. But as rofessor Duffy has admirably demonstrated in his book, the two are interdependent. One of to-lay's problems is that science has outstripped society; our social means of bringing effective medcal care have not kept pace.

These three recent books all deal with the issue of social reform, and each in its own way tells of he difficulties encountered. The books by Duffy ind Stevens and Stevens are large and comprehensive for their subjects. The shortest of he three, Lloyd Taylor's Medical Profession and Soial Reform, 1885-1945, attempts to cover the most erritory and regrettably falls short of success, nainly because he skims only the surface. Historians, Taylor believes, have too often neglected the ole of the physician as social reformer. He brings o our attention the work of men and women phyicians-especially at Johns Hopkins and Harard-who were instrumental in setting up social ervices in hospitals, properly run children's servces, occupational health and safety measures, and proposals for national health insurance. Much in his book is well known; all of it is interesting and deserves to be known better. The sections on Richard Cabot of the Massachusetts General Hospital and on Hugh Cabot of Boston and Rochester, Minnesota, are well done. Unfortunately, one is out on guard by an opening sentence that says, 'From the end of the Civil War until the decade of the 1880's America showed little concern about either medicine or social welfare." Nor does the misspelling of the names of well-known physicians inspire confidence either—T. M. Prudden is called Purden in both text and index. What seems lacking is a sense of maturing beyond a dissertation, well conceived but too broad for such a short book. The bibliography neglects the work of Rosemary Stevens, Iago Galdston, George Rosen, Richard Shryock, and even Henry Sigerist. This reveals a terribly restricted awareness of what has already been written. Yet Professor Taylor shows that many questions are left to be answered, and for this stimulus we are in his debt.

Robert Stevens of the Yale Law School and his wife, Rosemary, of the School of Public Health at Yale are well-known authors in the medical care field. This, their first joint book, is a ten-year case history of Title XIX of the Social Security Amendments of 1965, better known as Medicaid. It is a detailed and careful book that raises a series of questions. Medicaid, or government provision of medical care for the indigent, covered twenty-three million Americans in 1973, consuming nine billion dollars of public funds. Despite the magnitude of this program, it has not been a success. The problems of New York and California are particularly well described.

Enacted in the exuberance of Great Society optimism, Medicaid lacked specific goals. The Kerr-Mills federal-state partnership preceding it notwithstanding, the Medicaid legislation still led to too little congressional planning. No clear objectives seem to have been in the minds of those who were responsible for implementing it, and no one really addressed the problem of potential impact of Medicaid on the health-care system as a whole. The lapses, plus the vague language of the bill itself, the Stevenses believe, can explain the resulting failure. As they point out, "Medicaid is a museum of the defects of a medical care program [and] it is a remarkably instructive museum for those who must plan for the future." The authors do a fine job of providing the historical context in which Medicaid arose, using a wide variety of sources. Both this book and Duffy's volume have one weakness in common: the principle actors fail to come to life very well. Howard Newman, for instance, came into the crucial job as commissioner of the Medical Services Administration of HEW in 1970. The Stevenses claim that he was able to sweep with a new broom. Yet who was Newman, what was his background, and why was he able to carry out more effectively the MSA's reorganization and functions?

Medicaid proved to be cumbersome and extremely expensive. If there is a lesson here, it would seem to be applicable to the current debate about national health insurance. All those who are planning and who will have to implement a national health insurance program should read this fine book. We will have to make clear administrative and financial, as well as philosophical, goals if the pitfalls of Medicaid are to be avoided.

John Duffy, Priscilla Alden Burke Professor of History at the University of Maryland, is one of our foremost historians of medicine and public health. In this, the second and concluding volume of the history of the New York City Health Department, he describes the effective work in environmental sanitation, school health, and communicable disease control in the century 1866–1966. Medically speaking, New York has always been a leader. Now, thanks to his monumental labor, we have a fuller history of public health for our largest city than we do for any other.

The arrangement in this volume is chronological for better than the first half, topical for the latter part. The strength of the book is in the telling of the slow evolution and acceptance of public health as sanitary science. The germ theory of disease gave sanitarians in the last two decades of the nineteenth century the scientific rationale for the clean-ups they had stressed all along. Unfortunately, as is true in the admirable book by the Stevenses, the leading characters really do not come to life, as they do for instance in Barbara Rosenkrantz's history of public health in Massachusetts. Perhaps this is owing to an apparently heavy reliance on official documents such as annual reports. Yet the bibliography is extensive and useful, and the concluding chapter describing three hundred years of public health in New York is very well done. The two-volume history of public health of New York City is a welcome addition to the slowly growing literature of urban health conditions. As such, historians of medicine and urban historians are much in Professor Duffy's debt.

> GERT H. BRIEGER University of California, San Francisco

D. SVEN NORDIN. Rich Harvest: A History of the Grange, 1867-1900. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1974. Pp. ix, 273. \$12.00.

A revision of Solon J. Buck's *The Granger Movement* (1913), this monograph on the Grange correctly distinguishes Grangerism, as reflected through membership in the Patrons of Husbandry, from generalized currents of agrarian unrest. The concreteness gained from an examination of proceedings, minutes, and legislative petitions registers official policy concerns and leaders' intentions, though at the

expense of a circumscribed treatment, tied to the organizational dimension, where the movement disappears into a compendium of scattered demands. These latter, however, hold our interest by their lack of focus and largely trivial character; for despite the author's attempt to portray the Grange as a progressive, democratizing force, the evidence suggests a propertied orientation, antiradical patriotism, and limited goals, conceived in terms of self-interest, and to be realized through moderate, nonpolitical means. If Buck's work merits revision, Nordin does not quite succeed in pointing the way. Not simply has political-economic activism, beyond Granger railroad agitation, been minimized for the geographic area where Buck's findings apply, but the conservatism now emerging when the scope has been enlarged is not recognized. Nordir is ambivalent throughout. Seeking to debunk the movement's image of radicalism, in favor of presumably saner, more responsible conduct, he nevertheless cannot abandon the fruits of this image. where Grangerism represents an advanced posi-

There is merit in faulting Buck for confining the movement's locus to the upper Mississippi Valley when membership rolls indicate predominant strength in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Missouri. This becomes a necessary step in re-examining social composition and regional sources of involvement. Yet what follows merely is a twostage Granger movement, marked by a resurgence in the East in the 1890s, that leads to analytic confusion. The distinction becomes a dead end "As a result of this common feeling, the organization's programs did not change very much in the nineteenth century, and patrons' demands during the two granger movements did not differ noticeably. No special point will be made therefore in this study to differentiate between the two phases of the movement." If premonishing the study's theoretic weakness, a more basic point is that evidence can thereby be, and often is, introduced from both periods and all areas on a given matter, sacrificing the clarity to be derived from an inspection of separable parts and time frames. Formal pronouncements sustain a uniformity of narration that handicaps critical dissection when imperatively needed, as in this sentence, which is not followed up: "In Mississippi, the Grange was often a front for the Ku Klux Klan." Here is exciting ground for reinterpretation that hardly comports with the author's conclusions; instead, Southern Grangerism is melded with a national entity comprised of possibly disparate constituencies.

The main thesis, that the Grange "was primarily a social and educational fraternity for farmer and their families rather than a medium for politi-

cal and economic activities," can be provisionally accepted, if it is recognized that the absence of militance in the latter areas itself defines a conscious posture. The view of the Grange as a "fraternal order" tends to govern the selection of themes to be explored, placing undue stress on education at the expense of deeper political investigations. "One theme runs through the entire study. The objectives established by the order's founding fathers remained the bases of the Grange's activities." The flow appears downward from the leadership, with their statements often taken at face value. There is little assessment of the impact of Grangerism on its membership, or determination of whether a growth in political consciousness had occurred—the latter crucial to extricating a social movement from its organizational shell. We are more aware of Grangerism from the evidence presented, but do not as yet have a sense of its class basis, ideological sources of cohesion, or the implicit accommodations made to prevailing arrangements, queries that must be pursued to fix the movement's historical place.

Nordin's findings can be summarized as follows: the Grange sought to upgrade rural schools and stressed practical knowledge; it had a "positive role in the development of land-grant institutions" and called for independent agricultural colleges financed by Morrill Act funds; adult education was emphasized, concerned with "agricultural and household topics" and not with political discussions of antimonopolism. Social activity, the breaking down of rural isolation, was a Grange mainstay. Business activities—"not the main reason for the order's existence"—centered on cooperatives and improvement of the farmer's marketing position. This key aspect leaves much unanswered. Did the Grange leadership actively support cooperatives? Did the enterprises benefit poorer farmers, particularly where cash payment was involved? Was cooperation, as several recent historians suggest, a main source for recruitment into the movement? It is noteworthy that when more ambitious plans surfaced, Nordin ascribes this to "mass psychopathy," as though an inappropriate response to hard times. On partisan # politics, the author reifies nonpartisanship into an absolute standard, treating independentism, especially Ignatius Donnelly's Anti-Monopoly party, as opportunistic if not also subversive, no doubt because in conflict with the founders' blueprint. On "Miscellaneous Legislative Programs" one finds such issues as protection of the public domain for settlers, removal of cattle's horns, prohibition, antioleomargarine sentiment, women's rights, immigration restriction ("America for the "imericans"), and export subsidies to raise farm prices. A final chapter on transportation assigns the Grange, restating George H. Miller's work, a supplementary role in railway legislation.

NORMAN POLLACK
Michigan State University

JAMES TICE MOORE. Two Paths to the New South: The Virginia Debt Controversy, 1870-1883. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1974. Pp. xiii, 167. \$12.95.

In 1879 controversy about a burdensome state debt brought the insurgent Readjuster party to power in Virginia. Readjusters scaled down the debt, reduced taxes, and increased public services. In 1881 they followed Senator William Mahone into the national Republican camp, breaching the Solid South until Democrats regained control. Professor Moore's book is not a full narrative history of the controversy but a hard-hitting series of interpretive essays. It skips lightly over some important events but presents a stimulating thesis.

Criticizing the counterposition of agrarian and business interests prevalent in previous studies, Moore acclaims the Readjusters as agents of modernization. Their "producerism," he contends, represented a more progressive capitalism than their opponents' financial rigidity. They stimulated economic development by freeing capital from debt service obligations and democratizing government and society. Moore distinguishes three groups within the reform coalition: democratic western Virginia farmers, Mahone's progressive business allies, and eastern rural traditionalists who deserted as the party embraced blacks and Republicans.

Most of Moore's argument is plausible and congruent with other recent research. He clarifies the gradual formation of the Readjuster movement and its fusion with Republicanism. But the book is roughhewn in some respects. Moore emphasizes Readjuster social reform measures but does not explore their legislative history to test his analysis. He tabulates party leaders but selects them impressionistically. In depicting the debt payers as traditionalists, he concentrates on nonpolitical cultural leaders. After presenting serious indications of urban Readjuster strength, he adds data from Lunenburg Court House-population 87. Rebutting Democrats' accusations that Mahone was autocratic, he overlooks similar complaints by loyal Republicans. Although well read in the literature of his subject, Moore sometimes uses general secondary citations that do not cover all his assertions. His interpretive contributions are valuable, but they deserve more persuasive exposition.

JACK P. MADDEX, JR. University of Oregon

DAVID B. TYACK. The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 353. \$15.00.

SELWYN K. TROEN. The Public and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System, 1839-1920. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1975. Pp. xi, 248. \$11.50.

"How can you learn anything with your knees and toes out of order?" So asked, with evident sincerity, a late nineteenth-century public-school teacher when the phrase "toeing the line" was not simply an abstract command but a cardinal pedagogical principle. But to growing numbers of educators in the Progressive era, this orientation to teaching and learning appeared anachronistic. Under the banner of "efficiency," they crusaded to revamp both school governance and pedagogy and within a few years created most components of present-day urban schools.

Less comprehensive than its subtitle might suggest, Tyack's book concentrates on the years from around 1870 to 1930. Many of his themes are familiar: the conflicts over centralization of schools via the elimination of local boards, the rise and impact of academic experts in administration, the role of experimental psychologists in the development of testing and tracking, the plight of blacks in segregated schools, and the pervasive ethnocentrism in American educational ideology. Only Tyack's sections on teachers, whom he considers victims of bureaucracy on the one hand and agents of prejudice and ineptitude on the other, are strikingly original. Tyack's achievement is nonetheless real: he has synthesized early sociological and psychological studies of public schools, recent behavioral. science literature, and random writings of students, teachers, and parents in a way never before attempted. Clearly revisionist, his arguments are generally more subtle, balanced, and empirically demonstrable than those of other writers on the Left. The One Best System is the single best account of what it must have felt like to teach and study in the Progressive era.

More modest in reach, Troen's case study of the St. Louis public schools before 1920 is equally impressive. It provides, moreover, a valuable Midwestern contrast to the studies of Boston and New York by Michael Katz, Marvin Lazerson, Stanley Schultz, Carl Kaestle, and Diane Ravitch. Most notable are Troen's insightful analyses of the German population and its influence on the curriculum; the attendance patterns of lower- and middle-class children; the familial and educational experiences of black students; the impact of the efficiency movement on school organization; and the philosophical and political battles between William Torrey Harris and Calvin Woodward, whose local rivalries add a new dimension to the

story of late nineteenth-century pedagogical controversy.

Though both of these books are welcome and significant contributions to urban educational history, they also point up the limitations of the field itself. Most educational history in the last decade has concentrated on the urban scene. Despite variations in emphasis, method, and ideological bias, they have done little more than refine the propositions advanced in Michael Katz's pioneering Irony of Early School Reform (1968). With the monographic literature growing ever more impressive and Tyack's able synthesis already available, it may be expected that future young scholars will begin to abandon the somewhat constraining urban framework of analysis and seek new ways of integrating education into the mainstream of American social, cultural, and political history.

> STEVEN SCHLOSSMAN University of Chicago

WILLIAM A. BULLOUGH. Cities and Schools in the Gilded Age: The Evolution of an Urban Institution. (National University Publications, Interdisciplinary Urban Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1974. Pp. 183. \$12.50.

This book is a good synthesis of recent writings in the history of American education at the end of the nineteenth century. The interpretation is balanced, laying out the acute dilemmas that educators faced, revealing their assumptions, and assessing the impact of their actions on educational and social policy. The chapters cover such issues as compulsory attendance, professionalism, centralization and bureaucracy, municipal politics, the rural idyl, immigrant education, and compensatory reforms. Bullough's thesis is that educational reformers failed to recognize that urbanization required significant alterations in social welfare institutions and were instead more interested in structural and social control reforms to retain traditional values and authority relationships. The one area in which reformers made a dramatic difference was in the centralization and bureaucratization of urban schools, here echoing recent writings by David Tyack and Michael Katz that organizational reforms divorced schools from local communities and democratic politics.

There are, unfortunately, a number of weaknesses in Bullough's argument. While "urbanization" is said to cause change, other than suggesting that it means increased density and heterogeneity, the process is never delineated. The time period studied (1870–1900) severely limits the book. The debates on elementary schools were well developed by 1870; the reorganization of secondary education occurred after 1900. The pri-

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mary sources are almost entirely limited to debates in national educational journals, so there is little sense of how those outside the system viewed what was happening and little on how change affected those going to school. Finally, while Cities and Schools in the Gilded Age is a convenient and readable summary, readers would get significantly more from David Tyack's One Best System (1974), the major reinterpretation of turn-of-the-century American education, and from monographs by Michael Katz, Marvin Lazerson, Clarence Karier, Joel Spring, Colin Greer, and Selwyn Troen.

MARVIN LAZERSON
University of British Columbia

JEROME A. MOORE. Texas Christian University: A Hundred Years of History. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 306. \$8.00.

This history of Texas Christian University was written for the university's centennial celebration by a long-time faculty member, Jerome A. Moore. TCU traces its origins to AddRan College, which opened at Thorp Springs in 1873. This college was a family affair run by Joseph Addison Clark and his two sons, Addison and Randolph. The college moved to Waco in 1896 and finally to Fort Worth in 1910. The Christian Church "adopted and endorsed" it in 1873 but was unable to offer it financial assistance until later.

After a shaky start in Fort Worth with frequent changes in leadership and false starts in academic programs, substantial growth and development took place under two long-term presidents, E. M. Waits (1916-41) and M. E. Sadler (1941-65). This is definitely a history from the "top down." Moore fills the pages with names and biographical information of one hundred years of board members, administrators, and faculty. He discusses financial problems, construction of buildings, and development of colleges and departments. But these descriptions tend to be episodic and contain little evaluation of people or events. Little attention is given to student life, town and gown relationships, or to the broader economic, social, or intellectual background. No educational philosophy of TCU emerges from these pages. In short, this is old-time university history written by loving hands for friends and alumnae.

MARY MARTHA THOMAS

Jacksonville State University

ARTHUR G. PETTIT. Mark Twain & the South. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1974. Pp. ix, 223. \$9.75.

A major theme in this book is Mark Twain's ambivalent attitude toward the South. His boyhood in Missouri created a romantic image later marred by the war and further sullied by the disillusionments encountered on his sentimental journey back to the Mississippi River in 1882. Thus, says Pettit, Twain moved "from Southerner to anti-Southerner to one who longed for a South he finally realized had never existed" yet remained a Southerner to the end (pp. 8–9).

On the allied motif of Twain's attitude toward blacks, a clear line of development proceeds from passive acceptance of slavery to abhorrence of it, from regarding the Negro as a minstrel show comedian to recognition of him as a man. As Pettit puts it, Mark Twain progressed "from conscious bigot to unconscious bigot to one who became fully aware of his bigotry, fought it, and largely overcame it" (p. 9) only to conclude grimly, that there can be no reconciliation between the races (p. 173).

Pettit presents these themes lucidly, elaborating with pointed detail and perceptive comment. Highlights are the good characterization of George Griffin, the illuminating treatment of the relationship between Huck and Jim in Huckleberry Finn (1885), and a thoughtful analysis of miscegenation, which damns both whites and blacks in Pudd'nhead Wilson (1894).

Less convincing is Pettit's account of Mark Twain's reversal of his pro-Southern sympathies in Nevada—a sudden change-over discussed in a chapter that suggests distortion of evidence to support a theory. There are also minor errors of fact; but these lapses do not seriously damage a book that is on the whole well done and, praises be, well written.

PAUL FATOUT
West Lafayette, Indiana

J. MORGAN KOUSSER. The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880–1910. (Yale Historical Publications. Miscellany, 102.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. xvii, 319. \$15.00.

The central themes of this study are that Democrats enacted election laws in the turn-of-thecentury South primarily for partisan reasons and that these laws disfranchised voters in significant numbers and produced the stultified, one-party South of more recent times. In advancing his thesis, the author contests the traditional view most conspicuously stated by Vladimir O. Key in 1949 in his book Southern Politics. Key maintained that disfranchisement was a fact already accomplished by fraud and intimidation before the wave of constitutional provisions and laws swept through the Southern states. Professor Kousser assumes that Southern politics retained "a good deal of vigor after 1877." He argues that the effec-

tiveness of Democratic violence and intimidation in this transition period has been "overrated." Indeed, he contends that it was a time of "fluidity and freedom unknown after disfranchisement," a time when blacks and lower-class whites followed their interests to join opposition parties. The Democrats responded most effectively, not with violence or intimidation, but rather with legislation designed to disfranchise voters who supported the opposition. During the turn-of-the-century years. Democrats turned a fully developed battery of restrictive devices against their opponents in a barrage that severely reduced the electorate. The ultimate result was a "reactionary revolution" in which an elite fixed its absolute hegemony upon Southern politics and economics.

Because legal disfranchisement is the means to that end, "the identity and motivation of the disfranchisers and their opponents" become the crucial elements in explaining the origins of the reactionary revolution. To get at those elements, Kousser utilizes a computer technique called the "regression method." Using this method he makes very precise judgments about who disfranchised whom, and in what quantities. State by state the author recounts the story of disfranchisement in detail and tallies the results for each of the eleven former Confederate states. The big picture is a large decline in voter turnout, reflected accurately enough in a reduction in participation in presidential elections from sixty-two per cent in 1888 to thirty per cent in 1908, as against a decline in the non-South from seventy-three per cent to sixty-five per cent. At the same time, opposition to the Democratic party declined from twenty-five per cent to eleven per cent of the total potential electorate. The author concludes that "the fact that opposition voting usually declined quite markedly after the suffrage changes, especially in black belt areas, in itself sets out a strong circumstantial case for partisan motivation. . . . Could astute politicians who had usually spent the better parts of their lives combating insurgency have framed laws which did, in fact, so precisely accomplish party purposes with no awareness of their partisan consequences?"

The author is highly sophisticated in the subject of his study. He is also sharply critical of much of the extant scholarship. Generally, his criticism touches the way in which previous students have slighted the partisan aspect of disfranchisement. His facts lead him to conclude that Democrats disfranchised Republicans, Populists, and others primarily for partisan motives. It is possible that Kousser has himself slighted the racial motivation of the disfranchisers. One of his tables suggests that in presidential elections in the South from 1888 to 1908 Republicans polled a somewhat

steady one-third of the Democratic-Republican total, even as that total dwindled to about thirty per cent of the possible electorate. Evidently, a significant number of men were still voting Republican after legal disfranchisement had been effected. One might theorize that black Republicans had been substantially disfranchised, not white, and that Democrats had practically ceased to count fraudulently black-belt black votes for themselves. If one can assume that practiced politicians knew what they were doing, one might conclude that Democrats disfranchised black Republicans specifically because they meant to do so. Admittedly, the separation of racial from partisan motivation is difficult. Blacks were, of course, overwhelmingly Republican. To disfranchise blacks was to disfranchise Republicans. Thus, we seem driven back upon the personal statements of the disfranchisers for evidence of motivation. Clearly they avowed both motives. Kousser chooses to argue that the disfranchisers were moved by partisanship rather than race. If forced to choose, others might still give primacy to the racial motive.

JOEL WILLIAMSON University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

THOMAS C. REEVES. Gentleman Boss: The Life of Chester Alan Arthur. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1975. Pp. xvii, 500, xix. \$15.00.

When political spoilsman Chester A. Arthur became president in 1881, the prospects for enlightened and dynamic national leadership seemed perhaps less than zero. But, true patriot that he was, he did successfully endeavor to uphold the honor of the presidency. Such has been the traditional account. Reeves has carefully reviewed the record. He shows Arthur to have been a more skillful political organizer and manager than previous accounts indicate, but he leaves the impression that these accounts were essentially correct in their estimate. Even if there were little or nothing new in this book, however, it would be news to most people, who scarcely have taken more than passing note of Arthur. Political history remains important to an understanding of our heritage. Reeves has much that is interesting to say, and he says it well. The arresting narrative includes Arthur's boyhood in Vermont and upstate New York, his attendance at Union College, service in the Civil War, experience as a lawyer, and finally his career in professional politics.

Arthur emerges in his prepresidential years as an intelligent, skillful, and energetic political organizer and manager who served with unbounded loyalty the interests of his superiors in the Ulysses S. Grant-Roscoe Conkling faction, the Stalwarts, United States 459

of the Republican party. For this his mentors rewarded him with lucrative jobs and a place in the party hierarchy of New York State. Grossly superficial, Arthur was as addicted to elegance, glittering display, and lavish entertainment as he was seemingly immune to humanitarian concerns. He accorded little if any heed and apparently no thought to issues of the day, except to recoil from the onslaughts of "good government" crusades. But neither did most politicians of the post–Civil War era show a serious interest in such questions as regulation of business, the tariff, and currency-banking reform. They preferred postponement to performance.

Arthur was so fascinated with the process of plotting and executing political maneuvers that he neglected not only issues but his own law practice and his wife. After attending meetings on political stratagem, he would often sit on his front steps talking politics with cronies far into the night. He was not, however, a political "boss," as the title of this book suggests, but rather more a party lieutenant or henchman.

Arthur as president managed to avoid chaos by being honest and making it clear that he was no longer subservient to Roscoe Conkling and by leaving most of the work of governing to the office-holders he inherited such as James G. Blaine, the secretary of state. Reeves writes with refreshing directness and clarity, sympathetic to Arthur but in no sense apologetic for his manifest limitations.

HORACE SAMUEL MERRILL University of Maryland, College Park

ALBERTO AQUARONE. Le origini dell'imperialismo americano: Da McKinley a Taft (1897-1913). (Nuova collana storica.) Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 1973. Pp. 591. L. 8,000.

In recent years European scholars have been probing with increasing frequency various facets of American history. The result of this activity is a substantial literature of growing sophistication in foreign languages on the American past. This book by a member of the political science faculty of the University of Pisa is one of the latest contributions to that literature. A specialist in American as well as in Italian national history, Aquarone is well equipped for the task he set for himself. He has previously written or collaborated in the writing of works on the formative years of the American Republic and has edited a volume on the political writings of Thomas Jefferson. Now, in this present study, he has delineated the special characteristics of late nineteenth-century American imperialism and its development into the twentieth century, particularly as compared with the contemporary imperialism of European powers.

As explained in the preface, Aquarone has not attempted a work of original scholarship based upon extensive exploration of archival sources, or even a new interpretation grounded on the secondary literature. Instead he has written a detailed, heavily documented, and carefully balanced synthesis supported by an analysis of the historiography of his subject. Specialists in American diplomatic history, therefore, will not find in this volume fresh or unusual revelations. Aguarone usually goes along with the conventional wisdom. For example, by placing the origins of America's imperialism in the 1890s he in effect accepts the traditional view of the land-grabbing continental expansionism of the earlier nineteenth century as something more respectable than the later overseas imperialism. Like quite a few other European students of United States diplomatic history, he sees economics as the basic or special ingredient in American imperialism, and he is therefore logically impressed by the idea of indirect or informal empire as advanced by William A. Williams and others of similar persuasion.

Throughout, Aquarone demonstrates a mastery of the literature on the theories of imperialism and the literature of American foreign relations. Presenting his knowledge in skillful summaries of all-important interpretations, he succeeds in his objective of making available to his own people a factually and analytically sound account of American foreign policy for the sixteen-year period he covers. He also does more. His story is so well organized, insightful, and thoroughly researched in the secondary literature that even American students of the subject will find it worthy of their attention. This is in itself an impressive achievement.

ALEXANDER DECONDE University of California, Santa Barbara

HEATH TWICHELL, JR. Allen: The Biography of an Army Officer, 1859–1930. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 358. \$12.50.

Henry Tureman Allen was a career army officer whose life in the service spanned a period from 1878 to 1923. His first assignments included tours of duty in Montana and Alaska. In the latter he succeeded in mapping the Copper River under the most adverse circumstances. Prior to taking part in the Spanish American War, Allen was a military attaché in both Russia and Germany, and after 1898 he fought in the Philippine insurrection. While in the Philippines he organized the Constabulary, a branch of the military that was even-

tually responsible for keeping the peace in those islands. Allen was rewarded in time with a place on the General Staff Corps, and during World War I he had a divisional command. After 1919 General Allen headed the American occupation forces in Germany.

The author of this sturdy biography is Lieutenant Colonel Heath Twichell, Jr., who has a prior claim to success as the winner of the Allan Nevins Prize in 1971 for sound scholarship and literary excellence. In this, his latest effort, one finds examples of both, though Twichell must have had some difficulty in sustaining a readable narrative. After all, though Allen did have a long military career, he was no Pershing or Patton or Eisenhower. Rather he was a solid and very ambitious career man from the beginning—the kind of plodder who achieves a level of success only because of political shifts and personal determination. Twichell portrays Allen as a cold and sometimes cynical army politician who was not above letting ambition jeopardize the happiness of his family. His entire life in the army seems to have been one long struggle to get next to sources of power, and yet once he got what he wanted-a divisional command—he apparently did not know what to do with it. His service in World War I, according to some of his highly respected colleagues, lacked both drive and efficiency.

But what is important is that Twichell understands that Allen himself offers nothing unusual in the life of a career army officer at the turn of the century. The author realizes that it is the ordinary and usual that is important here—the constant struggle of army professionals for promotion and command. As Twichell puts it, a successful army officer in 1910 or thereabouts had to have "luck" and know the "right people." Ability had relatively little to do with an officer's assigned duties or with his promotions. Here is where the author succeeds. By merely writing of the ordinary he has provided a valuable insight into what the old army was like, and perhaps into what armies everywhere at any time are like.

VICTOR HICKEN
Western Illinois University

GEORGE BROWN TINDALL. The Persistent Tradition in New South Politics. (The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1975. Pp. xiii, 71. \$4.95.

MONROE LEE BILLINGTON. The Political South in the Twentieth Century. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1975. Pp. xiii, 205. Cloth \$8.95, paper \$3.95.

George Tindall's slim volume follows on the heels of his Disruption of the Solid South (1974), and both

reflect a three-lecture format, the latter delivered at Mercer University and the former at Louisiana State University as the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures. Tindall defines "persistent tradition" as the thread of continuity that ran through the transition from bourbonism through populism to progressivism in the New South. "One might argue, without advancing the point as dogma," he observes, "that a process of dialectic had occurred: The Bourbons supplied a thesis, the Populists set up an antithesis, and the Progressives worked out a synthesis which governed southern politics through the first half of the twentieth century." Tindall's preface succinctly summarizes his analysis: "The Bourbons had achieved the ultimate success of all durable conservative movements, the reconciliation of tradition with innovation. While inventing a New South they kept alive the vision of a traditional organic community. The Populists challenged that vision, or so at least the Bourbons thought, and thus had to be put down by fair means or foul. The Progressives, finally, while they took over certain 'populistic' ideas of a more active government, were the legitimate heirs of the Bourbons. Built into their synthesis was the persistent tradition of community in the South." The three essays are consciously historiographical and written with that felicity of style that we have come to expect from George Tindall.

Monroe Billington is less sensitive to the persistence of tradition in Southern political life. He writes for a more general audience, and close students of Southern history will find no surprises. His seven chapters of analytical narrative are solid if traditional in form, and they are enlivened by occasional photographs and editorial cartoons. Billington concedes that "the weight of history militates against a reorientation of the party structure along ideological lines," and that, as reflected in the Congress, "Southerners' stands have been conservative on most issues facing the nation, not just civil rights for blacks even though their strongest objections have been raised in that area." But he concludes with confidence that "one hundred years after Reconstruction the South is far along the road back to the mainstream of biracial, twoparty American national politics"-and, with minimal profundity, that "southern politics have changed markedly in the immediate past, are changing now, and surely will continue to change into the long future."

> HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM University of Maryland, Baltimore County

DAVID WIGDOR. Roscoe Pound: Philosopher of Law. (Contributions in American History, number 33.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 356. \$12.95.

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The basic thesis of this excellent intellectual biography may be stated very simply: Roscoe Pound's scholarship at every stage of his career from the days of his youthful Nebraska studies in botany to his emergence as a brilliant legal philosopher of the Progressive era was characterized by an "almost intolerable tension" between originality and an underlying classic conservatism. This tension, the author believes, eventually served to inhibit powerfully Pound's ability either to explore the full implications of his own ideas or to formalize his thinking into any well-integrated system of juris-prudence.

Pound's most creative years, the author emphasizes, came between about 1907 and 1916, during which he served successively as professor of law at Northwestern, Chicago, and Harvard universities. It was an era when the pragmatic revolt against formalism in social theory was reflected in the critical relativism of Thorstein Veblen, James Harvey Robinson, Charles Beard, and Edward Ross. Essentially Pound did for philosophical jurisprudence what these men and their fellows did for economics, sociology, and history. He first systematically attacked the three prevailing classic theories of jurisprudence-analytical, historical, and natural law-as mere outworn variations of the "slot-machine theory of law" and "serious barriers to modernity" in an urban industrial age. He then formulated his own theory of "sociological jurisprudence." This called for a new pragmatism as a philosophy of law looking to the "adjustment of principles and doctrines to the human conditions they are to govern rather than to assumed first principles" (p. 187).

All this carried implications far more radical than Pound's deep-seated devotion to the classical doctrines of the common law would permit him to implement. He was superficially committed to an almost pure pragmatic "instrumentalism" in law; but his devotion to "organicism"—that is, to unity, continuity, and tradition—led him into a curious and even tragic dualism that brought his creativity virtually to an end. To the bewilderment of his devoted admirers, he sank back after 1920 or 1925 into an unimaginative conservatism, which led him to attack the new school of legal realism as philosophic anarchism, to condemn the empirical pragmatism of the New Deal, and even to lend himself to xenophobic, cold-war anti-Communist witch-hunting.

†ALFRED H. KELLY Wayne State University

MARY MARTHA HOSFORD THOMAS. Southern Methodist University: Founding and Early Years. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 224. \$12.50.

An effort in 1909 to move Southwestern University resulted in the adoption by the five Methodist Conferences in Texas of their joint educational commission's recommendation in 1911 that Southwestern be continued in Georgetown and that Southern Methodist University be created in Dallas as the major Methodist church-related institution of higher education west of the Mississippi. Professor Thomas's book contains two chapters on Methodists and higher education in Texas to 1910 and six chapters on the development of SMU in its early years (1911-40). The author frankly appraises the characteristics of Presidents Robert S. Hyer, Hiram A. Boaz, and Charles C. Selecman and gives due recognition to Methodist churchmen, Dallas citizens, and others for generous support. Episodes of controversy are treated openly and objectively, whether they involve the president and a dismissed faculty member, a faculty petition that the president resign, a controversy between faculty and trustees over athletic policy and university governance, or pressures of outside influence that led to the departure of highly qualified professors. More subjective is a chapter that describes some stalwarts as the backbone of the faculty and gives a sensitive account of these and other distinguished professors and their out-of-class contributions to the intellectual life of the university. Professor Thomas's history of her alma mater to 1940 leaves the reader hungry for a similar account of the rest of the story of SMU, especially the academic advances, growth of physical plant, and newsworthy episodes that have occurred in the last thirty-five years during the administrations of Umphrey Lee (1939-54) and Willis M. Tate (since 1954).

JEROME A. MOORE
Texas Christian University

AARON AUSTIN GODFREY. Government Operation of the Railroads: Its Necessity, Success, and Consequences, 1918–1920. Austin: Jenkins Publishing Company, San Felipe Press. 1974. Pp. xxxiii, 190. \$6.95.

Publication of this superior thesis, unrevised after the author's death in 1964, is a welcome supplement to the literature. The author evaluated the vituperative attacks on the United States Railroad Administration in light of prewar policies, wartime private and public operation, and the depression of 1919. He concluded that federal operation was necessary, given the legal structure of the time, and that it saved the railroads from certain financial and operational collapse in the early months of 1918. He described clearly the administrative patterns, major policy decisions, and rationale of the Railroad Administration. The expectations of increased efficiency from government operation were unrealistic, and the wartime policies unpopular in

an age of railroad dependence. Federal control was thus widely and sometimes dishonestly attacked following the war, precluding future serious consideration of permanent nationalization. The significance of federal control lay in awakening public policy makers to the requirements of responsible regulation, which allowed the railroad companies to coordinate services and to earn the income required for adequate capital improvements.

The author is best at relating and evaluating the practices of the Railroad Administration; but he overemphasizes the importance of wartime experience in changing regulatory policy. Recent insights into the symbiotic relationship between the Interstate Commerce Commission and the railroad companies and recent events of corporate failure might have changed his conclusion that the lasting result of federal control involved "the carriers and the government commissions recognizing a mutual responsibility to the public's interest in a sound, efficient transportation system."

K. AUSTIN KERR
Ohio State University

STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD. Scott Nearing: Apostle of American Radicalism. New York: Columbia University Press. 1974. Pp. ix, 269. \$10.95.

This is a balanced and vigorously written political biography of one of the commanding figures of modern American dissent. Driven by a searing moral concern, Scott Nearing at an early age broke with the stern conservatism of his grandfather, a tyrannical Pennsylvania coal boss, to join the Progressive struggle against child labor. As a brilliant and hugely popular economics professor at the University of Pennsylvania, his relentless social advocacy and scorching public assaults on the local plutocracy led to his dismissal from the university, provoking a controversy that impelled the newly established American Association of University Professors to set down its first theoretical guidelines for academic freedom. An ardent pacifist and by 1916 a militant socialist, Nearing was soon forced out of academic life by his outspoken opposition to World War I. As chairman of the People's Council of America, "the cutting edge of radical pacifism," he was indicted in 1918 for conspiracy to obstruct the war effort. Although acquitted, the war experience powerfully embittered Nearing, soured his faith in American democracy, and opened the way for his conversion to revolutionary communism. Even after he resigned from the Communist party in 1930 in a dispute over his privileges as an author, he remained faithful to its principles and policies, steadfastly supporting its iron subservience to Moscow.

Yet while Nearing demanded revolutionary con-

formity for others, he could not abide it personally. Incapable of disciplining his bristling Yankee individualism to any party or organization, he retreated in the early 1930s into the Vermont woods to engage in a profoundly personal experiment in simple living. This is the Nearing of contemporary countercultural renown, the defiant environmentalist and coauthor of the widely influential Living the Good Life. Whitfield's focus, however, is almost exclusively on Nearing's political radicalism. And here he finds Nearing's career and work beyond 1930 sorely wanting. Retreat from organized insurgency did little to enrich Nearing's social wisdom. Never an outstanding thinker, his political writings became more sharply doctrinaire and hopelessly repetitive. The once zealous spokesman for democracy and free speech became an inflexible apologist for Soviet totalitarianism. Like the promising socialist movement he had earlier championed, Nearing, too, Whitfield tells us, was one the casualties of the Great Crusade.

While thoroughly researched and admirably organized, Whitfield's study gives insufficient attention to the internal dynamics of Nearing's radical commitment and inadequate consideration to his intellectual contribution. We are warned that "this is not an intellectual portrait of Scott Nearing," that its concentration is "upon the intersection of his career with the travail of dissent in this century." Yet how are we to comprehend his life in dissent apart from a consideration of his ideas and underlying character? These formed the bedrock and buttress of his radical faith. To divorce his public activism from his intellectual achievement, moreover, is to do violence to Nearing's own conception of the proper role and function of the radical intellectual. A scholar-activist with a spirited faith in the transforming power of ideas, Nearing discerned the critical interconnection between theory and action. His radical criticism was always closely joined to his active engagement in the social cause.

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While virtually impervious to the shaping influence of ideas throughout the book, Whitfield does admit to the decisive connection between character and public advocacy by explaining Nearing's retreat from organized insurgency as the result of an irreconcilable tension between his indomitable individualism and his professed allegiance to communist collectivism. Yet he fails to apply this mode of analysis throughout. Thus, while we know why Nearing left the Communist party, we have little idea of what drove him to radicalism in the first place. Nor does Whitfield satisfactorily explain how Nearing managed to reconcile the animating ideals of his radical quest—pacifism, nonviolence, and full industrial democ-

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racy—with his implacable advocacy of class revolution and Stalinist repression. All of which points to the hazards of attempting political biography without a considered analysis of personality and ideology.

DONALD MILLER
Richmond College,
City University of New York

ROBERT A. CARO. The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1974. Pp. ix, 1246, xxxiv. \$17.95.

Robert Caro has authored a monumental and critical biography of Robert Moses that has received wide acclaim. Moses, New York's master builder, is a man of mind-staggering accomplishments. He personally conceived and carried through public works in excess of twenty-seven billion dollars, including in the metropolitan area alone seven of the world's largest bridges, seventeen of its most traveled expressways, fifty parks, three zoos as well as an aquarium and planetarium, and 658 playgrounds. Moses was never elected to public office. Yet through the power of personality and purse, he dominated, according to Caro, governors, mayors, the state legislature, and the city council.

As biography this book is a provocative study of a man the author perceives as avaricious and brilliant in the pursuit of power, arrogant and brutal in its use. Indeed, to Caro, Moses was a veritable moral monster in private as well as in public activities. Caro's thesis, briefly, is that Moses's vast acquisition of appointive power through his ingenious manipulation of a relatively novel civic institution, the public authority, was undemocratic and dangerous and that his achievements, oriented as they were to the use of the automobile and the needs of the middle class, have had disastrous physical and financial consequences for the city and its people. Aside from our human and professional interest in power and personality, however, what is the significance of this book for historians?

Moses is important for several reasons. As a leader in the civic life of New York for half a century, his career intersected in revealing ways with reform movements, political organizations, the changing role of government, and important historical figures. He rose to prominence as a protégé of Al Smith, became an implacable foe of FDR, wheeled and dealed with Herbert Lehman and Fiorello La Guardia, and finally met defeat in his late seventies at the hands of Nelson Rockefeller. This brief list ignores a host of lesser luminaries of the magnitude of Harold Ickes, Rexford Tugwell, John Lindsay, and Averell Harriman encountered in the course of a remarkably active life.

From the 1920s to the 1950s, Moses, with his emphasis on bridges, expressways, parks, and beaches, was a leading spokesman of the then prevailing approach to American city planning, municipal engineering. Caro here analyzes how the needs of bankers, builders, construction unions, and politicians—who became increasingly dependent on the others—dovetailed with Moses's preoccupation with monumentality. This account helps explain why the more basic needs of communities for housing, schools, and involvement in the planning process were relatively ignored.

This book should be read by anyone concerned with the twentieth-century city. There are, however, warning signs that it must be approached with great caution. Caro, an investigative reporter by background, has relied on interviews as his principal sources. Accusations have been made that these were distorted while hearsay was accepted as fact for the sake of supporting the author's argument and enhancing the salability of his book. Demonstrably, Caro has not been conscientious in checking out facts; for example, in 1930 and 1931 New York did not fire eleven thousand schoolteachers but fewer than forty-four hundred. A disturbing tendency toward exaggeration and oversimplification is present throughout. Moses's refusal to alter the route of an expressway is viewed as responsible for destroying the lowermiddle-class Jewish neighborhood of East Tremont; yet we know that similar neighborhoods throughout the South Bronx also succumbed to the complex process of racial transition without assistance from Moses.

Caro is of course right in his view that Moses held too many important jobs at the same time for the good of the city. Undoubtedly, Moses was autocratic, and, refusing to heed advice, made many bad decisions, such as his failure to allow for the future accommodation of mass transit facilities along expressway right of ways. Whether this warrants Caro's attack on Moses as a man whose actions irreparably damaged the city is, however, another matter. The book, then, is an interesting and controversial work whose accuracy, perspective, and overall value are difficult to assess at this time.

STANLEY BUDER

Baruch College,

City University of New York

DONALD J. LISIO. The President and Protest: Hoover, Conspiracy, and the Bonus Riot. [Columbia:] University of Missouri Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 346. \$12.50.

Professor Lisio has produced a fascinating study of a complex and significant episode in twentiethcentury American history. His book is comprehensively researched, cogently organized, and attractively written. While presenting a well-paced suspenseful story, the author looks searchingly into the critical issues raised by the events he describes.

Herbert Hoover is, of course, the principal protagonist in the veterans' bonus drama, and the main contribution of this book is the new light it casts upon his record and reputation. Lisio regards himself as a revisionist on Hoover and uses the recently opened materials at the Hoover Library to correct some established views. He demonstrates, for example, that Hoover was concerned about equity for war veterans and that he did not order the rout of the Bonus Expeditionary Force, carried out by General Douglas MacArthur. Lisio's "revision," however, shows Hoover a poorer president than we thought in other respects. Hoover tolerated and concealed MacArthur's disobedience of his orders, in dealing with the bonus marchers he showed a perverse stubbornness and administrative ineptness, in situation after situation he chose silence and secrecy rather than frankness with the press and public. Lisio makes the specific indictment of the president's actions following the bonus riot and rout: "Because Hoover unwisely acquiesced to his advisers' theory of conspiracy and because his opponents' criticisms deeply wounded him, he first attempted to cover up his administration's blunders, then ignored important evidence that discredited the red plot theory, and finally participated in the effort to mislead the public" (p. 312).

My chief reservation about the book is the special pleading of the author in an apparent attempt to polish certain facets of Hoover's image. Space permits but one instance: Lisio refers to Hoover as the "chief benefactor" of the war veterans (p. 25). He links this doubtful characterization to Hoover's covert backing of the Disability Act of 1930, which increased benefits for some veterans. But he quotes Hoover himself as explaining later that he had supported the bill only "in order to avoid passage over the veto of another bill which would have called for three times the annual expenditure" (p. 22). Flaws such as this special pleading mar an otherwise splendid work.

THOMAS H. GREER
Michigan State University

HELEN M. BURNS. The Atherican Banking Community and New Deal Banking Reforms, 1933–1935. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 11.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 203. \$11.95.

The attractiveness of history, in many a graduate school, has been underscored by the long gestation

period for dissertations by the already employed. They toil through many a year while garnering degrees. Here the fruition, for Burns, has been a B.A., B.S., M.S., and Ph.D., with a typewritten dissertation microfilmed in 1965 and finally printed in 1974. Formerly employed by the Maryland State Planning Commission, she is now chief law librarian in the law library division of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

Her analysis of the formulation of the remedial banking legislation of 1933-35 stresses that bankers did not dominate lawmaking and that the president remained basically committed to the dualbanking system even while shifting his stance to alleviate intolerable strains on the economy. The realms of credit control and monetary management are discussed only as they are directly related to consideration of reform legislation. The contemporary theories of money and banking are plainly set forth in convenient summary. Besides Roosevelt, the most frequently cited personalities are Eccles, Glass, Harrison, Hoover, Meyer, Mills, Morgenthau, and Steagall, but, throughout, the author carefully avoids playing any favorites. A comparison of the 1974 text with that of 1965 reveals an occasional sharpening of definition in line with the author's obvious intent to be fair and accurate. The notes stay clear of works published since 1965.

JEANNETTE NICHOLS
University of Pennsylvania

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RONALD RADOSH. Prophets on the Right: Profiles of Conservative Critics of American Globalism. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1975. Pp. 351. \$9.95.

Professor Radosh re-examines the American road to World War II and the subsequent cold war from the perspectives of five nonconformists: Charles Beard, John Flynn, Oswald Villard, Robert Taft, and Lawrence Dennis.

A careful pruning of the literary remains of these men yields some surprises. Wayne Morse was a onetime hawk. Arguments of this quintet of "traditional conservatives" frequently paralleled those of left-wing critics of global meddling. Taken together, these five dissenters feared the emergent "imperial presidency," alerted the country to the perils of the Vietnamese morass, and doubted the solidity of the presumed Communist monolith.

These "prophets," however, were more often wrong than right. Participation in general war did not cripple free enterprise or end "democratic government in the United States." Eisenhower did not prove to be, as Flynn feared, a "collectivist" radicalized while president of Columbia.

The conduct of some of these five is more open to criticism than their faulty guesswork. Flynn ac-

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tively supported McCarthy, thus fanning the flames of the Russophobia that he allegedly deplored. Dennis once called for fascism, American style, while Taft in 1951 supported MacArthur's grandiose military blueprint. Flynn and Beard pioneered the Pearl Harbor conspiracy theory that has been rejected by qualified experts.

Radosh's work would have been more fruitful had he not judged these men solely from his own leftist position. Thus he greatly overemphasizes economic motives in explaining Roosevelt's anti-Axis diplomacy and the decision of the Truman administration for the Marshall Plan. FDR often acted with duplicity during the neutrality debate, but the fact remains that no responsible president could have risked an Axis victory. Even the causation for the cold war is far more complex than Radosh grants. To assume that World War II set off a chain reaction of American expansionism ignores the subsequent factors that enlighten the tortuous road from Hiroshima to Saigon.

The author wishes to recover valuable lost alternatives. Some of these choices, if made, would have rendered Vietnam and Watergate unlikely. Others were downright foolish, such as Villard's devotion to the Ludlow Amendment or Beard's stubborn faith in foolproof neutrality laws. Dennis was, at one time, "uncritically admiring of Hitler." Fortunately for civilization, the great majority of Americans did not share this approbation.

SELIG ADLER
State University of New York,
Buffalo

FRANZ KNIPPING. Die amerikanische Russlandpolitik in der Zeit des Hitler-Stalin-Pakts 1939-1941. (Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, number 30.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1974. Pp. xiv, 258. DM 64.

In examining the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union from the inception of the Hitler-Stalin Pact to the German attack upon Russia, the author asks, adequately enough, whether there was sufficient consistency in the American government's attitude to label it a "policy." His conclusion is that the understanding and help the Soviet Union received from the United States after the German onslaught did not consitute a break with any former American aloofness or hostility, as is occasionally alleged. Russia, while certainly of secondary importance compared with Great Britain, Germany, or Japan, increasingly gained the attention of the policy makers in Washington. In the Far East she could be a natural partner of the United States in restraining Japanese ambitions; in Europe she held the balance of power between the Axis countries and their

opponents. Especially after the Hitler-Stalin Pact had been signed, it was to be feared that awkward Western behavior might push the Soviets fully onto Hitler's side; skillful treatment, though, could keep them not only neutral, but might also leave an avenue open for their future alignment with the West.

The events after Russia's forced entry into the war were to show the success of the latter course, which, as the author is convinced, originated in Roosevelt's well-known antineutralist beliefs. Of course, many in the American government and even the president himself occasionally had their hesitations, particularly when Russia attacked Finland in late 1939. But *Realpolitik* prevailed over ideological considerations, and adverse opinions like that of Ambassador Steinhardt in Moscow were more or less being ignored.

The strength of Knipping's book lies in the presentation of detail that up to now was difficult to come by. Some doubt remains, though, whether the line of development he describes was as coherent as he endeavors to prove. There is enough evidence in his own work to suggest that American policy had several options, and that the route finally taken was not always considered the obvious

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ROBERT A. DIVINE. Foreign Policy and U.S. Presidential Elections. Volume 1, 1940–1948; volume 2, 1952–1960. New York: New Viewpoints. 1974. Pp. xii, 353; x, 359. Cloth \$12.50 each, paper \$4.95 each.

World War II and the cold war have transformed American society and politics, a transformation reflected in the primacy of defense budgets, in the prominence given to discussions of foreign policy in Congress and the press, and by the imperial growth of those institutions charged with the conduct of military and foreign affairs. In this study of foreign policy and presidential elections, Robert Divine has attempted to explore one dimension of that transformation.

Focusing on the speeches and the strategies of presidential campaigners, Divine has chronicled the way in which the candidates have employed the rhetoric of diplomacy in their quest for votes, from Franklin Roosevelt's carefully worded promise to keep American boys out of "foreign" wars to John Kennedy's vague pledge to get the nation moving again. He also shows how, in a world made anxious by the threat of war and nuclear holocaust, election strategists have sought to capitalize on foreign crises is a means of engineering popular support. Thus in 1944 Hadley Cantril, the Princeton public-opinion analyst, counseled the

White House that "anything that can be done to maintain the sense of crisis with respect to the peace as well as the war would be most advantageous." Four years later, Clark Clifford advised Truman that "the worse matters get, up to a fairly certain point—real danger of imminent war—the more is there a sense of crisis." He continued that in times of crisis "the American citizen tends to back up his President." Similarly, in 1952 a Republican campaign plan, approved by Dwight Eisenhower, called on the GOP to stress the failures of Democratic foreign policy in order to exploit "an international situation today that causes Americans... to fear for their national security and lives."

The prominence of foreign policy issues has not, however, contributed to democratic accountability in the conduct of diplomacy or to an informed public debate. Indeed Divine concludes that with few exceptions "campaign statements and promises did not have an appreciable impact on the future course of American diplomacy" and that presidential aspirants, rather than seeking to educate the electorate, "reduced complex issues to banal slogans, thereby preventing a rational debate over American foreign policy." Surveying this dreary record, Divine nevertheless concludes with the bland assurance that despite the deception and dishonesty of presidential politics, the American people have somehow been able to choose presidents capable of providing wise leadership in foreign affairs, men who once elected could turn their backs on the stereotypes of campaign politics and focus instead on the somber complexities of a world in crisis.

Foreign Policy and U.S. Presidential Elections is written in a straightforward, narrative style, with virtually no analysis. It focuses somewhat narrowly on presidential candidates and their staffs, with almost no attention to the role of Congress, the federal bureaucracy, special interest groups, or political parties. The elections are not related to one another, and there is no attempt to draw conclusions based on comparative analysis. Nor is there any effort to analyze systematically public opinion or voting behavior, or to draw firm relationships between elite and mass behavior. The use of public opinion and voting data is impressionistic and sometimes confusing. Thus at one point Divine suggests (quoting George Gallup) that in 1940 voters preferred Roosevelt because of his handling of foreign policy, but later concludes (citing Samuel Lubell) that Roosevelt's success rested primarily on his ability to hold together the New Deal coalition and that "the war, rather than ensuring Roosevelt's victory, may well have narrowed his margin." In discussing the election of 1944, Divine cites polls that suggest that the war

was the Democrats' "greatest asset," only to conclude that Roosevelt's victory was produced by an urban vote keyed to economic and social gains rather than world affairs. Indeed the reader is left' to wonder whether or not debate over foreign affairs really influenced the outcome of any single election.

What remains is a useful and frequently informative account of presidential campaigning, but one that is unfortunately limited in what it tells us about the complex and provocative interplay of foreign policy and American politics.

ROBERT GRIFFITH
University of Massachusetts,
Amherst

WILLIAM D. BARNARD. Dixiecrats and Democrats: Alabama Politics, 1942-1950. University: University of Alabama Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 200. \$7.95.

The tide of anti-New Deal sentiment in Deep South states like Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina, which finally flooded the politics of that region following World War II and Roosevelt's death, is a well-known tale. Professor Barnard has picked up the chronicle at that point to center upon the temporary postwar aberrations that postponed the conservative ascendancy and even earned Alabama an accolade from Nation in 1947 as "the most liberal state in the South." At that point it was still in sharp contrast to the Strom Thurmond-South Carolina situation, as pictured, for example, in Robert Sherrill's Gothic Politics in the Deep South (1968).

In this essay-length work—146 pages of textthe central and dominant figure is that of James E. "Big Jim" Folsom. Folsom's rise to gubernatorial victory in 1946 and the geographical basis for his support are carefully analyzed by county and region. It is the author's contention that Folsom owed even more in political philosophy to his hero Andrew Jackson than to the Populists. He finds the geographical support in each of these instances-including such other dissent as antisecessionism-to be concentrated in the small farm district of the northern Alabama hill country and in a few hard-scrabble counties of the "Wiregrass" southeast. But the populist liberal support, which put Senators Hill and Sparkman into office, was split by the Folsom-Sparkman clashes, enabling the states' rights elements to gain control of state machinery. These factional lines, drawn in 1948, are still largely present.

The book only fitfully illuminates the Dixiecrat phenomenon, for it is built entirely upon and around the political career and special talents

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of the strongly liberal, but erratic and unpredictable, "Big Jim" Folsom.

RALPH F. DE BEDTS
Old Dominion University

ALLEN YARNELL. Democrats and Progressives: The 1948 Presidential Election as a Test of Postwar Liberalism. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 155. \$8.95.

It was inevitable that a reinterpretation of the role of the Progressive party in the election of 1948 would come. Allen Yarnell's study of Democrats and Progressives contends that the old view of Henry Wallace's party forcing Harry Truman to take a liberal stance is in error. In fact, he says Truman did not assume a liberal domestic policy for this reason, and the existence of the Progressives allowed him to take a tougher position in foreign affairs. The work also purports to use the election as a test case of third-party influence in the pattern of John Hicks's study of the Populist. But Yarnell deals largely with Democrats and liberals and ignores Progressive influence, if any, on Republicans and Dixiecrats. These topics, however, merit a study of their own.

This work is a solid, well-researched, and wellwritten history containing valuable strengths. It documents the importance of Clark Clifford on the Truman strategy especially in the analysis and appeal to bloc votes such as labor and ethnic groups. It shows this was done to offset potential Republican strength. The book outlines the fledging Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and their competition with Wallace for the national liberal vote, and it discusses the ironic twist that liberals formed the backdrop of the McCarthy era. Yarnell is particularly good in proving that Wallace failed in his main objective-to make peace and improved relations with Russia a major campaign issue. He is convincing in reminding the audience that the American public was not ready, and that the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan both predate the election of 1948.

A second major strength is the balanced presentation of the evidence by Yarnell. Despite his thesis he deals with both sides of conflicting interpretations. He shows both Truman's and Wallace's point of view on the latter's speech at Madison Square Garden that led to his resignation. Yarnell demonstrates that the Taft-Hartley veto—before the election campaign—was in part to undercut a potential Wallace appeal; that the ADA and the Democratic research division had many of the same people; that the Clifford memorandum contained a method for "The Insulation of Henry Wallace" and a suggestion to move left in his appointment policy; and that the Democrats

feared Wallace enough to hire an anti-Wallace propagandist who was subsequently not used. He finally uses the Truman speech at Los Angeles on Septmeber 23, when he appealed to liberals not to waste their vote on the Progressives, and the various other attempts to identify the Progressives with Communist influence. All of these could refute his thesis, yet he gives each with the swirl of conflicting facts surrounding them. To illustrate: at one point Yarnell deals with Barton Bernstein's and William Berman's contention that the existence of Wallace moved Truman left in the field of civil rights and comments, "To a degree both of these men are correct." Yarnell contends that what they overlooked was the feared black defection to the Republicans. Despite a balanced and objective handling of this issue a few pages later, he concludes, "It is a hard and cold fact that the Wallace forces did not push the Democratic party into new positions. The fabled Truman shift did not occur." The only serious weakness of the study is that it claims too much. Its strengths in giving a more balanced account of this important election far outweigh this and make it a must for students interested in the Truman era.

WILLIAM L. ZIGLAR
Eastern College

JAMES F. SCHINABEL. Policy and Direction: The First Year. (United States Army in the Korean War.) Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army. 1972. Pp. xvii, 443, 11 maps. \$8.75.

This volume is a major contribution to the history of the Korean War. Consisting largely of a detailed and dispassionate account of the dialogue between the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington and their theater commander, General Douglas MacArthur, it treats the period from June 1950 to June 1951. This dramatic first year of the war saw the onslaught on the North Koreans across the thirtyeighth parallel, the desperate efforts of the South Koreans and the United Nations forces to retain a foothold on the peninsula, the brilliant amphibious landing at Inchon, the general advance almost to the Yalu, the unexpected entry of the Chinese, the dramatic reversal of military fortunes, months of hard fighting, the relief of General MacArthur, and, finally, a precarious equilibrium that marked the beginning of the armistice negotiations.

Schnabel's is not an operational history but rather, as the subtitle indicates, an account of policy and direction. In theory at least, policy was formulated by the Joint Chiefs acting under the direction of President Truman as commander in chief and the United Nations, while direction—the carrying out of policy—was under General Mac-

Arthur. But as Clausewitz warned us, policy and direction cannot always be neatly separated, for war has a way of developing its own momentum, its own rationale, its own felt necessities. In Korea, policy and direction became hopelessly intertwined, and in one of the greatest crises in the history of civil-military relations in the United States, General MacArthur was relieved of all his commands because he could not or would not accept the policy laid down by his superiors.

Concerning the Truman-MacArthur controversy, Schnabel does not make any startling revelations that have not already been disclosed or at least suggested by the MacArthur hearings and the memoirs produced by various high-ranking participants. His contribution rather is a well-balanced thoroughness. Beginning his research in 1951, soon after the events he describes, Schnabel was able to examine many documents in the Far Eastern Command that will probably never again be available to historians. Combining the evidence presented by the theater records with the records of the Joint Chiefs, Schnabel marshals the bewildering and complex developments into an understandable narrative, which, on the one hand brings out the idiosyncracies, faults, and virtues of MacArthur and on the other hand ably documents the inconsistencies, competing pressures, and dilemmas of American policy making at the highest level. The result is a first-class piece of research and writing.

In a day of inflation this book is a bargain; the packet of maps alone is worth the purchase price.

HARRY L. COLES
Ohio State University

STANLEY ELKINS and ERIC MCKITRICK, editors. *The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1974. Pp. xiv, 384, xi. \$10.00.

Fourteen of Richard Hofstadter's former graduate students have combined their considerable talents in creating this book as a tribute to the late master historian, under whom they had worked at Columbia University. The text includes ten essays on a wide variety of topics, the most complete listing available of Hofstadter's writings, and, most important for illumination of Hofstadter himself, a lengthy effort by Stanley Elkins and Eric Mc-Kitrick to explore the progress of Hofstadter's thought.

Richard Hofstadter (1916-70), as the book's jacket proclaims, was "pre-eminent" among American historians of his generation. He was a historians' historian. Before he was thirty, he published articles in the American Historical Review, New England Quarterly, Journal of the History of Ideas, Polit-

ical Science Quarterly, and Journal of Negro History, as well as his famous book Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915 (1944). There followed a long line of books and articles, "luminous in their grace of expression, subtlety of scholarship, range of inquiry, and variety of method."

Rapidly Hofstadter's influence grew. His second book, The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It (1948), revealed a mind that encompassed its subjects and delighted in itself. His insights opened up the borderland between the history of ideas and orthodox political history. According to Elkins and McKitrick, "He wanted to explore the conditions under which men think, and the values that set bounds to what and how they think, and to him one of the most fascinating fields in which this might be observed was politics." In The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R. (1955), the foremost book on progressive reform, Hofstadter went a long way toward the "consensual" position in undermining Beard's and Parrington's analysis of America's past. Yet, like his illustrious predecessors, he saw the reform tradition as the outstanding feature of American political life in the twentieth century, notwithstanding its inner contradictions. Unlike those historians who have argued that the progressive movement never took place, or, if it did, that it represented the conservative triumph of political capitalism, he never fully relinquished the older viewpoint that the struggle between the "people" or their representatives and business enterprise somehow lay close to the essence of progressivism. His interest in the role of education in formulating popular thinking while being shaped in turn by democratic politics produced other books of lasting value. His consummatory effort to write a massive history of the United States was interrupted by his death, which occurred, ironically, as he began work on the Great Awakening. That fragment appeared posthumously as America at 1750: A

Social Portrait (1971).

The "theme," if such it can be termed, of this memorial is the intellectual autonomy Hofstadter encouraged in his students: "Discipleship was a thing he never asked for probably because it never occurred to him." It was their work—Hofstadter's and his students—that was "the great leveler, and the great object—at once transcendent and impersonal—was that it should succeed." Marvin Meyers on James Madison, Linda Kerber on educating women, Eric Foner on Thaddeus Stevens, and Otis L. Graham, Jr. have all succeeded in continuing Hofstadter's tradition.

The problem with a random assortment of essays published in book form, as these are, is that individually they will all too easily be lost from view, their merits notwithstanding. As a book *The*

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Hofstadter Aegis fails. Its tribute to Richard Hofstadter, however, is an enterprise in which legions of historians can join gratefully.

ARTHUR P. DUDDEN Bryn Mawr College

ROBERT H. BRISBANE. Black Activism: Racial Revolution in the United States, 1954-1970. Valley Forge: Judson Press. 1974. Pp. 332. \$10.00.

This book on the black revolution from 1954 to 1970 by a political scientist is based almost entirely on secondary sources. It contains the expected chapters on Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, "The Long Hot Summers," the Black Panthers, and so on. There is nothing new in the volume that has not been covered better elsewhere. Moreover, the book omits such important topics as local black protest movements in the North, black activists' relations with white activists, and the dynamics of interorganizational relationships. The author believes that "the activist phase" of the black revolution ended in 1970; but he fails to come to grips with the basic question of what factors were responsible for bringing this about. Nowhere, by the way, is "activism" actually defined-it includes black politics as well as direct action and revolutionary nationalism, and of course political activism is now very much with us. Finally, the book is largely unanalytical; where the author makes attempts at historical generalization, the results are often distorted and inaccurate.

ELLIOTT RUDWICK
Kent State University

ALAN F. WESTIN and BARRY MAHONEY. The Trial of Martin Luther King. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1974. Pp. viii, 342. \$7.95.

For violating the Alabama circuit court's ex parte injunction of further mass demonstrations in Birmingham, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and ten aides were convicted of criminal contempt and sentenced, on April 22, 1963, to fifty-dollar fines and five-days' imprisonment.

From the cell to which he had been confined for violating such a law, King redacted his chefd'oeuvre on civil disobedience, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," which distinguished between "God's" or "moral" law, which must be obeyed, and "unjust" or "pseudo" law, which may, in special circumstances, be defied.

By the time the United States Supreme Court heard the case of Walker v. City of Birmingham in June 1967—the state supreme court had deliberated for more than two years—King's popularity and the national patience with civil disobedience had considerably diminished. "We do not real-

ize," Justice Holmes observed in his Common Law nearly a century ago, "how large a part of our law is open to reconsideration upon a slight change in the habit of the public mind." Walker v. City of Birmingham was stunningly paradigmatic of a law moved by the general will, for, after more than a decade of civil rights victories, the Supreme Court upheld the Birmingham convictions.

The Trial of Martin Luther King explains why the Court ruled as it did and argues that it erred in doing so. Necessarily, much of the text is devoted to fairly intricate legal exposition that requires exceedingly careful, though not overtaxing, reading by those outside the legal profession. Since the landmark cases of In re Debs (1895), Howat v. Kansas (1922), and United States v. United Mine Workers (1946), state and federal courts have almost invariably held that the legality of injunctions may not be contested during contempt proceedings. Thus when Birmingham's attorneys quoted Martin King's defiant words to a surprised Justice Tom Clark, "Just as in all good conscience we cannot obey unjust laws, neither can we respect the unjust use of the courts," Justice Potter Stewart's majority opinion (the Court split 5 to 4) concluded, "Respect for judicial process is a small price to pay for the civilizing hand of the law." The verdict in the Mine Workers case that, whatever their legality, injunctions must be obeyed and that contempt penalities are enforceable even if the restraining order is subsequently annulled, was inflexibly applied in the Birmingham case.

Professors Westin and Mahoney believe that the Walker decision resulted from the political climate of the late 1960s. They are unruffled by the now fashionable arguments that King and the civil rights ferment have unintentionally undermined respect for law by their appeals to "higher" laws. In this context, the authors' discussion of the Watergate principals' appeal to a "higher" law of national security is extremely interesting. It is even more interesting to speculate upon what they might have written about the current antibusing furor had they gone to press one year later. Essentially, Westin and Mahoney hold that social progress for the disadvantaged is partly a function of social protest and that the courts must concede this reality, as indeed some recent Supreme Court decisions have done, by permitting those who defy injunctions to argue constitutionality at their contempt hearings.

This is a fine book, raising fundamental questions besetting a democratic society. The authors are equally at home discussing legal precedents and richly rehearsing high points in civil rights history. There is, however, a puzzling factual inaccuracy in their section on the Selma Bridge compromise, but this is a mere quibble that scarcely

mars this significant addition to the literature on the turbulent sixties.

DAVID LEWIS
Federal City College

ALEXANDER KENDRICK. The Wound Within: America in the Vietnam Years, 1945–1974. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1974. Pp. xii, 432. \$12.95.

SANDY VOGELGESANG. The Long Dark Night of the Soul: The American Intellectual Left and the Vietnam War. New York: Harper and Row. 1974. Pp. 249. \$8.95.

Kendrick, a well-known broadcaster and correspondent, has written a lively, journalistic history of American involvement in Vietnam and of homefront problems related, sometimes loosely, to the war. Devoting nearly three-quarters of his volume to the period from 1960 to 1973, he condemns policy makers for the war, explains American involvement in terms of the containment of communism, notes the role of some American academics in promoting American intervention, and laments the willingness of Congress and the people to accede for years to American participation in this war. He is not primarily analytical but descriptive, relying on the pungent sentence, the evocative phase, the quick insight. Because he aimed to do more on the domestic side than examine how the Vietnam war tore apart America but less than write a full history of post-World War II America at home, the book is an uneasy but often engaging compromise: Dylan, Woodstock, and Altamont, the Free Speech movement and Columbia, Attica and Kent State, the Black Panthers and SNCC, the Weathermen and the Harrisburg Seven, George Wallace and the FBI, Nader's Raiders and Watergate are all included. Few themes are carefully sustained, few problems closely examined, few movements calmly dissected. The Wound Within is written with verve, filled with disappointment and hope, awaiting the redemption of democracy in 1976: "the beginning of Re-Americanization"—the establishment of social harmony and racial peace, justice and civility, national trust and honor, and the ending of official deceit at home and military interventions abroad.

Less troubled by the recent past, Sandy Vogelgesang, a young Foreign Service officer, focuses on one part of the "wound within": the intellectual Left's responses to the war during 1960 to 1968. Unfortunately, her slender volume is limited in scope and flawed in analysis. Restricting her study primarily to the New Republic, Partisan Review, the New York Review of Books, and less frequently to Studies on the Left, Dissent, and Commentary, she generally overlooks such important sections of the Left as Liberation, Monthly Review, and Ramparts. More-

over, she sometimes casually lumps together radicals and liberals while other times she charts *some* aspects of the schisms in the liberal camp that led to much of the radicalism of the late sixties.

Most of the intellectual Left, whether liberal or radical, moved, she contends, through three stages in their analysis of American involvement in the Indochina conflict: United States policies from the early sixties to January 1965 were attributed to "a lapse in judgment," from February 1965 to December 1966 to "an exercise in immorality," from January 1967 to December 1968 to "a reflection of political illegitimacy." Though this schematic survey is useful, Vogelgesang provides little analysis of the structures of liberal and radical thinking and only occasional references to the background and earlier positions of the many people who dot her book, but she vigorously advances her own opinions. Often she finds irresponsible such radicals as Dwight Macdonald, Staughton Lynd, Noam Chomsky, and Paul Goodman for "lapsing into nihilism and dissociation from the government [and thereby failing to] exercise . . . political and moral responsibility." Her judgment is dominated by her own standard of responsibility—serving the power of the state by moderately criticizing it or by offering programs that may soon convert the electorate. Her test is, in short, a coherent political program that can be promptly achieved, and her boss, Henry Kissinger, she loyally maintains, is no mandarin.

In charting what she judges the excesses of the radicals-their attacks on liberalism and "their rhetorical excesses"-she reveals little understanding of the strain of critical social thought, reborn in America in the sixties, that rejects piecemeal reform, views liberalism as an ally of established power, and calls instead, in the words of Barrington Moore in 1962, for "destructive criticism of a destructive system." Even those many historians who share her opinions and easily reject this radical thought will find her book disappointing, at best a quick, opinionated survey full of quotations and summaries from which serious intellectual analysis can begin. The war and the issues it raised about revolution and reform, liberalisms and radicalisms, imperialism and power, ideology and legitimacy, American exceptionalism and social cohesion, and the responsibilities of intellectuals and the proper uses of knowledge—these matters, at the heart of disputes in the sixties, still await their masterful interpreter, who will penetrate deeply into American intellectual communities and expand our understanding of what shattered friendships, split universities, and inflamed so many polemics.

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN Stanford University

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CANADA

JANICE ACTON et al., editors. Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press. 1974. Pp. vi, 405. Cloth \$12.50, paper \$6.00.

This book attempts several things at once, and generally succeeds in all of them. First, as an exercise in the new social history, conceived and written within a Marxist framework, it is an important contribution to the history of women in Canada. Second, as an exercise in the collective writing of history, it is an interesting product of the contemporary women's movement. Finally, it is a persuasive plea for the production of more works in women's history.

A lucid introductory essay on the changing economy of Ontario, from the early nineteenth century to the early twentieth, is followed by chapters on the prostitute viewed not as a social deviant but as the supplier of a service, on the domestic servant, and on the professions of nursing and teaching. I personally found the most interesting and provocative chapter to be on the problems of working women as viewed by the women themselves and by the middle-class reformers who sought to aid them. There follow chapters on the employment of women during World War I, the problems of working women during the Great Depression, and such women's tactics as community action and trade-union activity in their struggles for better working conditions.

The collective approach has enabled the writers to cross disciplinary lines and to assemble a mass of interesting material based on wide reading in both primary and secondary sources that is clearly detailed in the notes accompanying each chapter. Most chapters also have enough statistics, both within the text and in tabular form, to please the most ardent player of the numbers game. However, there is a good bit of unnecessary repetition throughout. Most of the chapters would have benefited considerably from tighter organization, greater economy in writing—the text runs to 361 pages—and closer attention to matters of style. Perhaps, after all, a single editorial blue pencil is better than several.

Throughout, the writers' enthusiasm for their subject is obvious and infectious, their insights are many, and their conclusions, when tentative, are presented as such with engaging frankness. The volume concludes with a research guide that, in addition to a fine bibliography, includes a brief section on how to do research. The title and purpose of this section will likely startle readers of the AHR and similar journals, as will its assumption, which is false, that male academics cannot or will not write women's history, so enthusiastic female

amateurs must do the job. This particular venture, I hasten to add, is by no means amateurish. There only remains to say that the book is attractively produced—cleanly printed and larded with interesting illustrations. On the whole, all concerned in this production can take justifiable pride in their achievement.

LEE HOLCOMBE
University of South Carolina—
Spartanburg

MARCEL HAMELIN. Les premières années du parlementarisme québécois (1867-1878). (Les cahiers d'histoire de l'Université Laval, number 19.) Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval; distrib. by International Scholarly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1974. Pp. xii, 386. \$12.50.

It is a deplorable, sad, and true comment on the historiography of the province of Quebec that neither specific nor more general monographs exist on such basic political institutions as the local provincial assembly. Marcel Hamelin's excellent monograph truly breaks new ground, and this within the frame of what is a very traditional approach indeed: he carefully and conscientiously sets out to analyze the first ten years of the parliamentary life of Quebec, and does so successfully.

Two recent reviews, written by journalists it should be added, chose to isolate and underline corruption and English-French relations in their considerations of this work. These matters are certainly noted by Hamelin, but his book is deserving of better notices. What he is concerned with is to describe the institutional framework within which the new province functioned. The establishment of the federal system provided for sixty-five constituencies on the local level and the same number on the federal level: under the union government, half that number had existed. A few deputies were elected on both levels, until this was abolished. Significantly, the provincial and federal Houses did not meet on the same dates: this permitted the double-mandated members to devote their spare moments to the local assembly. In effect, the Legislative Assembly of Quebec was a branch-plant operation of the important political figures, English and French, of the federal government.

The staffing of a new political institution, its control, more or less, by federal authorities, and the establishment of a local civil service—for most of the experienced government employees had followed the government to Ottawa, the federal capital—were the immediate problems. The personnel of the new government then attacked, in their leisurely way, the great problems of the day: the population hemorrhage of Quebec owing to the immigration of a large number of French Cana-

dians to the United States, colonization, and last, but by no means least, railways and subsidies.

Today's neonationalist historians of Quebec, as well as any reader, would, no doubt, be somewhat surprised at the low-level scale of activity and policy in Quebec in these first years of Confederation. Effectively, the dominant political elite-professional, commercial, and urban based-represented the interests of what was still a somewhat large village, physically, and certainly in terms of mentality. Hamelin's presentation is radically different from that of Robert Rumilly who presents English-French or provincial-federal relations as being the most important. Hamelin's analysis demonstrates that economic matters and not nationalism were the primary concern of the legislators. He also soundly establishes the local nature of political issues as against a provincial or federal scope, an assessment rich in possibilities for further study. It is a comment on the value of this book that one can only deplore the fact that Marcel Hamelin has become a dean of the arts faculty of the University of Ottawa: deans do not have time to research.

CAMERON NISH
Sir George Williams of Concordia

MICHAEL BLISS. A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883–1911. (The Canadian Social History Series.) [Toronto:] McClelland and Stewart. 1974. Pp. 160. \$3.95.

Professor Bliss's book, a revision of his dissertation and one of the first volumes in the new Canadian Social History series, "is a collection of studies in the thought of Canadian businessmen." Its aim is "simply to find out and report upon the most important and interesting ideas businessmen held in the years 1883 to 1911." Six chapters discuss the success and work ethics of businessmen, their "flight from competition" through restrictive practices that will guarantee them "a living profit," their ideas about the welfare of the worker, their general hostility to unionism, their great concern that protectionism be maintained and its benefits appreciated, and their attitudes toward other groups and sets of ideas within the community. Relying largely upon trade and commercial journals, Bliss fulfills his aim of describing prevalent business ideas on these major themes. One is pleased to find a sympathetic description of the success ethic and of the ideology of protectionism and national interest, and one is sometimes amazed at the easy arrogance of businessmen toward others. Contemptuous or patronizing of labor, farmers, professional men, and politicians, business spokesmen were obviously proud of their own calling.

The book is neatly researched, tidily organized,

and smoothly written. But many readers are likely to come away dissatisfied. There is something tiring about the author's apologetics toward his subject and his method-about the question of the sincerity of his businessmen's writings and the quality of their social thought—and something suspicious about the aggressiveness of his swipes at professors. More important, this type of writing is as close to intellectual history as it is to social history, but it lacks much of the framework necessary for successfully analyzing and explaining ideas. Bliss might have aimed at something beyond simply reporting ideas. He generalizes and, perhaps too frequently, employs effortless adjectival judgments, but only occasionally does he search for underlying assumptions. Too seldom is there a probing below the surface of business opinion, seldom is the reader conscious of the historian persistently asking that childlike "why." Bliss's finding and reporting are useful and informative. Some might ask for more.

DOUGLAS COLE
Simon Fraser University

LATIN AMERICA

MARY W. HELMS. Middle America: A Culture History of Heartland and Frontiers. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1975. Pp. xiv, 367.

In one compact volume Mary W. Helms has attempted a cultural history of Mexico and Central America, taking the reader through the evolution of pre-Columbian civilizations and colonial societies and putting him down, finally, in the midst of contemporary Latin American nation building. Her emphasis throughout is to outline the history of cultural development and to suggest, more often than one would expect in an outline of such dimensions, the why and how of it. A corollary aim within the work is to bring often-ignored Central American areas into a historical and cultural relationship with Mexico and Guatemala, hence her conceptual organization between "heartland" and "frontiers."

This book should enjoy considerable success, especially if produced in a paperbook edition, in college courses dealing with Latin America. It is more readable than most textbooks and conceived and executed with superior intelligence. As an outline, however, it suffers to some extent from the inescapable superficiality that the enormity of the subject imposes. And since the author is dependent upon secondary works and summaries for her information, she falls prey to the limitations of those whom she employs. Nevertheless, this is the first time a serious scholar has tried to make sense of the Middle American archeological, ethnograph-

ical, and historical records from the very beginning to the present in one slender volume. Tradition would suggest this as a task better suited to the end of a career. By that time, of course, the author would have concluded that such a book could not be written. Let us rejoice that Mary Helms did it in her own time and way.

R. C. PADDEN
Brown University

JOHN TATE LANNING. Pedro de la Torre: Doctor to Conquerors: Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 145. \$7.50.

Three documents from the records of the Inquisition of sixteenth-century Mexico tell us almost everything known about Pedro de la Torre. A native of Logroño in Castile, he came to America in 1535 at twenty-eight and moved rapidly from South America to Central America to Mexico, practicing medicine along the way. When challenged he asserted that he had received a medical degree from the University of Padua, but this was almost certainly a false claim. Accused of practicing without a license, he produced spurious records and was jailed, only to be released because his services were needed in the plague of 1545. Later charged with heresy, blasphemy, bigamy, and necromancy, he again escaped with minor punishment. Still later, in 1554, he was indirectly involved in the murder of the Spanish poet Gutierre de Cetina, who was visiting the colony.

Despite his questionable career as a doctor, de la Torre became Mexico's official protomédico in 1568. It is a picaresque career, and because the inquisitorial witnesses were, or were forced to be, so particular in their testimonies, we can know some aspects of his life in an abundance of homely detail. It is surprising and revealing that "an adventurer patently guilty of bigamy, blasphemy, and sorcery," brought before the Inquisition, could escape punishment and avoid further detection. Professor Lanning identifies other implications for social history, such as the primitive state of medicine and the bureaucratic negligence that permitted de la Torre to re-establish himself in his profession after his sentence; and, very interestingly, the dandyism and delinquency of the spoiled sons of conquistadores in the mid-sixteenth century.

CHARLES GIBSON
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. In Defense of the Indians: The Defense of the Most Reverend Lord, Don Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, of the Order of Preachers, Late Bishop of Chiapa, Against the Persecutors and Slanderers of the Peoples of the New World Discovered Across the Seas. Translated, edited, and annotated by STAF- FORD POOLE, C.M. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1974. Pp. xx, 385. \$25.00.

LEWIS HANKE. All Mankind Is One: A Study of the Disputation Between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1974. Pp. xvi, 205. \$15.00.

In Defense of the Indians is the last, and in some respects the most valuable, of Las Casas's writings to be published. Prepared as an answer to the Democrates Alter of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, it was presented at Valladolid in 1550-51 before a committee appointed by Charles V to determine future policy on the treatment of Indians. It was, or should have been, the culmination of a long debate over whether the Indians were fully rational human beings, or, in Aristotle's use of the term, slaves a natura. If, as Sepúlveda argued, they were the latter, they could lawfully be subject to the encomienda system and to forcible conversion. If not, as Las Casas had proclaimed, they could not be forced to labor for the Spaniards and could be converted only by the blandishments of sweet reason. As so often happens, the committee failed to reach a conclusion, but the disputation at Valladolid gave Las Casas the opportunity to summarize his arguments in a single Latin treatise. It is this that makes the Defense uniquely valuable as a sample of Las Casas's thought, for it contains nearly all of the arguments brought forth during his long career as "apostle to the Indians."

Poole has provided a solid and intelligent translation of this treatise that aptly conveys the fiery tone of Las Casas's style and that will provide English-speaking readers with an excellent sample of his thought. It is accompanied by Professor Lewis Hanke's introductory volume, All Mankind Is One, an analysis of the Defense that provides an overall view of the controversy of which the treatise was a part. As this is intended as Hanke's last word on the subject, he cannot resist a few parting shots at some of Las Casas's modern detractors, but in general, All Mankind Is One contains little that will be unfamiliar to those who have followed both the long debate over the Spanish struggle for justice in America and the related Black Legend.

WILLIAM S. MALTBY
University of Missouri—
St. Louis

JEROME S. HANDLER. The Unappropriated People: Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 225. \$10.00.

Few scholars have concerned themselves with the story of that group in British West Indian slave society termed by Governor Seaforth of Barbados, in 1802, the "unappropriated people." None has yet offered what Handler does: an extensive study of such nonwhite freedmen that examines their social and legal status and the struggle over their civil rights as well as their roles in the military, economic, religious, and educational life of a colony. He dwells on those years of the nineteenth century that preceded slave emancipation. It was then that the freedmen—hitherto small in number—increased so significantly as to assume an apparent place in Barbadian society. It is the period, too, for which there exist more abundant and revealing source materials, such as estate inventories and wills.

The first half of the book generally presents the basic findings of the essay that Handler contributed to Cohen's and Greene's Neither Slave nor Free (1972), but with much additional information in both text and footnotes. One rises from it with a firmer understanding of the climactic Brown Privilege Bill of 1831 that granted the freedmen full legal equality. In the remaining pages come Handler's gleanings on the freed militiamen, followed by a detailed and absorbing account of their economic and cultural activities that encompasses the pursuit of skilled trades, male and female huckstering, shopkeeping, and the ownership of taverns like the celebrated Royal Naval Hotel of Rachel Pringle, whose life and portrait are furnished. Although very few freedmen became plantation owners, many possessed small houses and landholdings, mainly in Bridgetown, and some held as many as five slaves whom they used themselves or hired out. Almost all who were Christians were primarily attracted, as were white Creoles, to the Anglican Church. Owing to the founding of the Colonial Charity School in 1819 for poor nonwhite children, and other possibilities including private tutoring, several acquired literacy. Still, the position of the freedmen in the social order, as a concluding chapter makes crystal clear, remained an inferior one owing to their racial descent. Handler's fine work should stimulate similar studies for other areas of the Americas.

> JOSEPH A. BOROMÉ New York City

GEORGE F. W. YOUNG. The Germans in Chile: Immigration and Colonization, 1849–1914. New York: Center for Migration Studies. 1974. Pp. xi, 234. \$5.95.

While German immigration into Chile during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was very small, it is of special interest to the historian of immigration because of the ability of the Germans to resist assimilation and maintain their cultural identity. This elaborately documented study, based on German as well as Chilean sources, focuses on this situation. After a statistical introduction and a brief résumé of the antecedents to immigration, the author devotes a chapter to the idea of a "German national colony," a colony abroad in which Germans "can preserve our sa-cred language unadulterated, our nationality unalloyed, and our German mind unaffected by foreign influences" (p. 50). This discussion is followed by three chapters describing the efforts to establish and develop "national colonies" in the southern frontier areas of Valdivia, Llanguihue, Frontera, and Chiloé. The author concludes with a chapter on such urban German immigrant institutions as schools, churches, newspapers, and clubs. The study is useful in presenting a substantial body of descriptive material on the German agrarian colonies in Chile. It shows clearly the importance of dedicated individuals, both German and Chilean, in creating those colonies, and it sketches the kind of cultural and physical environments in which "national colonies" did prosper. Finally, the author hints at a number of important determinants of assimilation. Catholics assimilated more rapidly than Protestants (p. 162), World War I led to the unification of German institutions in Chile (p. 164), lower-class immigrants assimilated faster than middle-class immigrants-except when middle-class Germans married Chileans (p. 166).

Unfortunately, in my opinion, the value of the study is reduced by its lack of analysis. The author uses none of the extensive theoretical literature on assimilation and makes little systematic attempt to analyze the factors that affected assimilation in light of the specific colonies he describes. He does not compare the rural with the urban patterns of Germans in Chile, the German experience with that of other immigrant groups in Chile, or the Germans in Chile with the Germans in other countries. This study contributes to the descriptive literature on German immigration, but it adds little to our understanding of the process of immigration and assimilation.

SAMUEL L. BAILY Rutgers University, New Brunswick

Communications

A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication of such a communication or of any part of it is solely at the editors' discretion. Limitations of space require that a communication concerning a review be no longer than the review to which it refers and in no case longer than 500 words. Communications concerning articles or review articles may be no more than 1,000 words, and the editors reserve the right to impose a lower limit. The schedule of publication and the time needed to send a communication to the author of the article or review in question for such reply as he may care to make virtually preclude the possibility of publication in the issue following that in which the original article or review appeared. Unless, in the editors' judgment, some major scholarly purpose is served, rejoinders will not be published.

TO THE EDITOR:

Professor Appleby's argument concerning rent exploitation in his article on seigneurial reaction in northwest England between 1500 and 1700 (AHR, 80 [1975]: 574–94) is not supported by the sources he himself cites. There are several points on which one might fault his article, but I will confine myself here to the example of the barony of Gilsland, which constitutes an important part of his case for disproportionately great increases in fines during the seventeenth century.

Appleby does not specifically mention the levels of fines in Gilsland in the early seventeenth century, but there is no doubt that they rose sharply from about two to four penny fines in 1589 to twenty penny fines in 1611 (see survey of the possessions of Leonard Dacre, 1589, p. 74, Public Record Office, London, Exchequer 164/42; book of collected miscellaneous manuscripts, copy of exemplification of a decree in Chancery, June 17, 1613, Howard of Naworth Papers, Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham).

The evidence suggests that this increase was more a belated attempt at adjusting fines to a

realistic level that kept pace with inflation than a ruthless policy of squeezing the customary tenants as severely as possible. The twenty penny fines were said to be roughly equal to one year's current value of tenements in Gilsland. It was an established principle in both the common law courts and Chancery that a reasonable fine must not be greater than about one and a half or two years' current value, so the Gilsland fines were well within the acceptable maxima (see E. Kerridge, Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After [London, 1969], 39). Lord William Howard, lord of Gilsland, might have been more efficient in collecting money than his tenants would have wished, but this hardly amounts to proof of gross exploitation...

Nor is Appleby justified in implying that fines in Gilsland rose by disproportionately great amounts to some incredible general level such as a ninetysix penny fine by the end of the seventeenth century (p. 592). As he himself notes earlier, by 1700 "most fines [in Gilsland] ranged from twenty to thirty years' rent" (p. 590). The document he cites actually shows that in the manor of Laversdale between 1698 and 1708 three quarters of the tenants were assessed thirty penny fines or less, while one third were fined at exactly the same level as one hundred years earlier (see names of tenants in Askerton and Laversdale manors with dates of admission, 1689-1708, and details of fines, n.d., Howard of Naworth Papers, C173.8). This is not evidence of unreasonable rent exploitation.

Nor are the fines of between thirty-two and ninety-six times the ancient yearly rent assessed on one quarter of the tenants of Laversdale necessarily proof of extortion. New crops such as turnips and potatoes were being introduced into Gilsland at least as early as the 1730s, which implies experiment with new rotations (see case for counsel about Brampton tithes with legal opinion thereon, 1744, Howard of Naworth Papers, C173.55). The possibility cannot be dismissed that the higher fines were assessed on progressive tenants who had

improved their holdings, and that the increased fines simply reflected the current real value of their tenements.

My point is not to disprove Appleby's thesis of rent exploitation. I would, however, urge that judgment be suspended on his conclusion that "stark exploitation of the northwestern tenantry took place . . . in the seventeenth century," until the basic data have been considered more thoroughly. This applies also to Appleby's treatment of the tenant-right disputes in the early seventeenth century.

J. H. HARDWICKE University of Durham

TO THE EDITOR:

My friend John Hardwicke knows the records of the barony of Gilsland as well as any person alive and I would be foolhardy to debate him on what the records say. On what the records mean, however, we may have some legitimate differences of opinion. Therefore, I would like to make the following points.

First, Hardwicke admits that fines were raised from two to four times the old rent in 1589 to twenty times the old rent in 1611. But this increase, he argues, was merely to keep in step with inflation. Presumably he means the inflation that had already taken place in the sixteenth century because the nine-year moving average price of all grains rose only forty per cent between these two dates (see Peter Bowden, "Statistical Appendix," in Joan Thirsk, ed., The Agrarian History of England and Wales, vol. 4: 1500-1640 [Cambridge, 1967], 819-20), while fines were pushed up five hundred to one thousand per cent.

Second, Hardwicke goes on to say that fines in Gilsland "were said to be" one year's current value of the tenements and therefore were reasonable. But he neglects to mention that it was Lord William Howard, and not the tenants, who said this (see Mounsey-Heysham Papers, 6: 4-6, Cumbria Record Office). Perhaps Hardwicke is justified in taking the lord's word at face value; for reasons set forth below, I am more inclined to believe the tenants. The root problem here is that we do not know the actual yield of the tenements or the standard of living of the tenants, and it is impossible to determine what fines would have been fair and reasonable. We have to make a choice and believe one or the other side in a legal dispute.

Third, I have argued that the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland had terrible famines in 1597 and 1623 (see my article, "Disease or Famine? Mortality in Cumberland and Westmorland, 1580–1640," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 26

[1973]: 403-32). The registers for the parishes that make up Gilsland are lacking, unfortunately, and we cannot say for sure whether Gilsland suffered to the same extent as the rest of the two counties. The number of tenant holdings that fell vacant in the court of Brampton in 1623, however, suggests that mortality was very heavy in that part of the barony (Howard of Naworth Papers, C178a.6). If the tenants starved to death—and admittedly the evidence is slim—they must have been precariously close to the subsistence level before the harvest failure of 1622 finally pushed them over. The exactions of the lord certainly played a part in their impoverishment. The reader can decide whether this constitutes exploitation.

Finally, Hardwicke argues that higher fines toward the end of the seventeenth century and on into the eighteenth century reflected the real value of the tenants' holdings. He introduces evidence of agricultural improvement in the 1730s, a full generation after the end of my study, and paints a rosier picture of tenant-lord relations than I did. But William Hutchinson, writing in 1794, saw it rather differently. Referring specifically to Gilsland, he described the tenure as "almost as base a tenure as the ancient villianage. . . . Those customary tenures are a national grievance. From this tenure is chiefly to be attributed the vast and dreary wastes which are found in Cumberland" (see History of the County of Cumberland [Carlisle, 1794], 1: 133).

ANDREW B. APPLEBY
San Diego State University

TO THE EDITOR:

Reading Thomas R. H. Havens's "Women and War in Japan, 1937–45" (AHR, 80 [1975]: 913–34), I was amazed to be told that "when the war crisis deepened, a single Greater Japan Women's Association (Dai Nihon Fujinkai) was proclaimed on February 2, 1942, reflecting the energetic attempts of the prime minister, Konoe Fumimaro, to streamline governmental administration" (p. 915). The Konoe cabinet fell October 16, 1941. Prince Konoe was succeeded by General Töjö Hideki, an officer on the active list. One may doubt that Prince Konoe had any influence on General Töjö's policies some five months after he had left office.

RILEY SUNDERLAND
Bar Harbor, Maine

TO THE EDITOR:

In response to Riley Sunderland's letter: the sentence on page 915 is ambiguous, but the facts and their interpretation are not. As is noted elsewhere in the article (pp. 919-20), Tōjō Hideki was indeed

prime minister in February 1942. The creation of the Greater Japan Women's Association was a bureaucratic decision fully consonant with Konoe Fumimaro's Imperial Rule Assistance Association, created during his prime ministership on September 27, 1940, and not a policy initiative taken by the Tōjō cabinet—by now quite preoccupied with fighting the United States.

THOMAS R. H. HAVENS Connecticut College

TO THE EDITOR:

Since Professor Bronfenbrenner specifically invites my reaction in his review of Kozo Yamamura's A Study of Samurai Income and Entrepreneurship (AHR, 80 [1975]: 1030-31), allow me to comment in the hope that the issues do not become further obscured. Unfortunately, there seems to be some misconception about this "'orthodox' authority's" view of entrepreneurial behavior and motivation. In my Capitalism and Nationalism in Prewar Japan (1967), I repeatedly disavowed any attempt to equate what Japanese businessmen, or their sycophants, claimed about their motives with the real thing. To be sure, at one point I did hazard parenthetically the prophecy that "future studies may well reveal further evidence that the motives Japanese businessmen claimed as their own may reflect more of reality than their critics supposed" (pp. 117-18); but I also pointed out that this was largely irrelevant to my own research. While I am not yet entirely convinced that my prophecy has been proven false by Professor Yamamura, I do remain certain that he and I have been analyzing two distinct phenomena and therefore cannot logically be seen as contradicting one another.

First, I do not wish to quarrel with the proposition that Japanese businessmen often "acted like robber barons and/or profit-maximizers" (p. 1030). What I find of equal interest is their explicit

rejection of the ideologies of economic individualism and Social Darwinism, so often embraced by their Western counterparts—indeed, their refusal to admit publicly to a profit motive at all. Second, regardless of whether a "disproportionate percentage of them" were actually nonsamurai, it remains clear that the spokesmen for the Japanese business elite insisted upon wrapping the entrepreneur in the cloak of the patriotic samurai hero in an attempt to justify their behavior. I continue to believe that these phenomena had historical significance for the periods I discussed.

BYRON K. MARSHALL University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

TO THE EDITOR:

I think I am a reasonable person when it comes to the "woman question." I am Mrs. at least until I can be doctor or professor; I get on reasonably well with my husband and my male colleagues; I intend to be a chairwoman if I am ever called to chair anything. There are, however, times. . . . You are the—probably innocent—cause of the latest attack of "Oh, what's the use?"

There I was, evading writing my dissertation by reading the reviews in your latest issue, October 1975, humming happily because reading reviews is a professional duty; is it not? Then I came to Robert L. Church's review of Brooks Mather Kelley's history of Yale (pp. 1040-41). There was some poor woman, deprived even of a name, identified only as the personal possession of not one but two men (wife of Walter Camp, sister of William Graham Sumner—why discriminate against her father?). And she was doing all the work. Arrggh!

In the name of all the faceless women of history, in the name of International Women's Year, identify the woman by her name. Please?

MARILYNN M. LAREW University of Maryland

Recent Deaths

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER III, president emeritus of Williams College and former professor of American diplomatic history at Harvard, died in Williamstown, Massachusetts, on June 17, 1975, at the age of eighty-two. In effect he had three careers, any one of which would have been a remarkable achievement. Throughout his adult life he remained a dedicated teacher and scholar of history. Born in Portland, Maine, on February 15, 1893, he received his A.B. in 1914 from Williams, where he garnered virtually all the academic honors the college could bestow. After contracting tuberculosis, Baxter went to Colorado to recuperate, taught for a year at Colorado College, and then returned east to do graduate work in history at Harvard. He wrote his dissertation under the direction of Edward Channing and received his Ph.D. in 1926. He was a member of the history department at Harvard from 1925 to 1937 and became a full professor

During his first career—twelve years of teaching at Harvard—Baxter wrote *The Introduction of the Ironclad Warship* (1933), which remains the authoritative work on its subject. He also published in the *AHR* and the *American Journal of International Law* important articles on relations between Britain and the United States during the Civil War. He used multiarchival research to reveal how the British Foreign Office adopted farsighted, realistic diplomacy in controversies with the North over prize cases and interpretations of international law. These articles were early expressions of Baxter's lifelong scholarly interest in Anglo-American relations.

Well known at Harvard as a popular and effective undergraduate lecturer, he became in 1931 the first master of Adams House, where he sought to create, in his own words, "something like a small college within the larger university." He was well on his way to achieving scholarly eminence when he accepted the presidency of Williams. As president, from 1937 to 1961, Baxter had a significant impact on the college—in both his concern with creating and holding a talented faculty and his

supervision of the inevitable expansion of campus buildings and curricular changes that occurred over that long stretch of time. His background as historian affected his long tenure as college administrator—his second career.

As a student of the past, Baxter understood the necessity of providing a firm groundwork for change. Since his predecessor had resigned in a dispute with the trustees, Baxter moved cautiously at first, giving himself time to learn his job and the college a respite from previous tensions. He could let his respect for the past turn to strong sentiment on certain subjects—fraternities, for example, and compulsory chapel, both of which Williams continued in a modified way throughout Baxter's presidency.

He was sound on basic educational issues and understood thoroughly the special historical role of a college like Williams. Acting vigorously to keep the college intellectually attractive to able faculty and students, Baxter held firm to the distinction between university and small college, between the basic research orientation of the first and the teaching emphasis of the second. He continued to teach part time, usually in a course supervised by others. His lectures, usually delivered without notes, revealed a powerful mind and an impressive mastery of the rich complexity of historical details. During the McCarthy period of the 1950s, Baxter, who was an ardent Republican of the internationalist wing, never wavered in his support of teachers, and Williams had a few who came under the critical fire of either irresponsible politicians or worried alumni. Baxter partly initiated and partly modified both curricular and social changes, but he always effectively controlled them, and with a minimum of administrative apparatus. He relied upon experienced faculty for advice, but there was no doubt about who was in charge during his administration.

During World War II he took a series of leaves from Williams that launched his third career that of public servant. Baxter served as director of the Research Branch of the Office of Coordinator

of Information, 1941-42; as deputy director of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), 1942-43, where he recruited academic personnel for the OSS staff; and then from 1943 to 1946 as first historian of the Office of Scientific Research and Development. Turning his attention to scientific and technical matters about which he had little prior knowledge, Baxter learned so rapidly and so well that he was able to write an impressive account for the general public of the many exciting and significant discoveries made by American scientists working for the government during the war. Published under the title Scientists against Time (1946), the book won the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1947. In the postwar period Baxter was an important adviser on various federal historical projects. He served on the army's Historical Advisory Committee from 1943 to 1955. The distinguished multivolume series, which resulted, is a tribute to his vision and that of his colleagues. He was instrumental in bringing into being the historical program of the Atomic Energy Commission, serving as chairman of its Advisory Committee from 1958 to 1967. Finally, he was a member of the secretary of the navy's Advisory Committee on Naval History from 1952 to 1964.

His other roles as public servant were closely connected with the Republican administrations of Dwight Eisenhower, whose presidential candidacy Baxter supported early and vigorously, and with the Council on Foreign Relations. He was a member during the 1950s of the noted Gaither Committee, whose task was to examine U.S. military capacity vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and make recommendations to the White House. Though the report of the committee was never released, it is clear that Baxter had become convinced early on of the need for a more flexible, and credible, military response to potential adversaries and was advocating a build-up of United States conventional forces. In 1961 he became the first senior fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations, with which he long had been associated. As an active participant in government and on advisory groups dealing with foreign policy issues, Baxter saw no conflict with his profession as historian and college president. He believed strongly that it was both a patriotic duty and a worthy service to bring the special perspective and knowledge of historians to bear upon the efforts of the country to resolve its military and diplomatic problems.

Baxter was not a man of even disposition. He had an explosive temper but could also be contrite and apologetic. At times he showed an exasperating self-centeredness that seemed to make him oblivious to other points of view, but he was often warmly sympathetic to the personal and professional problems of others. Possessed of a first-class intellect, he was a man of action with a

lifelong respect for men of thought. The faculty of Williams recognized and responded to the quality of his mind, and he never failed to support them as the center of what was most important in the college.

RUSSELL H. BOSTERT Williams College

JOHN H. Cox, professor emeritus at City College, City University of New York, died suddenly on September 7, 1975, at the age of sixty-eight, while at his summer home in Bethel, Connecticut. He had lived and taught in New York City since 1941, when he was appointed to an instructorship in the history department at City College. Except for the three and one-half years of military service, 1943–46, as an officer in the Army Air Corps, he taught continuously in the department, rising through all the ranks to become a full professor in 1964 and, in 1965, a member of the doctoral faculty of the City University of New York. He retired in September 1972.

Cox was born in Coburg, Oregon, on February 8, 1907, and educated in the schools of the Far West. His early years, and many of the values that were to guide him for a lifetime, were shaped by qualities that were fast disappearing from the American scene, but which were still to be found in the small towns and open forests of the Pacific Northwest. After earning his first two degrees at the University of Oregon, he attended the University of California, Berkeley, where his advanced studies were pursued under Frederick L. Paxson and Herbert E. Bolton. His doctoral dissertation, "Organizations in the Lumber Industry in the Pacific Northwest" (1937), was suggested by Paxson as appropriate to Cox's first-hand knowledge of the woodlands and sawmills of the region in which he had grown up and worked.

Although Cox's apprenticeship as a teacher and a historian were spent in the universities where he had been trained and then for a year in Missouri at the Northeastern State Teachers College in Kirksville, his life's work was centered in an academic and urban community far different from his earlier experiences, New York's huge City College. Here for almost three decades he was one of the most popular teachers in a large department that was already prominent for its influence on the training of future historians. His advanced courses were generally crowded and frequently oversubscribed; and his genial manner, modesty, and affectionate interest in his students, whose ability and stimulus he considered unequaled, bound them to him and to the department.

After the war Cox's scholarly interests turned to the period of Reconstruction, and in a unique personal and intellectual partnership with his wife, LaWanda Cox (now professor emeritus at Hunter College), he spent many years of research on the history of post-Civil War national politics and the freedmen of the South. Their collaborative publications—the most notable of which, Politics, Principle and Prejudice, 1865-1866: The Dilemma of Reconstruction America (1963), won the AHA's John H. Dunning Prize—placed them among a small number of leading scholars whose critical findings and new assessments were developing a fuller understanding of the tangled politics of the early Reconstruction years and a recognition of the importance of the civil rights issues in the 1860s.

For some time before and after his retirement, Cox suffered from a painful illness that tested his stamina, courage, and cheerfulness. These qualities never yielded, and he persisted in continuing with his work and other interests. He was a gentleman in the fullest sense of that term, a good colleague, and a worthy member of the historical profession.

OSCAR ZEICHNER
City College,
City University of New York

Louise M. Douglas, advertising manager of the American Historical Review from 1968 to 1974, died of a heart attack at her home in Washington on October 29, 1975. She was born in Wauseon, Ohio, and, after attending Miami University, had a varied and colorful career in merchandising and business. In 1968, after ten years on the staff of the Macmillan Company, she was assigned responsibility for the AHR. Although her title was advertising manager, she also reorganized and systematized the subscription list and looked after contracts, copyright, and other aspects of the journal's business that were carried out in the publisher's office in New York. What had been a casual and (through the illness of her predecessor) neglected affair was rapidly whipped into shape. When the AHA took over publication of the journal in 1969, the ease with which the business side of the transition was carried through was owing in large part to the hard work she had done in getting its records in order, to her skill in negotiation, and to her willingness to move to Washington to join the staff of the AHR.

In Washington she was unusually successful in bringing in advertising—no small task, particularly after the publishing recession that set in in 1972 and during which AHR advertising fell very little—in promoting the AHR and the pamphlet series, in negotiating contracts for subsidiary rights that markedly increased revenue from royalties, and in increasing membership of the AHA. Her long experience and her wide and carefully

maintained contacts in the advertising world were invaluable.

Louise Douglas was funny and often salty in conversation, skeptical and disenchanted if not cynical in approach, and tough in manner—though the style concealed a soft heart that could befriend many, often surprising people. She was, above all, a consummate businesswoman who gained the respect and friendship of most of those she had to deal with—among advertisers, publishers, printers, and not a few historians, whose ways were at times more than a little mystifying to her. One publisher told me, shortly before she died, that after many years of dealing with officials of many learned societies, he felt that Louise Douglas was the most professional of the lot. It was the tribute she would most have appreciated.

A journal of the complexity, reach, and quality of the AHR owes much to staff members who are usually overlooked or misunderstood, and much of the possibility that was realized in the AHR in the past seven years was due to Mrs. Douglas's imagination, hard-headed acumen, and sage, irreverent counsel.

R. K. WEBB University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Francis Dvornik, a leading historian of the medieval church, died on November 4, 1975, in his eighty-third year, at his family home in Chomýž, Moravia (Czechoslovakia), where his education had begun at the local classical gymnasium. He brought his long and distinguished career to a close as professor of Byzantine history at Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard's Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, D.C. He retired from this post in 1964 but continued to work with vigor until a few months before his death.

He had been professor of church history at the Charles University, Prague, from 1928, and dean of the faculty of theology from 1935. The first Czech national to receive the coveted diploma of the École des Sciences Politiques in Paris in 1923, he trained under the great Byzantinist Charles Diehl and was awarded the Doctor in Letters from the Sorbonne in 1926. He devoted his prodigious scholarship (some 30 books and more than 130 articles) chiefly to two themes, the integration of Slavic history into general European history, and the historical roots of those problems which divided and still divide the Byzantine Orthodox from the Roman Catholic Church.

His first book, Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^e siècle, was awarded a prize by the French Academy in 1927 and reprinted in 1970. His famous book, The Photian Schism (1948), written largely in the British Museum, put the whole issue of the divi-

sion between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism on a new basis; it, too, was awarded a prize by the French Academy. In the next decades Dvornik pursued the issue of episcopal primacy in Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew, awarded the Haskins Medal by the Medieval Academy of America in 1959, and in Byzantium and the Roman Primacy, awarded the Francis Cardinal Spellman Prize by the Catholic Theological Society of America in 1966. Other major works are Les légendes de Constantin et de Methodé vues de Byzance (1933; rpt. 1969), The Making of Central and Eastern Europe (1949), The Slavs in European History and Civilization (1962), and Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy (1966). A number of his books that were first published in English have appeared in French, German, Italian, and Spanish trans-

Dvornik had been elected a Fellow of the Medieval Academy of America, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, as well as a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy and of the Royal Belgium Academy. He had also been named a Knight of the French Legion of Honor.

A long-time colleague and friend, Sirarpie Der Nersessian, has written the following tribute to Father Dvornik: "From the very beginning his unbiased attitude in intellectual matters as well as in personal relations, his loyalty, his kindliness, and his genial personality won the esteem and affection of his colleagues and of the younger Fellows, as well as of the members of the Staff. His broad outlook, his judgment and wise counsels were of invaluable assistance to Dumbarton Oaks on many an occasion, and of major importance was his role in the development of its Library, the vital center of a research institute, to which he selflessly devoted many precious hours perusing catalogues of old books while, at the same time, keeping abreast of new publications. He was unfailingly ready to help and advise young historians, especially those interested in Slavic studies."

> WILLIAM C. LOERKE Center for Byzantine Studies, Dumbarton Oaks

Louis R. Gottschalk, president of the American Historical Association in 1953, died in Chicago on June 23, 1975. Born in Brooklyn in 1899, he received both his bachelor's and doctorate degrees at Cornell University, where along with his friend and contemporary, the late Leo Gershoy, he was introduced to European history and in particular to the study of the French Revolution by Carl Becker. His first teaching years were spent at the universities of Illinois and of Louisville, but in 1927 he became associate professor at the University of Chicago, where he was department chairman from

1937 to 1942, and thereafter became Gustavus F. and Ann Swift Distinguished Service Professor. After his retirement in 1964 he taught full time for several years, and then part time, at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.

Gottschalk's talents revealed themselves early, and he remained prominent as a historian of the French Revolution for half a century. He was only twenty-two on receiving his Ph.D. In 1927 he published his Jean-Paul Marat, the first biography of an extremist of the French Revolution by an American historian. It was also one of the first American books, at least among those arising in university circles, in which the attempt was made to explain rather than to deplore the most radical phase of the French Revolution. The Marat was soon translated into French, and it was reprinted in America in 1966. In 1929 came his Era of the French Revolution, the first of the modern American college textbooks on the subject. About this time, Gottschalk decided to undertake a multivolume biography of the marquis de Lafayette. The first fruit of this enterprise, his Lafayette Comes to America, was published in 1935. Here the thought was developed, correcting a common misapprehension, that it was not a love of liberty that inspired Lafayette to go and seek a commission in the American army, but rather a youthful and martial ardor, with a desire for revenge against England; and that it was the American experience that aroused in him the love of liberty, and the admiration for George Washington, that he was to carry on into the French Revolution. Gottschalk thus showed the interest in the relationship between America and Europe, and in the impact of the American Revolution on the French, that he continued to feel throughout his life. It was in fact by Gottschalk, in 1931, that I was launched on my own work on similar transatlantic themes.

Books on Lafayette continued to appear at almost biennial intervals until 1950, and were resumed toward the end of the author's life, until nine had been published, with a tenth nearly finished and awaiting publication. With this final volume, which is to reach until Lafayette's repudiation of "Jacobinism" in July 1792, only the thirty-fifth year of Lafayette's life had been attained, with forty-two more years still to go. The great project as conceived about 1930 had proved impossible to realize in full; there had been trouble in gaining access to certain Lafayette documents, and in any case the plan of treatment, involving an almost day-to-day account and an exhaustion of the sources, resulted in a slower tempo and greater multiplication of volumes than had been foreseen.

The interruption in the Lafayette series was due in part to the growth of other interests during and after World War II. Though committed in the

Lafayette project to a narrative and almost annalistic approach, Gottschalk now became concerned with broader and more theoretical issues. He was active in the work of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and was a member of its committee on historiography, which, through Charles Beard and others, published the well-known Bulletin 54 on historical causation in 1945. Other SSRC committees produced two collaborative works that Gottschalk edited, The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology (1945) and Generalization in the Writing of History (1963). His Understanding History (1950) was a handbook of method, which his old master, Carl Becker, as an exponent of historical relativism, might have found surprisingly conservative in its technical doctrine. Gottschalk contributed much to the development of the Journal of Modern History in its early days, serving as associate editor from 1929 to 1943 and acting editor from 1943 to 1945, and being in fact mainly responsible during much of the editorship of Bernadotte Schmitt.

The war left him with a keen sense of the need for a firmer basis of international agreement. His interest in Europe's world role was evident in his textbook for modern history, first published in 1951, written in collaboration with Donald Lach, whose own interests lay in European relations with Asia. Gottschalk at the same time was attracted by the UNESCO project for a new universal history, intended to overcome the Europe-centered conception of human development and to present a world view that persons of all nations, religions, and races might equally accept. He undertook, therefore, the author-editorship of the fourth volume of the UNESCO history, which appeared in 1969, under the English title of Foundations of the Modern World, 1300-1775. This work required the authoreditor to consult with advisers of many nationalities and ideologies, whose conflicting ideas of the relative importance of things proved impossible to unify or harmonize, so that it is doubtful whether he was entirely satisfied with the result. The entire UNESCO history also appeared in French, and the greater magnificence of the French edition suggests that it may be more widely known to the French-reading than to the Englishreading public. He taught at the University of Frankfurt in 1949, and in Japan in 1968.

For many years Gottschalk at Chicago and Crane Brinton at Harvard were recognized as the leading American historians of the French Revolution. Gottschalk knew Albert Mathiez personally in the 1920s, and from 1934 until his death he was on the council of the Société des études robespierristes, the somewhat obsolete name of the international society of experts on the French Revolution. As the years passed, Gottschalk came to see

more weight in the views of Aulard and Lefebvre and to adopt a multischools approach in the historiography of the French Revolution. He was also well acquainted with Daniel Mornet, whose work on the Enlightenment greatly influenced him, and was a member of the Société l'histoire moderne. His whole career was a link between the worlds of historians in Europe and in the United States.

He was perhaps the youngest person, at least since many years ago, to be elected to the presidency of the American Historical Association. He received many other honors, becoming a chevalier of the Legion of Honor and receiving honorary degrees from the University of Toulouse, Hebrew Union College, and Augustana College at Rockford, Illinois. He was president of the interdisciplinary American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies in 1971. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vice-president for some years of the American Council of Learned Societies, he was also a recipient of its special prize of \$10,000 for achievement in the humanities in 1959. He had entered the academic world at a time when it was rare and difficult for Jews to do so and was in all probability the first Jewish president of the American Historical Association. From time to time he participated actively in the work of the Hillel Foundation.

In his later years there was much that he could look back upon with satisfaction. Throughout his life he felt a warm attachment to Cornell University and to the memory of Carl Becker. It was especially gratifying to Gottschalk that means were eventually found to carry on his work by the editing of the papers of the marquis de Lafayette, and that this enterprise should be located at Cornell. His work and his personal qualities aroused the admiration of his coworkers and the devotion and gratitude of his students, a dozen of whom presented him with a volume of essays in his honor at the time of his retirement. His writings showed an unusual combination of opposite virtues, from the precision and exact attention to documentary sources in the Lafayette series, to the philosophical interest that produced the social science reports and the fourth volume of the UNESCO History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind. For his students, their association with him was an experience to be long cherished, and his influence was for many of them a decisive turning point in their own lives.

R. R. PALMER
Yale University

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN died suddenly of a heart attack in Washington, D.C., on May 22, 1975. He was seventy-four years old. Born in Mu-

nich, Germany, he studied with Erich Marcks and Alexander von Mueller at the University of Munich, attended the lectures of Max Weber at Heidelberg, and wrote his dissertation under Herman Oncken on German-Polish relations before 1848. Like many historians of the time Hallgarten became interested in the origins of World War I, concentrating on the sociological and economic aspects of imperialism before 1914. William L. Langer called Hallgarten's book, Vorkriegsimperialismus (1935), "a contribution to recent German history of absolutely first rate importance which no student of either domestic or international history can afford to ignore, ... an original and scholarly contribution of the highest order" (AHR, 46 [1940]: 142-43). Later editions of this work were entitled Imperialismus vor 1914; a second revised and enlarged edition appeared in 1963.

Arriving in the United States in 1937, Hallgarten first lectured at Brooklyn College and later became a research assistant at the University of California, Berkeley. He entered the army in 1942, trained at Camp Ritchie, and served with the Third Mobile Radio Broadcast Company in Europe. After the war he lectured and taught in the United States, Europe, and the Far East. Equally fluent in English, German, and French, Hallgarten wrote extensively on dictatorships and the arms race. Among his better-known books are Hitler, Reichswehr und Industrie (1955), Why Dictators (1954), Das Schicksal des Imperialismus im 20. Jahrhundert (1969), his autobiography Als die Schatten fielen (1969), and his last book, with Joachim Radkau, Deutsche Industrie und Politik: Von Bismarck bis heute (1974).

He was involved in many causes and projects; the one he was proudest of and for which he received little recognition was the AHA's War Documents Committee, which microfilmed millions of captured German documents after the war.

George Hallgarten was not a simple man. Warm and generous toward friends and colleagues, he could be exasperatingly difficult and stubborn when fighting for a cause. His students loved him for his stimulating lectures, his sincerity, and his breadth of knowledge. They and his many friends around the world will miss him sorely.

GEORGE O. KENT University of Maryland, College Park

EDWARD CHASE KIRKLAND was hardly a parochial man. He dealt boldly with spacious themes in his scholarship and in his teaching, and he maintained close friendships with professional colleagues throughout the United States and beyond. Yet his intimate association with New England, where he studied and taught, and especially with

his native Vermont sustained him and suggested some of the major fields of his scholarly investigation. Above all, that association gave a special flavor to his writing, his irrepressible wit, and his sturdy character. Born in Bellows Falls on May 24, 1894, "Kirk" died on his eighty-first birthday and was buried near his lovely home in Thetford Center, where many a member of the American Historical Association had enjoyed his generous hospitality through the years.

After graduation from Dartmouth in 1916, Kirkland volunteered for duty in the Ambulance Service, and for his devotion to the Allied cause in the First World War, he received the croix de guerre. Returning to the United States, he took his Ph.D. at Harvard. He taught at Brown before being called in 1930 to Bowdoin College, where he taught for twenty-five years as Frank Munsey Professor of History.

Kirkland's graduate study under Edward Channing led to his first book, The Peacemakers of 1864 (1027). It was not in Civil War history, however, but in nineteenth-century American economic history that he found the material of greatest concern to him as a teacher and scholar. His History of American Economic Life (1932) was widely used and went through several revised editions. His other works include Men, Cities, and Transportation: A Study in New England History, 1820-1900 (1948); Dream and Thought in the Business Community, 1860-1900 (1956); Industry Comes of Age: Business, Labor, and Public Policy 1860-1897 (1961), which is a volume in the Economic History of the United States series; and Charles Francis Adams, Jr., 1835-1915: The Patrician at Bay (1965).

Kirkland gave freely of his time and energy to the life of the professional associations. Writing in 1944 as chairman of Committee A, on Academic Freedom and Tenure, he warned the American Association of University Professors, all too accurately, of the danger of an attack upon academic freedom. He served as national president of the AAUP from 1946 to 1948. In 1955 Kirkland was elected to the presidency of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. He was an active member of the Phi Beta Kappa Senate for two decades, and he served as a member of the editorial board of the New England Quarterly. He received honorary degrees from Dartmouth, Princeton, and Bowdoin. At various times during the 1950s he was designated Knapp Professor at Wisconsin; Commonwealth Lecturer at University College London; Messinger Lecturer at Cornell; and Pitt Professor at Cambridge, 1956-57.

Remembering "Kirk" with affection and continuing to regard his work with admiration, the association's members extend their sympathy to his widow, Ruth Babson Kirkland, who shared the duties of his intense and productive scholarly life, and to Edward S. Kirkland of New York, their son.
WILLIAM B. WHITESIDE

Bowdoin College

The death on September 2, 1975, of SIR JOHN ERNEST NEALE brought to a close one of the most distinguished careers in British historical studies in this century. For more than a generation Neale stood out as the commanding figure in Tudor studies, not only because of his own writing but also because of the force of his personality and talents.

Neale was born in 1890 in Liverpool and educated in the schools there and at the University of Liverpool. He went on to study at University College London under Professor A. F. Pollard, who was then the great master of sixteenth-century studies. In 1919 Neale became an assistant in history at University College and in 1925 professor of modern history at Manchester. He returned to London in 1927 as Astor Professor of History, a post that he held until his retirement in 1956. In 1932 he married a fellow student, Elfreda Skelton, and in 1954 he was knighted.

During the 1920s Neale published a number of important articles, notable not only for their rigorous scholarship but also for their very graceful style. In 1934 he brought out his biography of Queen Elizabeth I. Professionals were somewhat staggered by a book that eschewed the usual apparatus of footnotes and references, but Queen Elizabeth was an immense success with both professional and lay readers. The larger reading audience responded to the brilliant style of the book while scholars in the field had no doubt that it rested on a firm command of all relevant sources. The biography combined a subtle understanding of the queen's complex personality with a penetrating assessment of her public role. It remains the authoritative study of her life.

After the war Neale began the publication of his great study of the Elizabethan Parliament, The Elizabethan House of Commons (1949), and the two volumes of Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments (1953, 1957). These three volumes transformed our understanding not only of the late Tudor Parliaments but of the whole parliamentary institution. Neale's industry had uncovered far more sources than many scholars had assumed existed, while his historical understanding and his skill as a writer illuminated the subject brilliantly. Much of what had been written about the Stuart Parliaments needs to be rethought in the light of Neale's work, and in some measure Stuart studies of Parliament have yet to catch up with what he accomplished for the earlier era.

After his retirement Neale devoted himself to

general supervision of the late sixteenth-century section of the history of Parliament biographies. In 1958 he visited America for the first time and saw on their home ground many of the American friends he had made in London. He will be especially missed on this side of the Atlantic; for decades Neale welcomed American students and scholars, gave unstintingly of his time and great knowledge, and he and Lady Neale were generous in their warm hospitality to overseas visitors.

Sir John Neale reshaped our historical understanding of one of the great epochs in English history; we see it in a different and clearer light thanks to his lifetime's labors.

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY Harvard University

ERNEST WILLIAM NELSON, professor of history at Duke University from 1926 until his retirement in 1965, died at his son's home in Sudbury, Massachusetts, on September 20, 1974. Born in Brockton, Massachusetts, on February 5, 1896, he received his A.B. degree from Clark University in 1916 and his Ph.D. from Cornell in 1925. Prior to coming to Duke, he had taught for two years at the University of South Dakota.

Nelson's special interests were in the Italian Renaissance, and he was the author of a classic article, "The Origins of Modern Balance-of-Power Politics," which was published in *Medievalia et Humanistica* in 1943. Two generations of students were fascinated by Nelson's approach to the teaching of history, which was cultural history in the broadest, deepest sense. For many years he taught historiography, the only course at Duke required of all candidates for the Ph.D.

He took the lead in founding the Durham Chamber Arts Society in 1945 and served as president of the organization for more than twenty years. He is survived by a daughter, Elizabeth Burr Abetti; three sons, Duncan M. Nelson, William Evan Nelson, and George Anthony Nelson; ten grandchildren and one great-grandchild.

ROBERT DRUDEN

Duke University

The death of Samuel M. Osgood on August 6, 1975, came as a surprise and a shock to his many friends, both within and outside the academic world. Osgood's early years were spent in France, giving him an uncommon understanding of many elements of French civilization that was clearly evident in his many writings. His formal education included a Ph.D. from Clark University, where he was a student of Dwight E. Lee. His professional career was indeed varied and included positions at Worcester Polytechnic Institute; Brown University; Drexel Institute of Technology; the State

University of New York, College at Geneseo, where he was chairman of the history department; and, since 1968, Kent State University, where he was a professor of modern European history. Osgood published a large number of articles on many subjects in learned journals in both the United States and France. His works on French royalism in the modern period, most notably his French Royalism since 1870 (1970), are outstanding. He enjoyed numerous contacts with scholars in France and served as a Fulbright Lecturer to France from 1964 to 1966 and a visiting professor at the University of Lyons from 1974 to 1975. His dedication to teaching and scholarship was complete, and he will be missed sorely by his many friends and associates.

WILLIAM F. CHURCH Brown University

SIDNEY POMERANTZ of City College, City University of New York died in June 1975 at the age of sixty-five. He will be remembered for his scholarship and for his devotion to his students, not only as a collectivity to be taught, but as individuals to be nurtured and encouraged.

Pomerantz's reputation as a scholar will remain with us. In addition to many articles and reviews, his book, New York, An American City, 1783-1803: A Study of Urban Life (1938), remains as the classic work on the subject. He had been at work on a number of research projects, but illness slowed his progress. His major concern in recent years was the history of New York City at the end of the nineteenth century, and he had completed the re-

search for a book that would have examined that subject. Unfortunately this work will now remain incomplete.

At City College Pomerantz developed two courses that received attention beyond the institution. While teaching at the Baruch School of City College, he introduced a course on the history of American business enterprise that was a pioneer effort. He also taught a unique course on the history of the city and state of New York. As a major participant in the development of a New York area studies research project, and a concomitant teaching program, Pomerantz made a significant contribution to the study of the city he knew so well.

Pomerantz was always a careful scholar, but never a destructive one. He was always ready to suggest how the work of others might be improved rather than to score points for himself by tearing down the serious efforts of fellow historians. As a teacher, these qualities of support and regard for others were equally apparent. Pomerantz was a popular teacher, but beyond that he was dedicated to the professional growth of his students. He was instrumental in furthering the career of many deserving students, who needed guidance and support at a crucial point in their lives. This gentle man had a profound and wide-ranging effect upon his students as human beings as well as intellectuals. In this aspect of his career, as in all aspects of his life, Sidney Pomerantz was truly a positive man.

IRWIN YELLOWITZ
City College,
City University of New York

Festschriften and Miscellanies

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other Fest-schriften and similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

BRANNAN, P. T., S.J., editor. Classica et Iberica: A Festschrift in Honor of the Reverend Joseph M.-F. Marique, S.J. Worcester, Mass.: Institute for Early Christian Iberian Studies, College of the Holy Cross. 1975. Pp. viii, 429.

VINCENT A. LAPOMARDA, S.J., Joseph Marie-Felix Marique: Jesuit Pioneer in the Christian Perpetuation of the Classics. Anthony J. Podlecki, Solon's Sojourns. walter MUIR WHITEHILL, Santo Domingo de Silos: Recollections of a Center of Benedictine Learning, 1927-1936. MARY R. LEFKOWITZ, Pindar's Lives. CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, General Trends in the Study of New Testament Greek and of Early Christian Greek and Latin. HERBERT MUSURILLO, s.J., A Festival on Messalla's Estate: Tibullus II. 1 Reconsidered. JOSEPH SZÖVÉRFFY, A Conscious Artist in Medieval Hymnody: Introduction to Peter Abelard's Hymns. BAUDOUIN DE GAIFFIER, S.J., Les Bollandistes et les légendes hagiographiques. A. E. RAUBITSCHEK, Nomos and Ethos. CLAUDIO SANCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, Sobre el acta de consagración de la Iglesia de Compostela en 899. RAI-MUND DAUT, Zu Properz 3, 21. P. T. BRANNAN, S.J., Repetition in Lyric Poetry. HILDA GRASSOTTI, La Junta de Sahagún: Una entrevista histórica. HERBERT H. HUXLEY, Charles Stuart Calverley and the De Die Judicii. MANUEL c. díaz y díaz, La Cosmografía de Julio Honorio en la Península. J. N. HILLGARTH, The Prognosticum Futuri Saeculi of St. Julian of Toledo and the Tractatus Published by Mai. DANIEL E. WOODS, The Temple of Augustus-Tarragona. JACQUES FONTAINE, L'Affaire Priscillien ou l'ère des nouveaux Catilina: Observations sur le "Sallustianisme" de Sulpice Sévère. Fray Justo Pérez y Urbel, O.S.B., Florencio, el miniaturista famoso del monasterio de Valeranica. JOHN CARDINAL WRIGHT, Saint Paulinus of Nola.

COSER, LEWIS A., editor. The Idea of Social Structure: Papers in Honor of Robert K. Merton. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1975. Pp. ix, 547. \$12.95.

LEWIS A. COSER and ROBERT NISBET, Merton and the Contemporary Mind: An Affectionate Dialogue. ARTHUR L. STINCHCOMBE, Merton's Theory of Social Structure. PAUL F. LAZARSFELD, Working with Merton. TALCOTT PARSONS, The Present Status of "Structural-Functional" Theory in Sociology. LEWIS A. COSER, Merton's Uses of the European Sociological Tradition.

On the Shoulders of Merton: BERNARD BARBER, Toward a New View of the Sociology of Knowledge. РЕТЕЯ М. BLAU, Structural Constraints of Status Complements. JONATHAN R. COLE and HARRIET ZUCKERMAN, The Emergence of a Scientific Specialty: The Self-Exemplifying Case of the Sociology of Science. STEPHEN COLE, The Growth of Scientific Knowledge: Theories of Deviance as a Case Study. JAMES S. COLEMAN, Legitimate and Illegitimate Use of Power, ROSE LAUB COSER, The Complexity of Roles as a Seedbed of Individual Autonomy, HERBERT H. HYMAN, Reference Individuals and Reference Idols. su-ZANNE KELLER, The Planning of Communities: Anticipations and Hindsights. PATRICIA KENDALL, Theory and Research: The Case of Studies in Medical Education. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, Ironic Perspective and Sociological Thought. HANAN C. SELVIN, On Formalizing Theory. ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR., Relative Deprivation. CHARLES R. WRIGHT, Social Structure and Mass Communications Behavior: Exploring Patterns through Constructional Analysis.

In the Spirit of Merton: ALVIN W. GOULDNER, Sociology and the Everyday Life. SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET and ASOKE BASU, Intellectual Types and Political Roles. ROBERT NISBET, The Myth of the Renaissance. MARY WILSON MILES, The Writings of Robert K. Merton: A Bibliography.

GEORGE, CAROL V. R., editor. "Remember the Ladies": New Perspectives on Women in American History—Essays in Honor of Nelson Manfred Blake. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 1975. Pp. xvi, 201. \$10.00.

Section 1: The Growth of American Feminist Thought. CAROL V. R. GEORGE, Anne Hutchinson and the "Revolution Which Never Happened." MARGUERITE FISHER, Eighteenth-Century Theorists of Women's Liberation. RALPH KETCHAM, The Puritan Ethic in the Revolutionary Era: Abigail Adams and Thomas Jefferson.

Section 2: The "Cult of True Womanhood." DAVID H. BENNETT, Women and the Nativist Movement. JANE B. DONEGAN, Man-Midwifery and the Delicacy of the Sexes. OTEY SCRUGGS, The Meaning of Harriet Tubman.

Section 3: The "New Woman" and Social Change. WILLIAM L. O'NEILL, Divorce as a Moral Issue: A Hundred Years of Controversy. GERALD E. CRITOPH, The Flapper and Her Critics. NORIKO SHIMADA et al., Ume Tsuda and Motoko Hani: Echoes of American Cultural Feminism in Japan. JAMES JOHNSON, The Role of Women in the Founding of the United States Children's Bureau.

LABAREE, BENJAMIN W., editor. The Atlantic World of Robert G. Albion. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press. 1975. Pp. vii, 263. \$14.95.

JOHN H. KEMBLE, Maritime History in the Age of Albion. ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS, The Medieval Background of American Atlantic Maritime Development. WILLIAM A. BAKER, Fishing under Sail in the North Atlantic. HAROLD L. BURSTYN, Seafaring and the Emergence of American Science. EDWARD W. SLOAN III, The Machine at Sea: Early Transatlantic Steam Travel. JEFFREY J. SAFFORD, The American Merchant Marine as an Expression of Foreign Policy: Woodrow Wilson and the Genesis of Modern Maritime Diplomacy. CLARK G. REYNOLDS, The British Strategic Inheritance in American Naval Policy, 1775–1975. BENJAMIN W. LABAREE, The Atlantic Parodox. JOAN BENTINCK-SMITH, The Writings of Robert G. Albion.

Nicolaus Copernicus: Akademische Festschrift aus Anlass der 500. Wiederkehr des Geburtstages von Nicolaus Copernicus. Edited by the Copernicus-Komitee an der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1973. Pp. 103.

HERBERT WEIZ, Vertrag auf der Festsitzung des erweiterten Plenums der AdW der DDR zum 500. Geburtstag von Nicolaus Copernicus. JAN KACZMAREK, Begrüss-ungsrede des Leiters der Regierungsdelegation der VR Polen anlässlich der Festsitzung des erweiterten Plenums der AdW der DDR zum 500. Geburtstag von Nicolaus Copernicus. HERMANN LAMBRECHT, Die Bedeutung von Johannes Kepler für die Begründung und Vertiefung der copernicanischen Lehre und Planetentheorie. HANS-JÜRGEN TREDER, Copernicus und die Ansätze zu einer Himmelsmechanik bei Kepler und Descartes. EUGENIUSZ RYBKA, Kepler und Copernicus. SIEGFRIED WOLLGAST, Zu Unterschieden und Gemeinsamkeiten in den philosophischen Auffassungen von Nicolaus Copernicus und Johannes Kepler. MIECZYSKAW MARKOWSKI, Die philosophischen Grundlagen der heliozentrischen Lehre des Nicolaus Copernicus. GERHARD BARTSCH, Zum Umbruch im weltanschaulichen Denken der bürgerlichen Neuzeit-Nicolaus Cusanus und Giordano Bruno. ANDRZEJ nowicki, Die copernicanische Theorie und die neuzeitliche philosophische Anthropologie-die weltanschauliche Bedeutung der copernicanischen Theorie. HELMUT копсн, Erkenntnistheoretische Aspekte der copernicanischen Entdeckung. MARIAN BISKUP, Nicolaus Copernicus-ein tätiger Bürger des polnischen Staates. EDUARD WINTER, Zur Bildungsgeschichte des Copernicus: Regiomontan. Hans-Joachim Bartmuss, Zur Rezeption der copernicanischen Lehre an der Universität Wittenberg.

OBERMAN, HEIKO A., with BRADY, THOMAS A., JR. Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of Its European Transformations—Dedicated to Paul Oskar Kristeller on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, volume 14. Leiden: E.J. Brill. 1975. Pp. xxviii, 471. 96 gls.

HEIKO A. OBERMAN, Quoscunque Tulit Foecunda Vetustas. WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA, The Two Faces of Humanism: Stoicism and Augustinianism in Renaissance Thought. MYRON P. GILMORE, Italian Reactions to Erasmian Humanism. SEM DRESDEN, The Profile of the Reception of the Italian Renaissance in France. JOZEF IJSEWIJN, The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries. DENYS HAY, England and the Humanities in the Fifteenth Century. LEWIS W. SPITZ, The Course of German Humanism.

Salo Wittmayer Baron: Jubilee Volume, On the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday. Volumes 1-2, English Section. Volume 3, Hebrew Section. Jerusalem: American Academy for Jewish Research; distrib. by Columbia University Press, New York. 1975. Pp. 554; 555-1095.

Volume 1, English Section: JEANNETTE MEISEL BARON, A Bibliography of the Printed Writings of Salo Wittmayer Baron. ALEXANDER ALTMANN, Letters from Dohm to Mendelssohn. zvi ANKORI, From Zudecha to Yahudi Mahallesi: The Jewish Quarter of Candia in the Seventeenth Century. HERMAN AUSUBEL, Robert Owen and His New View of Society. ISAAC E. BARZILAY, Finalizing an Issue: Modena's Authorship of the Qol Sakhal. MEIR BEN-HORIN, Scholars' "Opinions": Documents in the History of the Dropsie University. ABRAHAM BERGER, Ayalta: From the Doe in the Field to the Mother of the Messiahs. JOSEPH L. BLAU, On the Supposedly Aristotelian Character of Gabirol's Keter Malkut. BERNHARD BLUMENKRANZ, Premiers témoignages épigraphiques sur les juiss en France. FRANCISCO CANTERA BURGOS, Don "Ishaq Braunel": (Algunas precisiones biograficas sobre su Estancia en Castilla). ANDRÉ CHOU-RAQUI, Juifs et Arabes: Reflexions sur leur renaissance nationale. MARTIN A. COHEN, The Hasmonean Revolution Politically Considered: Outline of a New Interpretation. JACOB I. DIENSTAG, Christian Translators of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah into Latin: A Bio-Bibliographical Survey. ABRAHAM G. DUKER, Adam Mickiewicz's Anti-Jewish Period: Studies in "The Books of the Polish Nation and of the Polish Pilgrimage." D. M. DUNLOP, H. M. Baratz and His View of Khazar Influence on the Earliest Russian Literature, Juridical and Historical. R. EDELMANN, Masoret and Its Historical Background. SEYMOUR FELDMAN, Platonic Themes in Gersonides' Cosmology. WALTER J. FISCHEL, Garcia de Orta-A Militant Marrano in Portuguese-India in the 16th Century. LEO FUKS and RENA FUKS, Jewish Historiography in the Netherlands in the

17th and 18th Centuries. LLOYD P. GARTNER, Documents on Roumanian Jewry, Consul Peixotto, and Jewish Diplomacy, 1870–1875. ELI GINZBERG, Jew and Negro: Notes on the Mobility of Two Minority Groups in the United States. SHELOMO DOV GOITEIN, New Sources on the Palestinian Gaonate. JUDAH GOLDIN, "This Song."

Volume 2, English Section: SOLOMON GRAYZEL, Pope Alexander III and the Jews. MAX GRUENEWALD, "It is Enough for the Servant to be Like His Master." H. Z. (J. W.) HIRSCHBERG, The Agreement between the Musta'ribs and the Maghribis in Cairo 1527. BETTINA L. KNAPP, Jean Racine's Esther and Two Hebrew Translations of this Drama. WOLF LESLAU, Taamrat Emmanuel's Notes of Falasha Monks and Holy Places. CURT LEVIANT, Jewish Influence upon Arthurian Legends. BERNARD LEWIS, An Anti-Jewish Ode: The Qasida of Abu Ishaq against Joseph Ibn Nagrella. RAPHAEL MAHLER, A Jewish Memorandum to the Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland, Paskiewicz. LEON NEMOY, The Attitude of the Early Karaites towards Christianity. MOSHE PERLMANN, Levanda's Last Year. erwin i. j. rosenthal, Hermann Cohen and Heinrich Graetz. U. O. SCHMELZ and R. BACHI, Hebrew as Everyday Language of the Jews in Israel-Statistical Appraisal. G. SCHOLEM, A Frankist Document from Prague. MORTON SMITH, On the Wine God in Palestine: (Gen. 18, Jn. 2, and Achilles Tatius). shlomo simonsohn, The Hebrew Revival among Early Medieval European Jews. SCHIFRA STRIZOWER, The Bene Israel and the Jewish People. zosa szajkowski, East European Jewish Workers in Germany during World War I. URIEL TAL, Young German Intellectuals on Romanticism and Judaism-Spiritual Turbulence in the Early 19th Century. BERNARD D. WEINRYB, Reappraisals in Jewish History. ERIC WERNER, Two Types of Ritual and Their Music. HARRY A: WOLFSON, Saadia on the Semantic Aspect of the Problem of Attribute. YOSEF HAYIM YERUSHALMI, Professing Jews in Post-Expulsion Spain and Portugal. ARTHUR J. ZUCKERMAN, Unpublished Materials on the Relationship of Early Fifteenth Century. Jewry to the Central Government.

Volume 3, Hebrew Section: SHLOMO EIDELBERG, An Eighteenth Century Letter from Venice to Metz. ISRAEL EFROS, Eschatological Meanings Attributed to Biblical Terms in Talmud, Midrash and Apocrypha. HAIM BEINART, Moroccan Jews in Spain in the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century. MEIR BENAYAHU, The Status of the

Sabbatean Movement in Jerusalem. HAIM S. BEN-SASSON, Tenth and Eleventh Century Karaite Attitudes to Gentiles. MOSHE DAVIS, The Letters of the Communal Leaders from Amsterdam: A New Source Concerning the Relationship between American Jewry and Eretz Yisrael. CHAIM ZALMAN DIMITROVSKY, On the Pilpulistic Method. ISADORE TWERSKY, Rabbi Joseph Ashkenazi and the Mishne Tora by Maimonides. ARYEH TARTA-KOWER, Israel in Contemporary Sociological Research. SAUL LIEBERMAN, On Persecution of the Jewish Religion. BENZION NETANYAHU, Establishing the Dates of the Books "Ha-kane" and "Ha-Pelia." JOSHUA FINKEL, The Legend on the Revival of the Carcasses in the Story of the Covenant of the Pieces. LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, Ancient Opinions Concerning the Law of False Witnesses. LEON A. FELD-MAN, Otzar He-kabod Completum on Tractate Ketubot by Rabbi Todros ha-Levi Abulafia of Toledo. Moses ZUCKER, The Problem of Controversy in Tradition (Maimonides Contra Rabbi Jacob ben Ephraim of Eretz Yisrael). NOAH ROSENBLOOM, Ahad Ha-am and the Knowledge of Historiography. JUDAH ROSENTHAL, Polemical Tractates. AVRAHAM SCHALIT, The Prophecies of Josephus and of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai on the Ascent of Vespesian to the Throne. SHALOM SPIEGEL, A List of Ancient Abodoth.

TAKAYANAGI, SHUNICHI, and MIWA, KIMITADA, editors. Postwar Trends in Japan: Studies in Commemoration of Rev. Aloysius Miller, S.J. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press; distrib. by International Scholarly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1975. Pp. xxiv, 272. \$20.50.

FRANCIS MATHY, Shusaku Endo: The Second Period. KINHIDE MUSHAKOJI, A Note on Trilateral Crisis Diplomacy: The Irritants in the Japan-U.S.-E.C. Relations. KAN ORI, Japanese Public Opinion and Sino-Japanese Relations, 1969–1972. Yusaku furuhashi, Evolving Japanese Policy toward Inward Foreign Direct Investment in the Postwar Period. Shunichi takayanagi, Christology and Postwar Theologians in Japan. Kinya Tsuruta, An Interpretation of *The Ruined Map* by Kōbō Abe. Kazuko Tsurumi, Student Movements in 1960 and 1969: Continuity and Change. Kimitada Miwa, *In the Shadow of Leaves* and Mishima's Death. Yasuhiro Kawanaka, The Canons of Journalism and Trends in Japanese Dailies.

Other Books Received

Books listed were received by the AHR between October 1 and December 1, 1975. Books that will be reviewed are not listed, but listing does not preclude subsequent re-

GENERAL

ANDREA, ALFRED J., and SCHMOKEL, WOLFE W. The Living Past: Western Historiographical Traditions. New York:

John Wiley & Sons. 1975. Pp. xiv, 298. \$7.95.

BAUMGART, WINFRIED. Der Imperialismus: Idee und Wirklichkeit der englischen und französischen Kolonialexpansion 1880–1914. Wissenschaftliche Paperbacks, no. 7.
Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. 1975. Pp. 178. DM

BOND, BRIAN, and ROY, IAN (eds.). War and Society: A Yearbook of Military History. New York: Holmes & Meier. 1975. Pp. 254. \$19.00.

BRAUN and SCHNEIDER. Historic Costume in Pictures. New

York: Dover Publications. 1975, 125 plates. \$6.00.
BROCKWAY, FENNER. The Colonial Revolution. New York:

St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. 654. \$23.95.
BRYSON, WILLIAM HAMILTON. Dictionary of Sigla and Abbreviations to and in Law Books before 1607. Virginia Legal Studies. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1975. Pp. xiii, 179. \$20.00.

Sculpture: A Designer and His Work. Newfoundland, N.J.: Haessner. 1975. Pp. 192. \$24.95.

CHEIT, EARL F. The Useful Arts and the Liberal Tradition.

Research Studies, 15. New York: McGraw-Hill, sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Educa-

tion. 1975. Pp. xviii, 166. \$10.00.
CHITTICK, H. NEVILLE, and ROTBERG, ROBERT 1. (eds.).
East Africa and the Orient: Cultural Syntheses in Pre-Colonial Times. New York: Africana Publishing Co. 1975. Pp.

viii, 343. \$30.00.

CLISSOLD, STEPHEN (ed.). Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, 1939-1973: A Documentary Survey. New York: Oxford University Press, for the Royal Institute of Inter-

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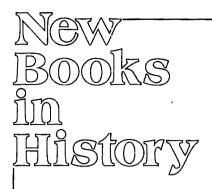
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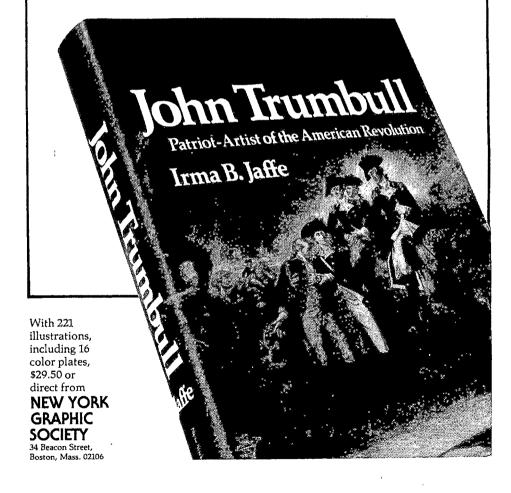
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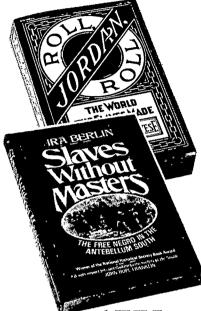
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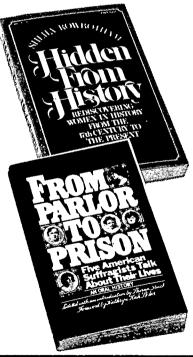
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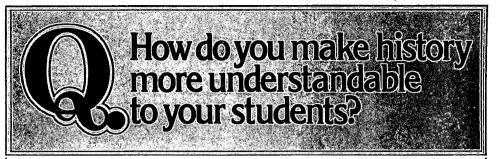
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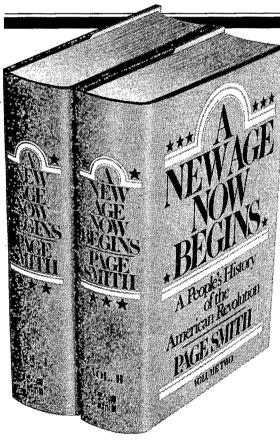
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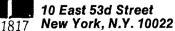
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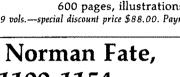
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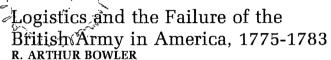
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